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**Becoming (non)violent: Accountability,
subjectivity and ethical non-violence in response
to intimate partner violence**

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Abstract

This thesis joins a movement of critical resistance and ethical activism problematising the increased institutionalisation of domestic violence interventions. A Eurocentric, capitalist, and neoliberal knowledge economy appears incapable of accounting for or accommodating the multiple, intersecting gendered social power relations and conditions of possibility that enable violence against women and children. Through a process of reflexive reading, I draw on the work of philosopher and feminist theorist Judith Butler, engaging with theories of accounting for oneself, subjectivation and ethical non-violence to analyse men and women's narratives of (non)violence in the context of a men's stopping violence programme. I interrogate the sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that produce the accountability of gendered subjects of violence at sites of ethical exchange, and the consequences of such a production for those affected by, and responding to, domestic violence. Throughout the thesis, I question how systems of response and intervention reproduce power relations of domination and oppression through the production of fixed and inflexible identity categories of difference and dis-ease for targeted surveillance, regulation and discipline. Accounts of oneself are read critically as sites of embodied and embedded violence, where demands for narrative consistency and coherence enable the denial, minimisation and justification of men's violence as a response to the risk of condemnation and subjective threat. I examine how patriarchal and colonising narratives tolerate, justify and encourage violence as a reiterative practice of hegemonic masculinity, where the embedded masculine subject self-regulates and disciplines their embodied subjectivity for authority and control within hierarchical gender binaries. I consider how feminine subjects are positioned as inferior to, or a 'lack of' the masculine ideal, enabling the dehumanisation, exclusion and silencing of women as objects and technologies for masculine privilege and domination. I conclude by advocating for ethical non-violence in domestic violence research and response, acknowledging our shared subordination and vulnerability to sociocultural regulatory regimes. I imagine how suspending the satisfaction of judgement and practices of patience can facilitate processes of articulation to exceed the constraints of violent subjectivities and engage in processes of 'becoming' within collaborative partnerships of resistance, transformation and non-violence.

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Preface

I originally imagined this research project as a story of how subjects caught within the institutional gaze of domestic violence research and response narrated their experiences of service engagement, beginning the story at men and women's induction into systems of response and concluding in a way that summarised the coherent trajectory of their journeys towards non-violence. From gathering and analysing accounts of violence, I expected to produce a logical and cohesive narrative of how subjects who give their account produce themselves as embodied and gendered actors embedded in sociocultural context, and the social and ethical costs of such a production. The story I imagined telling had a clear beginning, middle, and end, transitioning smoothly and logically from episode to episode, cumulatively moving forward and weaving together to produce a strong and persuasive concluding statement. This narrative ideal, however, is problematic in production. As you read, you will notice my narrative is often interrupted by little stories or with interludes that momentarily suspend the narrative thread. Previous arguments sometimes reappear within iterative processes that divert the narrative into different contexts, with different purposes and imagined effects. At times, limits of language and 'knowing'¹ constrain the ways I am able to articulate my understandings - embodied but located just beyond the boundaries of recognition and expression - threatening my position within the narrative as an academic subject: a doctoral candidate who demonstrates mastery over research processes and knowledge production. To produce an account of myself as a researcher, my story is structured by, and emergent from, regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that exceed me and my agency, that constrain and constrict, but that I cannot escape if I want to be recognised as a legitimate academic subject.

According to Butler's (2001, 2005) theoretical arguments, demands for narrative coherence and complete self-knowledge in our accounts of ourselves *are* problematic: in order to produce a coherent, sequential and comprehensive account of oneself, one must deny or contort narratives that do not fit seamlessly within the specific story told

¹ Whilst critical theories of language would have us hesitate with any fixed meaning of discourse, in my story I use single quote marks as 'scare marks' to draw particular attention to the problematics of reproducing discourse within the limits of partiality and opacity. Language acts upon both you and I in ways that are unwilled and unwanted, but at sites of ethical encounters (of which this story is one), this 'activity' can also be a site of resistance and challenge. Often when I use scare marks, I do so to interrupt an unambiguous and coherent reading of the narrative: to de-stabilise the reading and remind us of the instability of language and the possibility of resistance.

in an account. The narrator must avoid contradiction, incoherence, inconsistency and interruption if they wish to produce themselves as a particular kind of subject in their account. Narratives that meet the demands of a recognisable account of a particular kind of moral and ethical subject struggle to convey the multiple influences, forces and experiences that work together to give the story meaning and significance, introducing the potential for misrecognition and misunderstanding when the Other listens to the story and makes their judgement. Our accounts become sites of conflict and negotiation, where the structures and boundaries of regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality prohibit or disfigure the complexity, heterogeneity and incoherence of our stories, contorting our experiences into sequential, comprehensive accounts of recognisable subjects that may not ‘speak’ to who we understand ourselves to be.

We must become critical, Butler (2005) argues, within limits of knowing and articulation: a process whereby we begin to identify, acknowledge and analyse the boundaries and limitations of how we can account for ourselves, and consider the implications of those boundaries and limitations on processes of recognition and judgement. This writing is my account of becoming critical of the regimes of ‘speaking’ and ‘knowing’ that structure the ways in which we can understand the accounts of men and women affected by domestic violence, and the institutional processes at play when we demand and respond to those accounts. It is both a theoretical turn towards, and a manifestation of, a critical social commentary on systems and networks of knowledge and understanding that are, implicitly, not logical, rational or coherent in practice and/or effect. As a narrative fiction, my writing is bound within parameters that enable and constrain the ways we can articulate and understand our sense of self and how we relate to others (Butler, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2011). It is a story not easily narrated and one that is necessarily incomplete, threatening recognition for both the narrative and the narrator of the account. Becoming critical is a challenge to the confines of contemporary regimes of knowledge and knowledge generation, a challenge that Braidotti (2008) argues “requires some creative efforts that go beyond the traditional call of methodological duties: it also involves the creative quest for more adequate representations for the kinds of subjects we are becoming” (p. 28).

In an attempt to work within, and in excess of, the structures and constraints of regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, I have engaged with Judith Butler’s (2005) discussion of Bollas’ notion of articulation, where articulation is “a broad category for

describing various modes of expression and communication, some of them narrative and some not” (p. 58). The notion of articulation suspends the need for a coherent, sequential and complete narrative trajectory, and instead offers a space for identifying and analysing the partiality, opacity, contradiction and inconsistency of accounts. Articulation enables me to examine the multiple threads of experiences that emerge within stories of domestic violence: both the men and women’s stories I listened to during the research process and the academic story I now produce from listening to their accounts and engaging theory, critically. Producing an account of how we become gendered subjects of violence and non-violence through processes of articulation can accommodate moments of interruption, incoherence, contradiction and ‘unknowing’ that would otherwise threaten to disrupt and derail the narrative.

Throughout this research project, I examine the various dynamics and possibilities involved in how subjects of (non)violence can tell their stories, the regimes that structure their accounts, and how those in the field of domestic violence research and response can hear those stories from a professional place of non-violence. I critically analyse how understandings of domestic violence and domestic violence response produce, reproduce and/or resist the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge in our communities, imagining the possibilities such an analysis can open up for non-violence. I do not advocate for or promote a particular process of intervention or a superior mode of response, but instead contribute to a continuing critical dialogue that seeks to embed subjective and embodied practices of domestic violence within Western sociocultural contexts. I do so in the hope that my story can contribute to contemporary academic spaces advocating for ‘thinking differently’ about domestic violence and service response: spaces that hold potential for identifying, analysing and challenging how our sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality tolerate and justify violence against women and children in the Aotearoa New Zealand context. My story, much like the stories of the men and women I listened to, is partial, interrupted, and in a process of ‘becoming’: a manifestation of the limits and productivity of how we can account for ourselves, locally and specifically, in our complex heterogeneity.

The Theoretical Turn towards Judith Butler

The task of becoming critical in an examination of sociocultural regimes of knowledge and knowledge generation that structure and emerge from the field of domestic violence research and response necessitates a theoretical space that can accommodate and sustain a problematisation of voice, gender, institutional power, and the negotiation of subjective and ethical identities and relationships. Judith Butler's body of work theoretically interrogates how regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality enable and constrain the ways in which we can give an account of ourselves, and the products and consequences of such accounts, providing a creative theoretical space for examining the wicked problem of domestic violence. Wicked problems have no clear cause, no one solution, and multiple, complex networks of conditions of possibility, requiring equally complex and responsive spaces for engagement and analysis if we wish to reduce and eliminate the harm they produce within our communities (Muir & Parker, 2014; Rittel & Webber, 1974). Butler's work weaves together and contrasts a range of philosophical schools of thought such as psychoanalysis, post-structuralism, and phenomenology as she analyses the complexity and problematics of how we can understand and recognise ourselves in relation to others, embedded in place and space, and embodied within ethical exchange. Butler's complex examinations of the interactions between multiple, divergent and sometimes contradictory theories of 'being' and 'becoming' offer possibilities for non-violence, opening spaces for responsive and compassionate engagement, analysis and action.

The story of my theoretical turn towards Judith Butler's body of work within an analysis of men and women's narratives of (non)violence does not attempt to categorise and confine theoretical arguments within the boundaries of fixed and inflexible thematic chapters, but instead threads and weaves Butler's arguments iteratively throughout. In order to produce a narrative that makes sense and can be recognised, however, there are sections and chapters that cohere around particular critical concepts. In Part II of my story, I focus on Butler's (2001, 2005) examination of the processes involved in accounting for oneself as a particular subject, conceptualising accounts of (non)violence as sites of subject formation, regulated and governed by the demand for an account issued by an Other within an ethical address. Chapter 3 reflects on how domestic violence research and response can be considered an Other who demands an account of (non)violence from men and women caught within the institutional gaze of service

response. Butler argues an Other issues a demand for an account within an ethical address, and we tell the story of ourselves in order to be recognised by the Other, and to recognise ourselves, as a particular subject. I consider how processes of recognition and misrecognition enable and/or constrain the development of ethical relationships between the “I” giving an account and the Other who demands the account, producing pathways for acceptance and unity, or judgement and condemnation. I contextualise the complexity of recognition within structural and sociocultural conditions that enable the minimisation, denial, justification and tolerance of men’s violence against women and children, and question how such narratives ‘act’ within/on institutional and community response. In Chapter 4, I draw on Butler’s discussion of the ‘violence of accounts’ to consider how structural regulations and parameters accommodate, or prevent, the heterogeneity, complexity, contradiction and incoherence of narratives of (non)violence, critically analysing how processes of judgement and condemnation are implicated in practices of institutional and ethical accountability and responsibility. Butler’s work on accounting for oneself opens a space for me to question how regulatory regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality act on and through accounts of embedded and embodied experience, affecting not only how we can produce ourselves as recognisable subjects, but also how we can understand and respond to domestic violence as researchers and service providers.

In Part III, I draw on Butler’s (1997, 2001, 2005) engagement with theories of subjectivation to consider how our embedded and embodied histories inform the kinds of subjects able to be produced in an account of (non)violence. I analyse men and women’s stories of domestic violence in Chapter 5 to identify and unpack the ways in which we become moral subjects of (non)violence, embedded within sociocultural contexts and embodied through repetitive practices of power within gendered relationships. I examine the ways men and women’s stories narrate a particular history of the subject, and how that history draws on sociocultural norms and assumptions of morality, gender and violence to provide the terms for understanding. Through an interrogation and weaving of multiple perspectives on subjectivation, Butler problematises processes of formative and agentic power, enabling me to reflect on the negotiation between subjective and social responsibility in order to produce a theoretical narrative of how the subject formed through subordination to regulatory regimes becomes a subject who practices power for the purposes of domination and survival.

Butler's (1997, 2001, 2005, 2011) engagement with how sociocultural norms and assumptions become 'internalised', reproduced through the subject's embodied practices, allow me to examine how the self-regulating and self-disciplining subject is embedded within relationships of dependence, vulnerability and power, emerging from and within ethical encounters. I draw on Butler's (1997, 2011) discussions of productivity to analyse the reiterative embodied practices of gender at sites of social exchange, and how masculine subjects² conceptualise and respond to subjective threat in ways that open spaces for violence to emerge as a subjective practice for recognition and survival embedded within gendered power relations of subordination and domination. In Chapter 6, I engage Butler's reflections on the prohibition of violence within ethical encounters to understand how violence against women and children is tolerated and justified within gendered (non)ethical relationships, considering how processes of subjective dehumanisation and exclusion privilege and centralise the masculine subject in patriarchal socio-political contexts. Butler's discussions of subjectivity allow me to examine how gendered subjectivities are (in)formed and maintained within dynamics of sociocultural and institutional relations of power, producing the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge as a masculine subjective practice.

In Part IV, I weave the threads of accounting for oneself and subjectivity within practices of ethical violence, where institutional and socio-political conditions for 'speaking' and 'knowing' persecute, subjugate and torture the "I" through the demand for, and parameters of, an account (Butler, 2001, 2005, 2006). Chapter 7 considers how processes of silence and exclusion constrain our ability to unite under our shared subordination and vulnerability to sociocultural regimes, positioning subjects in conflict with one other through processes of judgement, condemnation and punishment. Conceptualising ethical non-violence as a process that works to resist 'violence in response to violence' enables me to imagine how suspending the satisfaction of judgement and practising patience can open spaces to listen to articulations of how the "I" makes sense of itself within a given account (Butler, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2011). I consider how practising patience and suspending judgement when listening to stories of (non)violence - a sometimes uncomfortable and distressing experience - can enable an

² Throughout the thesis, I focus predominantly on how men produce themselves as masculine subjects in the context of a men's stopping violence programme.

interrogation of how regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality produce the conditions that tolerate and/or justify men's violence against women and children. I imagine how we can resist and challenge processes of condemnation and structural violence that sever ethical relationships at the point of domestic violence intervention, constraining opportunities to learn from sustained ethical engagement and dialogue. Butler encourages us to 'become undone', and I become undone through a critical examination of how domestic violence research and response participates in the production and reproduction of ethical violence. I manifest my journey of 'becoming undone' through attempts to 'think differently', to exceed and extend beyond the boundaries and constraints of contemporary constitutions of (gendered) subjectivities, and to acknowledge the complexity and partiality of becoming a subject: a precarious position we all inhabit. Butler's discussions of ethical non-violence allow me to engage an analysis beyond the confines of the institutionally driven neoliberal knowledge economy to produce ethical spaces that privilege the stories of men and women living with the effects of domestic violence and resist market-dominated narratives of targeted individualised intervention and cost-effective service provision.

This story is my theoretical turn towards the problematics and tensions raised within and through men and women's stories of (non)violence. I weave together accounts of domestic violence and Butler's theoretical discussions of accountability, subjectivation and ethical non-violence through processes of reflective reading in order to produce an account of the conditions of possibility for men's violence against women and children and institutional practices of ethical violence. My story 'ends' with a reflection on how I imagine the field of domestic violence research and response can continue to support the expansion and exceedance of regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, working towards social transformation and non-violence. However, such an ending is also 'in the middle' of contemporary practices of ethical activism already at work within the field of domestic violence research and response. It is also the 'beginning' of many other stories that can and/or will be told. My story is a story of interruption, of 'unknowing' and contradiction: a fitting narrative for the problematics of understanding and responding to the wicked problem of domestic violence. And, in interruption, before engaging in a theoretical turn towards Butler, I return to the problem of 'beginnings', where the first two chapters of my story produce a narrative of emergences, positioning my story within an account of myself as critical feminist

academic subject engaged in the field of domestic violence research and response in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Acknowledgements	iii
Preface.....	v
The Theoretical Turn towards Judith Butler	viii
Table of Contents	xiii
Part I: Emergences	1
Chapter 1: The Emergence of the Academic Subject	3
Entering the Knowledge Economy	5
Listening to the Voices of Experience	8
Interviewing Men: Manifesting Gendered Power Relations at Sites of Address.....	10
Accounting for Myself	12
Chapter 2: A Critical Analysis of Power in the Field of Domestic Violence Research and Response.....	15
Holding Aotearoa New Zealand Government to Account.....	17
The Appropriation of Intersectionality: Producing Identity Categories of Difference and Dis-ease	23
The Wicked Problem of Gendered Violence	28
The Criminalisation of Gendered Violence within ‘Gender-neutral’ Systems.....	30
Intersections of Gender, Ethnicity and Class	36
The Colonial Politics of Domestic Violence.....	37
Institutional Racism and Violence	39
The Self-sustaining Industry of Domestic Violence Response.....	41
Ethical Activism and ‘Beginnings’	43
Part II: Accountability.....	45
Chapter 3: Accounting for Domestic Violence	47
‘Becoming Accountable’ and ‘Taking Responsibility’	47

Recognising the Subject at Sites of Ethical Exchange.....	52
Producing Morality within Accounts of Violence: The Negotiation between the 'Nonsubstitutional' and 'Substitutional' Self	64
Chapter 4: The Structural Violence of an Account.....	75
Dismemberment, Dispossession and Dislocation: The Crisis of the Demands of an Account	75
The Flight from Condemnation: Returning Violence with Violence	82
Community Accountability: Challenging Accounts that Hold Conditions of Violence in Place.....	91
Part III: Subjectivity.....	97
Chapter 5: Becoming a Subject of Violence	99
The Foundations of Subjective Emergence and Survival: The 'Internalisation' of 'Externality'	99
Becoming a Gendered Subject: Hierarchal Gender Binaries and National Identities	111
The Productivity of the Norm: The Regulation, Governance and Discipline of Gendered Subjects.....	119
The Subjective Conditions of Violence: Gender Performativity, Threat and the Dread of Femininity.....	124
The Lord and the Bondsman – A Working Metaphor	143
Chapter 6: Powers of Recognition	149
Dehumanisation, the Face and (Un)ethical Relationships of Violence	149
The Law of the Father and Sovereign Power.....	157
Spaces for Resistance and Transformation against the Violence of Subjectivation	169
Part IV: Ethical Non-violence.....	173
Chapter 7: Becoming Non-violent	175
The Wicked Problem of Domestic Violence	175
The Ethical Violence of an Account	176

Resisting the Violence of Satisfaction, Judgement and Condemnation: The Practice of Ethical Non-violence.....	184
Ethical Non-violence through Shared Vulnerability	199
References	205
Appendices	225
Appendix A: Evaluating the effectiveness of Programmes and Services Provided by Te Manawa Services: A Community Intervention into Family Violence	225
Appendix B: Men’s Information Sheet	414
Appendix C: Women’s Information Sheet.....	418
Appendix D: Participant Consent Form	422
Appendix E: Men’s Interview Schedule	423
Appendix F: Women’s Interview Schedule	426
Appendix G: Transcript Release Form	429

Part I: Emergences

A frame for understanding violence emerges in tandem with the experience, and...the frame works both to preclude certain kinds of questions, certain kinds of historical inquiries, and to function as a moral justification for retaliation. It seems crucial to attend to this frame, since it decides, in a forceful way, what we can hear, whether a view will be taken as explanation or as exoneration, whether we can hear the difference, and abide by it. (Butler, 2006, pp. 4-5)

Chapter 1: The Emergence of the Academic Subject

Choosing the point at which to locate the emergence of my story so that I can begin the process of reflexive writing presents the problematics of a coherent, sequential narrative immediately. It is both necessary to start somewhere and problematic to assume that wherever I start is 'the' beginning. With respect to the performance of academic writing, I have chosen to begin with a story of research I had previously completed, where I interviewed police officers about their experiences of policing those with mental illness in Aotearoa New Zealand. The process of interviewing police officers and hearing their stories was complicated by relationships of voice and power, in particular the institutionally invested constraints on who can speak and what stories are able to be told within processes of knowledge generation and production. The officers I spoke with were often hesitant to tell their stories, even within a contract of confidentiality and anonymity at the site of ethical research, interrupting their narratives with recognitions of the limits and constraints on their own voice. When the police officers did speak of their experiences, they often produced narratives I did not recognise from the literature: stories of greater complexity, contradiction and tension than I had read.

I wondered whether the discord between the police officers stories and the body of academic literature was a manifestation of the problematics of voice, where to speak of certain things was to risk censure and exclusion. Socio-political power relations manifest within institutions such as the police force, regulating and governing the embodied actions of those who find themselves situated at the 'engine' of institutional practice, enabling and constraining the ability to 'speak' and be heard (Foucault, 1982; Rose, 1996). Problematising institutional constraints on voice necessitates an analysis of social power relations and practices, where the 'freedom' of the autonomous subject produced through Western neoliberal imagination can be understood as illusionary: a product of technologies of surveillance, regulation and discipline in the service of self-governance and social order (Foucault, 1982). I began to ask, when institutional power acts on and through embedded and embodied subjects, are our stories ever our own, or are they a product of subordination to the institutional and political structures and systems within which we are located? How does the illusion of the autonomous Western subject accommodate and/or problematise institutional constraints on voice implicated in processes of knowledge and knowledge generation, including and excluding the

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

kinds of stories we are able to listen to and tell? How can we find spaces within the parameters of academic research and publication to listen to voices constrained by socio-political power relations in order to accommodate the incoherence, contradiction and contingency of embodied and embedded understandings?

As a feminist researcher located within the sub-discipline of critical community psychology, and belonging to a research team committed to addressing the wicked problem of domestic violence, I recognised similar issues of institutional and socio-political regulation over voice manifest within the domestic violence literature. Domestic violence research and response can produce domestic violence as an institutional concern, rather than a lived, gendered experience embedded within sociocultural context: a story told by voices of academic authority invested in developing 'effective' systems of service and response rather than an examination of the complexity of living everyday with the effects of violence. Research that is constrained within the parameters of abstract academic debates reduce experiences of violence against women and children to institutional definitions, categories and statistics that make it possible to 'measure' the effectiveness of domestic violence response through scientific standards of evidence. When the stories we³ tell of domestic violence are dominated by scientific narratives of service model development, implementation, and abandonment (if demonstrated 'ineffective'), what is missing, marginalised or appropriated are the voices of men and women living with the effects of domestic violence daily. The multiple and complex conditions that enable domestic violence to emerge as a gendered relational practice between subjects within communities cannot meaningfully be accounted for, or accommodated within, research that excludes and/or constrains voices of experience, reducing stories to statistical relationships identified through lists of categories for particular purposes.

Critical community psychology problematises dominant institutional and sociocultural practices of power, attending to processes of marginalisation and oppression in ways

³ At times in my writing, I will use the terms 'we', 'us' and 'our' as an abbreviation referring to those working within the field of domestic violence research and response. The use of these terms represents an attempt to draw attention to the plural specificity of our engagements and actions, and to initiate critical reflection of how we, as a broad field of subjectivities, produce and reproduce institutional and structural processes that provide the conditions of possibility for ethical violence to emerge in our practices. However, I am aware that the breadth of participation within the field of domestic violence research and response is diverse and complex, and therefore many may feel they are not included within such generalising pronouns.

that acknowledge difference and complexity through a privileging of community voices, strengths, knowledge and experiences. To embody and enact this commitment to challenging traditional power relations within institutional research and response, Coombes, Denne, and Rangiwananga (2016) encourage ethical activism: an interrogation of how dominant regimes of knowledge and knowledge generation regulate and subjugate the ways we understand ourselves and our relationships with each other. Engaging in processes of ethical activism mobilises reflexive analysis of, and resistance to, social, political and institutional practices of power that marginalise and subjugate particular ways of ‘being’ and ‘knowing’, opening spaces “for the transformation of our participation in relations of domination and oppression that control the meaning of everyday life” (p. 445). In response and resistance to the constraints on voice embedded within socio-political and institutional power relations in the field of domestic violence research and response, I wanted to join the movement of critical feminist work already taking place that listens to, validates and supports the voices and experiences of those affected by domestic violence. I wanted to examine how an understanding of the complexity of embodied gendered power relations embedded in sociocultural contexts can contribute to effective responses of non-violence, where ‘effectiveness’ is not reduced to institutionally defined measurements or standards, but is a narrative produced within men and women’s accounts of (non)violence.

Entering the Knowledge Economy

As I was questioning how I could engage in ethical activism in the field of domestic violence research and response, I received an opportunity to participate in a research project evaluating community responses to violence against women and children. Te Manawa Services, a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) providing domestic violence services to the local community, approached Massey University seeking a research team to evaluate the effectiveness of their men’s stopping violence programme and I was invited to be part of that team. As a critical community psychologist, it was important to me to participate in the development of collaborative relationships that support grass-root initiatives within a field dominated by institutional and governmental practices. In an environment of competitive funding and resources, where a lack of empirical evidence of ‘effectiveness’ can see governmental support for local initiatives reduced and/or revoked, evaluation of community-based interventions is vital to the

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

development and sustainability of localised responses (Babcock & Steiner, 1999; Bennett & Williams, 2001; Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Ishkanian, 2014; Ministry of Social Development, 2002; New Zealand Parliamentarians' Group on Population and Development, 2005; Peterson, 2008; Shepard & Pence, 1999; United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women [UN Women], 2012; Vlasis, Ridley, Green, & Chung, 2017). The evaluation project enabled me to work in partnership with various stakeholders in the local community, opening spaces for me to hear stories of both men and women's experiences of domestic violence and the community of response working together on the path towards non-violence.

Despite a commitment to challenging issues of institutional power and control over voice, the dominance of neoliberal structures of engagement and understanding began to manifest very early on in the evaluation process. The evaluation project was funded by the New Zealand Lottery Grants Board, a funding distributor with a central focus on the demonstration of organisational outcomes that benefit local communities. Producing evidence of effectiveness outcomes was therefore central to the research at its outset, not only to meet the requirements of funding authorities, but also to position the project within the existing body of stopping violence programme evaluations. Organisationally invested discussions of contractual obligation, funding and allocation of resources, and the ways in which institutions and organisations were to benefit from the publication of the evaluation research dominated early collaborative negotiations between the University and community stakeholders. Establishing abstracted priorities and goals that worked to benefit professional stakeholders in cost-effective and profitable ways was an uneasy process for me, positioning me within the neoliberal knowledge economy and market that I was seeking to resist and disrupt through practices of ethical activism. I was committed to working with men and women living with the effects of domestic violence daily, as were the community stakeholders invested in the evaluation project, but felt I had become dislocated from the grass-roots community through processes of institutional negotiation within a capitalist knowledge economy. The interests of the community of professional stakeholders dominated and guided early planning processes, locating the research within a space where institutional and organisational relationships and investments were privileged. Those of us involved in negotiations, as the 'faces' of contributing professional stakeholders, were committed to values of inclusion, voice, accountability and compassion, but were also united in our

subordination to the neoliberal and institutional regimes of the contemporary knowledge economy. Within the competitive, capitalist knowledge economy and market, money and power become principle aspirations for research, where evaluation can enable access to resources and professional security in order to sustain the ‘business’ of providing community services. I questioned how the institutional positioning of this research could accommodate for, and privilege, the voices and concerns of those caught within the institutional gaze of domestic violence research and response, including those responders who are working to engage institutional resources to make a difference in their communities. What are the consequences of developing research projects that are managed through fiscal contracts and assumptions of institutional benefit? To whom are we, as stakeholders and researchers, accountable, and why might this matter?

During the conceptualisation stage, the community of professional stakeholders emphasised the need for a statistical analysis of recidivism rates pre- and post-programme completion to demonstrate effectiveness of the men’s stopping violence programme. They understood that measuring effectiveness through recidivism data was the ‘gold standard’ of evaluation research, legitimating programme effectiveness within a scientific narrative and enhancing the likelihood of future government funding and support. The stories told by men who had participated in the programme, their (ex)partners and even those working in frontline response were positioned as inferior to the superiority and status of statistical reduction and calculation. In this sense, institutional and governmental regimes of knowledge and power subjugate voices of experience, commodifying narratives of violence into measureable evidence for marketable products in the neoliberal knowledge economy (Coombes et al., 2016). Knowledge generation through objective measurement is legitimated as the authoritative voice on human experience, where ‘experts’ of measurement are invested with the power to speak *about* or *on behalf of* the community through scientific rigour.

Whilst statistical measurement can produce a snapshot of the relationship between programme attendance and post-programme recidivism rates, it struggles to accommodate the complexity of the multiple networks of relationships between variables of violence (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; King & Roberston, 2017). The snapshot measurement of domestic violence relies on official records of reported offences, and as such is informed by a distinct sub-section of community experiences, vulnerable to issues of under-reporting, trends in policing practices, and the privileging

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

of discrete acts of physical violence over patterns of ongoing psychological and emotional abuse (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012, 2013; Paulin & Edgar, 2013; Stringer, 2010; Towns & Adams, 2016). Positioned as complicit in the privileging of quantitative data and analysis through my location on the research team, I problematised my participation in the process of evaluation. I questioned how the evaluation research appropriated men and women's experiences of violence, marketing reductionist indicators of effectiveness to meet the political and institutional demands of the knowledge economy and market. How did my location at the engine of institutional knowledge generation implicate me as complicit in the silencing and exclusion of those caught by, subjected to, and defined within the institutional gaze? How was I participating in transforming community members' experiences into objects that produced, maintained and sustained regulatory institutional practices of power and surveillance? How could I develop ethical and collaborative working relationships with communities in ways that resisted and challenged the institutional appropriation and commodification of lived experience?

Listening to the Voices of Experience

To address concerns over the limitations and controversies of statistical measurement and analysis, a qualitative component was included in the evaluation project to open spaces for men and women in the local community to tell their stories of violence and non-violence (see Appendix A for the final evaluation report). Within the context of an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis project (Smith & Eatough, 2012), I conducted semi-structured interviews with 17 men who had completed the stopping violence programme and 20 women whose (ex)partners had completed the programme, listening to stories of what worked, what did not work and how the men and women understood services could be improved in the future⁴. The interpretative component of the evaluation project aimed to resist practices of institutional gatekeeping and control over knowledge, supporting community members' authority over their understandings and experiences of violence. Aware of the significance of hearing the voices of experience in a field of research dominated by statistical measurement, I also negotiated with stakeholders and participants to include the evaluation project within the scope of

⁴ See Appendices B and C for the men and women's Information Sheets, Appendix D for the Participant Consent form, Appendices E and F for the men and women's Interview Schedules, and Appendix G for the Transcript Release Form.

my doctoral research. Obtaining consent to use my experiences as a researcher, as well as men and women's accounts of (non)violence produced in the context of evaluative research, opened up opportunities to extend and exceed an analysis beyond the contractual and institutional obligations of the initial evaluation study within my own 'doctoral story' yet to come⁵.

During the interviews, I listened to men and women's stories of domestic violence and how they imagined a future free from fear and abuse. Narratives of violence and non-violence were often inconsistent, contradictory and ambiguous, embedded within multiple networks of sociocultural conditions and contexts, difficult to produce as a coherent, consistent trajectory of experience. I heard stories I did not expect to hear, but that were important to the participants' understandings of their experiences of domestic violence. For example, men's stories of hunting, fishing and farming worked as context for an articulation of how expectations of masculinity and gendered power relations constrain and demand, providing the conditions of possibility for violence against women and children. Women's tales of going out for a drink, the desire to travel overseas and the difficulty of getting a mortgage were manifestations of cumulative patterns of masculine coercive control. I heard stories about rugby, computer games, breast enlargement, war, robots, drink driving, and pet care: 'ordinary' conversations that also spoke of how domestic violence is woven through the fabric of our everyday lives. These stories were difficult to include and analyse within the parameters and boundaries of evaluation research as they did not speak directly to the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services. Producing an account of programme effectiveness required narratives of programme engagement and post-programme (non)violence, and the richly detailed and complexly embedded stories of embodied everyday living were relegated to the editing room floor.

I recognised the exclusion of these stories in the analysis and final evaluation report as acts of ethical violence. The focused, thematic analysis severed and dismembered men and women's stories, and their disarticulation was justified by ethical commitments to collaboration with community-based stakeholders responding to domestic violence. I was obligated to dissect and translate narratives produced within a relationship of trust

⁵ The current research draws on the interview transcripts produced for the interpretative component of the original evaluative report in the current study, but assigns new pseudonyms to the men and women's texts to signify the different context and questions relating to the present reflexive reading and analysis.

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

into objects of/for institutional power, authority and control, raising considerable ethical tensions for me as a feminist, critical community psychologist and researcher. I began to imagine how I could open a space for the men and women's stories excluded from the evaluation report to be included. How could I resist the ethical and structural violence involved in academic reductionism that produces and reproduces institutional authority over the analysis, interpretation and presentation of research? How could I engage with these stories in ways that examined the underlying assumptions of gendered social power relations and the sociocultural conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge in our communities?

Interviewing Men: Manifesting Gendered Power Relations at Sites of Address

As a woman researcher, I also had a story to tell about the embodied and embedded experience of gendered power relations that produce conditions of fear and control: a story that exceeded the parameters and demands of the evaluation project. During the interview process, I experienced the discomfort of interviewing men who were intoxicated and/or who explicitly narrated their hostility and disrespect towards women. Some men took up so much physical space our bodies were touching despite my efforts to avoid contact, and others were sexually suggestive towards me: experiences that can be quite common for women interviewing men (Flood, 2013). At these sites of masculine domination, intimidation and manipulation, I regulated and silenced my discomfort, fear and disapproval in order to establish ethical research relationships that encouraged trust and rapport. I recognised the men's disrespect of my personal and professional boundaries as manifestations of masculine entitlement and privilege: sociocultural gendered power relations that provide the conditions for men to intimidate and manipulate women without fear of social disapproval and/or sanction.

My last interview with the men was the most frightening and distressing encounter of them all, and also the most mobilising in terms of reflexive engagement with the complexity and problematics of gendered power relations and domestic violence. The final participant established control over the interview process right from the very beginning, suggesting dates, times and venues for the interview that I could not agree to due to concerns for professional conduct and safety. For example, he was insistent that we meet in the evening at his private residence: a time and place that was potentially

unsafe for me as a woman researcher on her own. After a week of negotiations, we met for the interview. Despite being aware of the conditions of the research process prior to meeting, the participant refused to allow me to digitally record the interview and therefore any stories he told me were unable to be used in the final evaluation report. His control and domination over the interview process made me hesitant to continue, but I recognised I was unable to abandon the interview. Institutionally and ethically, I was obligated to include all volunteers who met the criteria for research. Discomfort is not a specific, legitimate or ethical ground for exclusion, especially when the boundary between discomfort and safety is ambiguous and arguably subjective. Furthermore, I was concerned that refusing to listen would be an act of institutional power and privilege working to silence stories that I could not commodify for the benefit of research.

I was also greatly concerned that the man was using his participation in the research to control, manipulate and humiliate his partner. He brought her with him to the interview, despite being discouraged from doing so in prior conversations, explaining that he brought her with him so she could hear what he had to say. He established his dominance over his partner by preventing her from answering questions, speaking on her behalf and instructing her to sit at a different table from us on her own, but positioned in such a way that she was able to hear what was being said during the interview. Through his actions, he positioned both his partner and myself as subordinate to his dominant masculinity. Despite my unwillingness to tolerate such positioning, I felt vulnerable and unable to contest his actions due to fears for his partner's and my own safety. My performance as a woman researcher at the site of the interview shifted to managing safety. Within gendered power relations of domination and subordination, to abandon the interview would be an act of resistance against his asserted authority and control and could provoke violence. I decided to proceed with the interview in order to negotiate an ethical leaving that respected his offer of participation and decreased any threats to his partner's⁶ or my immediate safety, despite recognising that continuing would position me as colluding with the abuse of his partner.

During the interview, the participant produced an account of himself as a moral non-violent subject. He narrated his violence as a justifiable response to provocation, and his

⁶ After the interview, I spoke with local police in order to ensure all possible precautions and procedures were followed to protect the safety and well-being of the participant's partner.

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

subsequent programme attendance was produced as evidence of his moral superiority. He spoke of himself as a “very passive man”⁷ who had been provoked to violence by his partner’s infidelity, physically assaulting her so severely that she was hospitalised for several days. He told me he attended the stopping violence programme in order to “get back his beautiful family and beautiful partner”, thus positioning himself as a moral masculine subject invested with the skills, capability and power to reunite the family again after conflict. As both his partner and I listened to the man narrate and justify his abuse through victim blaming discourse, I regulated my responses to appear open, warm and accepting in order to avoid antagonising or angering him. I felt ashamed of my performance and questioned what his partner might think of my lack of resistance: whether my non-response and warmth was misinterpreted as tolerating and/or justifying his violence towards her. I wondered how we as researchers can listen to stories we find morally challenging without either shutting down conversations through resistance, or tolerating violence through silence. How do the ways men tell their stories justify masculine privilege and violence? How do sites of giving an account become sites of embodied ethical and gendered violence: spaces where social negotiation and participation produce and sustain masculine domination over women? How do particular narratives work to deny or minimise violence, victim blame and defend against judgement, producing the masculine subject as a moral figure rationally responding to provocation? How are women and children, the victims of violence, produced as subordinate and inferior, utilised as objects for men’s narratives of morality and masculinity? How could I understand my own accountability and responsibility to the victims of violence at the site of the interview?

Accounting for Myself

Through the process of interviewing men and women affected by domestic violence in the local community, not only had I listened to the voices of gendered violence, but I also became a participant within gendered power relations of domination and subordination: an embodied feminine subject under masculine coercive control. The ambiguity between discomfort and safety manifests the insidious and manipulative ways in which masculine authority operates at the site of social exchange to justify and

⁷As I was unable to digitally record the interview, the direct quotes produced in relation to my final interview are drawn from the transcript of a debriefing session held with my supervisors the day after the interview was conducted.

condone men's violence against women and children. I was subject to the violence of hegemonic masculinity and had colluded with that violence in an attempt to manage safety and protection. Listening to men's stories of violence had produced embodied gender relations that not only provided the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge, but were an act of violence in and of themselves. My participation and collusion in the production of masculine domination at sites of social exchange mobilised a critical analysis of how those working in the field of domestic violence research and response contribute to and/or resist narratives of gendered violence. If listening to men's stories positions the listener as a participant in violence against women and children, and also reproduces the conditions that enable violence to occur, what are the consequences of the demand for men to give an account of themselves as part of domestic violence service delivery? How do those who demand and respond to accounts of (non)violence participate in processes of violence themselves? How do institutional and sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality enable and constrain the ways in which we can tell stories of violence, and what are the material effects and ethical consequences of the accounts of (non)violence that are produced?

Opening and protecting spaces where the voices of experience can tell their stories is an act of ethical activism, where the structural and ethical violence of the neoliberal knowledge economy and market can be contested and disrupted. Listening to men and women's stories challenges institutional relationships of power that work through processes of exclusion and inclusion, and yet practices of 'speaking' and 'listening' are still, and always, embedded embodiments of sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality: conditions of understanding that are difficult, if not impossible, to escape. I am hopeful that my critical analysis of regulatory regimes of 'knowing' and 'being' woven throughout my narrative of engagement with men's and women's accounts of (non)violence can help identify and mobilise multiple points of resistance and disruption within ethical processes of accountability for domestic violence. Through telling my reflexive story of a critical, feminist turn towards the conditions of gendered violence, I join in the effort to expand and exceed possibilities for more effective responses to domestic violence, challenging masculine violence and supporting the safety and well-being for women and children in the contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand context.

The Emergence of the Academic Subject

This is my story: a contested site of embodiment and appropriation. It cannot be ‘my story’ if it is a response to men and women’s narratives of experience, but it also became my story through my embodied performance at sites of gendered power relations and processes of articulation as representation. Arguably, all academic research is the authors’ story, despite claims made to values of objectivity and neutrality. Research is a narrative that is structured and manipulated by the researcher to persuade and communicate, and is also a performance of mastery that produces the academic subject. Much like Butler’s (1997) discussion of the paradox of power, where agentic power is a product, reiteration and a disruption of formative power, my story is embedded within, reproductive of, and resistant to, the sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity, and morality that enable gendered violence to occur. It is a reflexive exercise: listening to, theorising and participating in processes of knowledge generation that both contribute to and challenge the conditions of a neoliberal knowledge economy and market. My story is a manifestation of the complex, multiple intersections of power embedded in sociocultural and political contexts that provide the conditions for, and responses to, the wicked problem of domestic violence.

Chapter 2: A Critical Analysis of Power in the Field of Domestic Violence Research and Response

In the early 2010s, growing disillusionment with contemporary governmental responses to domestic violence mobilised a critical movement within Aotearoa New Zealand demanding the Government be held to account for their failure to address the continuing problem of violence against women and children. Sir Owen Glenn, founder of The Glenn Inquiry - an independent inquiry committed to listening to community members and frontline workers' stories of domestic violence - understood current governmental responses to our alarming rates of domestic violence as a "national embarrassment" (The Glenn Family Foundation, 2012, para. 3). He believed the neoliberal knowledge economy had produced a competitive environment where the establishment of short-term and economically efficient funding contracts had taken priority over developing meaningful responses privileging women and children's safety and well-being (The Glenn Family Foundation, 2012; The Glenn Inquiry, 2013). The Glenn Inquiry sought to mobilise and unify communities across Aotearoa New Zealand to find pathways for transformation and change, committing to listen to the stories of those most affected by domestic violence in order to learn *from them* how the current system is succeeding and/or failing, and how we can move forward as a nation towards non-violence.

In 2014, The Glenn Inquiry published The People's Report (Wilson & Webber, 2014), bringing together stories from over 500 men and women affected by domestic violence and frontline workers in the field of service provision. The report was significant in its scale: never before had an investigation into domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand woven together so many voices to hear the embodied and embedded experiences of domestic violence service and response as lived by those most affected. The Glenn Inquiry also published The Former Family Violence Perpetrators' Narratives of Change Report (Roguski & Gregory, 2014) in the same year, emerging as a response to an identified exclusion of perpetrators' voices from the field of domestic violence research and intervention. Roguski and Gregory (2014) understood the lack of perpetrator narratives within domestic violence research to be the result of institutional distrust in perpetrators' accounts of themselves as transformed subjects of non-violence. They argued the exclusion of perpetrators' voices had constrained understandings of how men understand their own violence and how services can best enable processes of

change. The Former Family Violence Perpetrators' Narratives of Change Report listened to men's⁸ stories of stopping violence programme engagement, discussing practices that motivated change, barriers to change, and conditions that can sustain non-violence in everyday practice beyond the programme environment. Both Wilson and Webber (2014) and Roguski and Gregory (2014) concluded current responses to domestic violence were inadequate and 'broken', producing further harm and victimisation for those caught within the institutional gaze of the system, where spaces of hope and transformation were limited.

Despite the majority of stories told to The Glenn Inquiry narrating men's violence against women and children, The People's Report (Wilson & Webber, 2014) avoided an explicit examination of how gendered power relations enable domestic violence to emerge as a masculine practice of domination and control (Elizabeth, 2015b). In response to the exclusion of an examination of gender, Ruth Herbert, former Executive Director of The Glenn Inquiry, and Deborah Mackenzie formed The Backbone Collective (formerly The Impact Collective) to address the relationship between gender and domestic violence, releasing The Way Forward Report (Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014). The Way Forward Report drew on the stories told to The Glenn Inquiry to produce a critical examination of gender power relations in the context of the multiple systems and sectors responsive to domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand. Herbert and Mackenzie (2014) examined how current governmental and NGO services respond, or fail to respond, to domestic violence as a wicked problem produced within intersections of gender, ethnicity and class. Wicked problems shift and change within continually transforming socio-temporal landscapes, conditioned by and through intersecting power relations of domination and oppression, and as such cannot be 'solved' through reductionist and siloed responses and fragmented service provision (Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Muir & Parker, 2014). Herbert and MacKenzie (2014) argued the fragmented neoliberal knowledge economy and domestic violence service market ignores and/or obscures processes of power and inequality, reducing power relations to identity categories of difference for targeted intervention. To resist the

⁸ Roguski and Gregory (2014) interviewed 25 men and one woman for their report. Whilst the inclusion of one woman interviewee problematises the claim that the report listened to *men's* stories of domestic violence intervention, it would be misleading to suggest the stories told were gender-neutral, or represented women's experiences of domestic violence perpetration. All but one interviewees were men, and therefore it can be argued the narratives emerging from this report are a manifestation of masculine experiences of domestic violence service response.

erasure of social power relations in the field of domestic violence response, The Way Forward Report advocated for an integrated systems model of service delivery that could account for and address multiple intersections of domination and oppression and their material effects.

Holding Aotearoa New Zealand Government to Account

The Glenn Inquiry and The Backbone Collective's call to hold the Aotearoa New Zealand Government to account for their ability, and failure, to protect women and children from men's violence is contextualised and embedded within globalised processes of accountability. The United Nations (UN) understand domestic violence as a human rights violation that denies women and children the right to liberty, safety and well-being. They call for urgent globalised commitment from all member nations to eliminate the gendered power relations of domination and subordination that produce the conditions of possibility for men's violence against women and children (UN Women, 2012; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2017). The United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women urges nations within the UN to submit reports communicating the various socio-political actions governments have taken to eliminate gender inequality and protect women from discrimination, alongside prevalence statistics that provide evidence of the effectiveness of domestic violence legislation and service provision. In their concluding observations of Aotearoa New Zealand's most recent submission, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against women ([CEDAW], 2018a) expressed disappointment that New Zealand has continued to demonstrate an "alarmingly high level" (p. 7) of gendered violence against women. They noted high rates of domestic violence were concurrent with high levels of recidivism and low levels of help-seeking and reporting, particularly for our most vulnerable communities, suggesting our failure to address violence against women and children is a manifestation of a pervasive socio-political and systemic problem requiring governmental redress.

Indeed, despite claims that Aotearoa New Zealand's Government is committed to developing and implementing progressive legislative strategies of response, the prevalence research suggests we continue to suffer under the burden of high rates of domestic violence, family violence homicide and child maltreatment and neglect (Campbell & Jones, 2016; Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013). One

third of New Zealand women report experiencing physical and/or sexual abuse at the hands of their intimate partner in their lifetime, with this number increasing to over half when psychological and emotional violence is included (Fanslow & Robinson, 2011). The number of police investigations into domestic violence incidents has steadily increased every year since 2013⁹, with frontline police officers' devoting an estimated 41% of their time responding to domestic violence incidents (It's Not OK, n.d.). In 2016, police investigated 118,910 reports of domestic violence (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2017): an average of 325 incidents every day, or one response every five minutes (It's Not OK, n.d.). Between 2015 and 2016, the women's refuge received 73,000 crisis calls, extended advocacy to 11,062 women, with 2,446 women and children utilising their safe houses. Oranga Tamariki – Ministry for Children received 142,249 Care and Protection notifications for children affected by domestic violence between 2015 and 2016. Of those, 44,689 required further action and 16,394 were substantiated findings of abuse or neglect (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2016). Between 2009 and 2015, the Family Violence Death Review Committee (2017) examined 194 family violence related deaths: 92 deaths were intimate partners, 56 children died due to neglect and/or abuse (45 of which were under five years of age), and 45 were intrafamilial deaths. It is clear from these statistical measurements of domestic violence that current systems of response are not working to reduce and/or eliminate violence against women and children in Aotearoa New Zealand.

In order to understand the breadth, scope and complexity of domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand, The CEDAW (2018a) concluded that a more comprehensive and coordinated database was needed to accurately assess current levels and characteristics of violence against women across communities, as well as demonstrate accountability through established and measureable indicators of success. They argued more advanced systems for gathering information concerning demographics (for both victims and perpetrators of violence), the types of violence committed, and subsequent legal and state responses and support could help the Government better identify,

⁹ Assumptions of prevalence based on official police records must be approached with caution. Not only are the majority of domestic violence incidents not reported to police, police records and statistics are also subject to levels of community tolerance and acceptance of domestic violence and changes to police practices (Families Commission, 2009; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012, 2013; New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2012). Whilst police records can indicate to us how many domestic violence incidents have initiated formal intervention, they should not be taken as accurate measurements of domestic violence rates in the community.

understand and eliminate gender inequality and violence. Whilst the aggregation of statistically measurable data is useful for gaining an understanding of prevalence and response in a given socio-temporal context, it cannot narrate the gendered social power relations embedded within multiple oppressions that produce the conditions of possibility for violence against women and children. Every incident that contributes to Aotearoa New Zealand's collated prevalence statistics is an abstracted representation of somebody's story of fear and trauma. Statistical representation reduces women and children's stories of domestic violence to measurable outcomes and indicators, excluding the complex, embedded and embodied narratives of human experience, erasing meaning through the act of cumulative measurement. In order to critically engage with how and why violence against women and children continues to occur in our communities, The World Health Organization (2004) argues data collection and categorisation should be considered a first step *among many* to extend and exceed initiatives to reduce domestic violence.

Prevalence data manifests neither the scale nor the meaning of the experiences of women and children who are unwilling or unable to seek formal help and support. Most women in Aotearoa New Zealand do not formally report their experiences of victimisation (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012, 2013; Ministry of Justice, 2014; Towns, 2009; Towns & Adams, 2016), with Stringer (2010) estimating that as few as 15% of domestic violence related incidents are brought to police attention. The reasons why some women are unwilling and/or unable to report their experiences emerge from intersections of multiple relations of power, where to seek formalised institutional support can be difficult, traumatic and even dangerous. Assumptions and practices of masculine authority and control subordinate women and children within relationships of dependency and fear, producing conditions of precarity and gender inequality that intersect as barriers to the availability and accessibility of formal support (Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014). For example, women who do not have access to the social and financial resources needed to facilitate a safe exit from the relationship for themselves and their children may find themselves either 'trapped' within an abusive environment or at increased risk of retributive and retaliatory violence after seeking official intervention (Robertson et al., 2007; Towns, 2009; Towns & Adams, 2009, 2016; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Multiple oppressions produced from the intersecting power relations of gender, ethnicity and class can discourage victims from

seeking state protection and intervention for fear of institutional racism and structural violence (Burman & Chantler, 2005; Burman, Smailes, & Chantler, 2004; Cram, Pihama, Jenkins, & Karehana, 2002; Elizabeth, 2015a; Robertson et al., 2007; Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Towns, 2009; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Social and systemic assumptions that conflate domestic violence with battering prioritise physical violence and exclude a recognition of psychological and emotional abuse as domestic violence, discouraging women from seeking help for non-physical violence when they feel their experiences will be disregarded or ignored (Elizabeth, 2015a; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Wilson, Smith, Tolmie, & de Haan, 2015; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Identity categories of difference can produce stigmatising and discriminatory images and assumptions associated with victimisation, preventing women from seeking help due to shame and embarrassment (Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Wilson & Webber, 2014).

When multiple intersections of power, domination and oppression produce barriers to seeking and accessing intervention, women often live with violence for many years in unsafe and harmful environments until the violence escalates to a level where urgent action is required to ensure their own or their children's safety (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007). When help seeking is limited and constrained, the majority of women and children experiencing domestic violence fall beyond the institutional and governmental gaze of intervention, unable to benefit from the state protection and support provided through domestic violence legislation and policy. Their experiences are not included within prevalence statistics and their stories are excluded from socio-political awareness, constraining the ability of those working within the field of domestic violence research and response to understand the lived experience of the majority of domestic violence occurring within Aotearoa New Zealand. The silence of under-reporting produced through multiple and intersecting gendered social power relations works to ignore and obscure the insidious, patterned, and largely undocumented trauma of men's violence against women and children from our social consciousness and agenda.

Aotearoa New Zealand's Domestic Violence Act (1995) made several legislative additions responsive to growing concerns regarding the state's inability to respond to the complex and insidious character of domestic violence. The 1995 Act extended definitions of domestic violence to include psychological and sexual violence, opening

up possibilities for the juridical system to respond to masculine practices of coercive control and intimidation previously excluded through legislative articulation. The introduction of Protection Orders enabled the justice system to account for ongoing patterns and practices of threat and intimidation. State protection was increased to include a wider range of relationships between abuser and victims such as wider whānau members, de facto relationships and those in the LGBT community (Ministry of Justice, 2007). The Domestic Violence Amendment Act (2009) introduced Police Safety Orders, increasing police officers' abilities to respond immediately to protect victims of domestic violence when unable to initiate formal arrest procedures, acknowledging processes of masculine coercive control and the fear of retaliation that can discourage women from pressing charges (Mossman, Kingi, & Wehipeihana, 2014). More recently, domestic violence legislation in Aotearoa New Zealand has recognised issues of precarity and dependence that materialise at the intersections of gender and class. The Domestic Violence Amendment Act (2013) included financial abuse within definitions of domestic violence, and the Domestic Violence – Victims' Protection Act (2018) extended protection for victims to employment settings, enabling women to take paid leave and negotiate flexible work conditions in relation to issues arising from their victimisation (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2018b)¹⁰.

¹⁰ As this writing was in its final stages, the New Zealand Government introduced The Family Violence Act (2018) and The Family Violence (Amendments) Act (2018), marking an increasingly institutionalised turn to domestic violence response in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Family Violence Act (2018) replaces the Domestic Violence Act (1995) and comes into force on 1 July 2019. This new Act introduces dowry abuse within definitions of family violence (acknowledging globalisation and immigration) and extends definitions of family relationships to include the relationship between carers and recipients of care. Changes to Protection Orders mark a shift from only victims being able to apply for Protection Orders to enabling NGOs to apply when victims are unable. The criteria considered when deciding whether to discharge a Protection Order will be increased, and children not living with victims will be included within Protection Orders. Police Safety Orders will be increased in duration from five to 10 days to give victims and services more time to manage safety. The Family Violence Act (2018) also increases the range of services available to offenders and improves information sharing between various service providers and agencies to develop more integrative and collaborative responses. The Family Violence (Amendments) Act (2018) also comes into force on 1 July 2019, however some amendments came into force on the earlier date of 3 December 2018. This Act places victims and children at the centre of state response. Courts are required to consider the needs of victims and children *first* when making bail decisions, breaches of Protection Orders must be taken into account during sentencing and when assessing children's safety, and the powers of Protections Orders have been increased. Judges must impose additional safety processes for family violence cases and a 'family violence flag' has been introduced to alert responders of the specific risks and considerations relating to domestic violence. The Family Violence (Amendments) Act (2018) also introduces strangulation and suffocation, assault on a family member, and forced marriage and/or civil union as specific criminal offences (Ministry of Justice, n.d.; New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2018a).

A Critical Analysis of Power in the Field of Domestic Violence Research and Response

Beyond legislative changes, there have also been state initiated movements to develop interdisciplinary strategies of response to coordinate efforts and improve the delivery and efficacy of domestic violence services in Aotearoa New Zealand, recognising that the reduction and/or elimination of violence against women and children requires collaborative partnerships within and between stakeholders and communities. In 2001, the New Zealand Government launched *The Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy*, an official government framework for bringing state and NGO responses together under a united vision, developing a coordinated plan for how the various sectors and services involved in domestic violence response can work together as a nation towards non-violence (Ministry of Social Development, 2002). The Taskforce for Action on Violence within Families was established in 2005 to reinvigorate *Te Rito's* plan of action, continuing to mobilise energy and commitment for change (Ministry of Social Development, 2007; New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, 2006). The Taskforce was responsible for community-based initiatives, such as the *It's Not OK* media campaign, challenging social norms that tolerate and justify violence against women and children, encouraging both victims of violence and their friends, *whānau*, colleagues and neighbours to take ownership and action towards intervention and support (Ministry of Social Development, 2007; Woodley & Metzger, 2011).

Given Aotearoa New Zealand's commitment to the continual development of responsive legislation and interdisciplinary strategies to produce more effective domestic violence service and response, why are we still struggling under the weight of alarmingly high rates of domestic violence and recidivism, and low rates of help seeking and reporting? Perhaps the problem lies, at least in part, in how the expansion of government legislation and policy works to increase and extend categories of offending and victimisation without an increased and explicit acknowledgement of the intersecting power relations that produce multiple processes of oppression for women and children. Extending definitions of domestic violence to include psychological and financial abuse produces more identity categories of victimisation and offending for state intervention (or non-intervention if assumptions of recognition are not met), but do not attend to the gendered social power relations that tolerate and/or encourage masculine practices of domination and control. Protection Orders produce categories of risk and harm for juridical regulation without attending to the patterns of coercive

control emergent from assumptions of masculine authority and feminine subordination. Extending legislated protection to communities marked by ‘difference’, such as those living in poverty and the LGBT community, reproduces identity categories of difference without a consideration of the materiality of that difference, and the underlying social power relations that produce and hold in place processes of marginalisation and subjugation. State and institutional responses that rely on the proliferation of identity categories of difference both obscure and reproduce the multiple relations of power at the intersections of gender, ethnicity and class, limiting the ability of legislative initiatives to enact meaningful and holistic systemic change towards non-violence in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The Appropriation of Intersectionality: Producing Identity Categories of Difference and Dis-ease

Institutional and legislative processes of domestic violence research and response that lack a meaningful theoretical engagement with the underlying materiality of gendered social power relations struggle to account for, and accommodate, the conditions that enable domestic violence to emerge as a socio-politically embedded masculine practice (Ali, 2007; Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Myhill & Hohl, 2016). Salem (2016) argues that even within feminist theory, there has occurred an erasure of critical examinations of power that renders invisible the materiality of multiple oppressions, and this is a manifestation of the movement of intersectional theory from its origins within critical activism into Eurocentric, capitalist and neoliberal settings. Using Said’s travelling theory, Salem narrates how intersectionality emerged from Black feminism and Third World feminism as a critical examination of, and challenge to, the multiple intersections and material conditions of inequality and domination produced through Eurocentric processes of oppression and subjugation¹¹. As intersectional theory travelled to the Global north, it was appropriated

¹¹ Whilst the story of intersectionality ‘beginning’ within Black and Third World feminism can be unravelled through Butler’s (2001, 2005) problematisation of narrative sequence, where the violence of an account demands we subordinate our complexity to regulatory regimes of intelligibility within the fiction of coherence and temporality, Salem (2016) argues that “claims about beginnings are claims to power” (p. 4). To narrate intersectional theory’s origins at the margins of Eurocentric systems of domination and oppression speaks back to the neoliberal Westernisation of intersectionality that has erased intersectional theory’s radical resistance to power, re-invigorating the critique of power relations produced through racism, classism and Eurocentrism that mobilised intersectionality’s critical roots.

by the very processes of power it emerged in resistance to, transforming intersectionality into an institutional technology that divides communities into identity categories of difference. Within Western neoliberal contexts, intersectionality has become re-conceptualised as ‘diversity’, where the focus on the ‘inclusion’ of identity categories of difference erases a critical examination of how multiple processes of power, such as gender inequality, racism, classism, ableism and heteronormativity, materially interact and are given meaning through embedded and embodied experience (Fine, 2011; Salem, 2016).

Capitalism requires identities of difference to enable the exploitation of identity categories for power, gain and profit (Salem, 2016). Concepts of ‘diversity’ and ‘inclusion’ are productive and profitable within the neoliberal knowledge economy as mechanisms for domination and subordination through increased social and political control over those situated at the margins of Western, middle-class masculine norms (Coombes et al., 2016; Salem, 2016). Prevalence and disparity statistics produce identity categories that are more likely to ‘possess’ the conditions of possibility that enable violence against women and children to occur, and these are usually communities that live daily with the effects of marginalisation, subjugation and precarity. For example, Herbert and MacKenzie (2014), Wilson and Webber (2014), and Roguski and Gregory (2014) narrate identity categories such as Māori¹², Pasifika, poor, mentally ill and addict as recognisable community markers of difference and violence. Identity categories of difference mobilise practices of bio-power and pastoral power to increase and maintain social control and order. Those belonging to categories of difference are intensively monitored, managed, and, if needed, contained and punished (Bumiller, 2010; Foucault, 1988, 1990; Rabinow, 1991; Rose, 1998), exacerbating social power relations of domination and oppression within a cycle of institutional violence and governmentality. In the field of domestic violence service

¹² This thesis uses the term Māori as a cultural identity category for the indigenous peoples of Aotearoa New Zealand. However, prior to contact with European travellers and settlers, the word ‘Māori’ was used to refer to ‘normal’ or ‘ordinary’ objects, eventually becoming a cultural identity category for the tangata whenua of Aotearoa New Zealand (the indigenous people of the land). The term Pākehā is used in this thesis to indicate New Zealanders of European descent, and the origin of the word Pākehā is less clear, but is thought to possibly originate from the Māori word pakepakeha meaning light-skinned supernatural beings. Over time, Pākehā became an identity category for those who were ‘foreign’, ‘strange’, English and European (O'Malley, 2013). This history is important, as the terms Māori and Pākehā emerged from processes of colonisation to describe the relationship between the indigenous peoples and colonising settlers, and therefore leaving them unquestioned as cultural identity categories excludes a consideration of the underlying social power relations and ethical contexts from which those terms emerge.

delivery, an apolitical approach to diversity and inclusion produces fragmented responses targeting identity categories of difference, establishing relationships of dependence and domination that are reproductive of, rather than resistant to, the conditions of possibility that enable the wicked problem of domestic violence to emerge.

Identity categories of difference, embedded within neoliberal imaginations of the acontextual, responsible individual, produce identifiable subject categories of ‘social dis-ease’: identities of deficit, deviance, and risk that threaten the safety of the ‘non-violent and vulnerable norm’ (Arrigo, 2013). Arrigo (2013), in his *Society-of-Captives Thesis*, argues neoliberal and institutional machinations of normalisation produce and reproduce difference as an institutional commodity, holding contemporary society captive within ‘hypervigilant fears’ of the danger that subjects of dis-ease pose to social order and safety. The ‘totalising madness’ produced by, and in response to, identity categories of difference and dis-ease reiteratively mobilise the public’s desperate demands for targeted governmental regimes of surveillance, regulation, and discipline to reduce and/or eliminate all elements of ‘danger’. Processes of normalisation produce risk and violence as a deviance in society that can be identified and contained with the right ‘tools’, often drawing on medical discourses of pathology, where particular identity categories are produced as a source of ‘infection’ that must be identified, treated and/or ‘cured’ through professional specialist intervention (O’Neill, 1998). Indeed, systems of monitoring and surveillance that track notifiable diseases and poisonings have been suggested as a potential system to replicate within the field of domestic violence research and response in order to improve our knowledge of domestic violence predictors and to identify subjects of dis-ease and risk (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013).

The men and women who spoke with The Glenn Inquiry (Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Wilson & Webber, 2014) reproduced assumptions of normalisation and pathologisation through the discourse of intergenerational transmission of violence, where narratives produced ‘some families’ as more likely to normalise violence against women and children than others were. The families who normalised violence were distanced from the wider norm of ‘non-violent society’ through narratives of difference, producing recognisable families and communities of difference and dis-ease to be identified and managed. Theories of the intergenerational transmission of violence are productive for those invested in responding to and preventing domestic violence, mobilising targeted

interventions in order to challenge and transform norms that tolerate and justify gender inequality and violence against women and children (Westmarland & Kelly, 2013).

Research examining the relationship between childhood experiences of domestic violence and violence in adulthood has found children who experience domestic violence are at higher risk of accepting, normalising and reproducing relationships of violence and coercive control in adulthood, but this relationship is not simple, stable or even manifest in some studies (e.g., Flood & Pease, 2009; Holt, Buckley, & Whelan, 2008; Øverlien, 2010; Richards, 2011; Smith, Ireland, Park, Elwyn, & Thornberry, 2011). O'Neill (1998) argues intergenerational transmission of violence discourse can produce children as “conditioned, robot like, passive receptors” (p. 475), a conceptualisation that does not account for the complexity of embedded and embodied childhood experiences of domestic violence. The ‘pathology’ of family breaks down in the context of contradictory research findings, opening spaces for a more critical questioning of how and why violence is ‘transmitted’ through families and communities. For example, Flood and Pease (2009) found that boys who had experienced domestic violence in childhood were more likely to condone and commit violence against women and children in later life, but in comparison the findings for girls were inconsistent. They suggest that intergenerational transmission of violence may be better understood as a ‘cultural transmission’ of the norms and gendered power relations that support masculine privilege, authority and dominance, producing the conditions of possibility for men’s violence against women and children in adulthood. Herbert and MacKenzie (2014) argue conceptualising domestic violence as a ‘contagious disease’ or ‘epidemic’ does not account for or accommodate the intersections of power and oppression, and the meaning of cumulative trauma, woven throughout the multiple aspects of everyday experiences of domestic violence embedded in socio-political contexts.

The dominance of neoliberal and capitalist ideology, embedded within a knowledge economy specialising in targeting identity categories of difference, is difficult to escape, however, producing what Arrigo (2013) describes as a “systemic pathology” (p. 674), where a culture of totalising madness reifies and commodifies difference in response to society’s hypervigilant fears. ‘Moral outrage’ can occur if state and social services are understood to be responsible for the failure to protect the public from their hypervigilant fears, producing identity categories of difference as both a threat to society and a threat

to the symbolic power of those working in the field of violence service and response (Rothstein, Huber, & Gaskell, 2006). Rothstein, Huber and Gaskell's (2006) theory of risk colonisation suggests professions that profit off the regulation and management of risk and violence do so under the fear of liability, where the failure to identify and prevent violence from occurring can produce professional condemnation and discipline. Risk colonisation produces social services that are guided by notions of utility and liability rather than the complexity and meaning of everyday experiences of risk and violence, emphasising categorical identification and recognition rather than meaningful and ethical engagement with difference.

In response to (or anticipation of) moral outrage, governments can practice accountability for previous systemic failings and assuage moral panic through the development of policy and legislation that identifies and targets identity categories of difference statistically associated with greater risk of 'severe' and/or 'lethal' violence for individualised management and regulation (Szmukler & Rose, 2013). Notions of 'severity' and 'lethality' have been driving forces for legislative change and strategic development for domestic violence research and response in Aotearoa New Zealand, with high profile homicides and stories of abuse that have 'shocked the nation' mobilising the Government to implement new and/or amended initiatives and systems of response (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2009; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013). For example, domestic violence became a more pressing concern for Aotearoa New Zealand police following two highly publicised domestic violence murders in the early 1980s, prompting legislative change to increase police officers' abilities and power to detain domestic violence offenders (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013). When notions of severity and lethality are a mobilising socio-political force for legislative change and service provision, discrete acts of physical violence that result in either visible injury or death become a priority focus. Gulliver and Fanslow (2012) worry the privileging of discrete acts of 'severe' and 'lethal' violence may lead to assumptions that *only* severe and lethal physical violence is worthy of social, governmental and institutional concern. They argue that the distinction between 'minor' and 'severe' acts of violence is arbitrary and "the difference between a serious and non-serious case may only be the speed at which the victim could run from the perpetrator" (p. 20). The prioritisation of lethality and severity, embedded within systems that produce subjects of difference and dis-ease for individualised intervention, ignores the everyday practices of hegemonic

masculinity and coercive control that often precede an escalation of violence, leaving unexamined the materiality of gendered social power relations and the conditions of possibility that enable 'severe' and/or 'lethal' domestic violence to occur (Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016).

The Wicked Problem of Gendered Violence

To reduce and eliminate the wicked problem of domestic violence, research and response must engage with, and challenge, the gendered social power relations that produce the conditions for violence against women and children as a practice of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Flood, 2011, 2014, 2015; Flood & Pease, 2009; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Heilman & Barker, 2018; Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Messerschmidt, 2000; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Shepard & Pence, 1999; UN Women, 2012; United Nations Human Rights Council, 2017). For example, Heilman and Barker (2018) advocate for an examination of how sociocultural gender norms and social power relations are materially practiced and reproduced through regimes of subjectivity that promote Eurocentric patriarchal privilege and dominance, subordinating those located outside Western, masculine norms. They argue:

Norms are not created and reinforced only at the level of individual men or women. These norms are part and parcel of an inequitable, patriarchal ordering of society in which men hold disproportionate power and advantages over women, and in which some particularly empowered and privileged men hold disproportionate power and advantages over other men (with gender and sexual minorities particularly disadvantaged and disempowered). Uprooting this inequitable structure is essential to achieving the goal of stopping men's violence. (p. 77)

The appropriation of intersectional theory as the production and commodification of identity categories of difference and dis-ease prevents a meaningful analysis of the socio-political contexts in which men's practices of violence are embedded. Aotearoa New Zealand's colonising narratives of masculine settlers' strength, industry, aggression and violence produce and sustain patriarchal assumptions of Western masculinity's privilege, authority, and superiority in the contemporary context (James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1993; Towns & Terry, 2014). Patriarchal

ideology and Western hegemonic masculinity privilege and celebrate the masculine subject, where men hold symbolic and material positions of power in relation to the subordinate and subservient feminine subject, producing the conditions for domination and oppression that tolerate, justify and even encourage men's violence against women and children (Adams, 2012; Anderson & Umberson, 2001; Baker, 2013; e.g., Boonzaier, 2008; Flood, 2011, 2014; Gavey, 1992; Heilman & Barker, 2018; Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Messerschmidt, 2000; Mowat, Coombes, & Busch, 2016; Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Stark, 2007, 2010; United Nations, 2006; UN Women, 2012). An analysis of the underlying conditions that enable domestic violence to emerge would therefore consider the materiality of hegemonic masculinity as a condition for the oppression, subjugation and abuse of women and children within Western patriarchal contexts.

Governmental inadequacy to address and prevent domestic violence may be a product, at least in part, of the inability to attend to, and account for, the wider sociocultural contexts in which service and intervention takes place. The men who spoke with Roguski and Gregory (2014) narrated their difficulties in maintaining changes made within the context of stopping violence programmes upon service disengagement, suggesting pervasive and persevering sociocultural barriers, such as gendered power relations of inequality, prevent sustainable change from occurring. Indeed, CEDAW (2018a) identified the need for the Aotearoa New Zealand Government to address and eliminate patriarchal assumptions, and the roles and responsibilities those assumptions inform, in order to produce greater gender equality and reduce levels of domestic violence in our communities. Hearn and McKie (2008) argue that domestic violence interventions such as stopping violence programmes operate within social systems of gender and power where assumptions of hegemonic masculinity produce violence against women and children as embodied, masculine practices of authority and control. They argue stopping violence programmes may struggle to demonstrate long-term change because of the socially dominant and reiterative gendered social power relations that hold the conditions for domestic violence in place, rather than conclusions of programme ineffectiveness representing a 'failure' of the programmes themselves. For example, the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Program Framework is a socio-political approach to domestic violence response that addresses hierarchical gendered power relations of domination and oppression (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Men's

individual changes towards non-violence made within the programme environment may 'come undone' within Western patriarchal communities where the privileging of masculine ideals of power, authority and aggression produce conditions that do not support, or indeed disrupt, gendered relationships of equality and non-violence in everyday life.

The Criminalisation of Gendered Violence within 'Gender-neutral' Systems

The criminalisation of domestic violence is a manifestation not only of institutional responses to hypervigilant fears of the risk of difference and dis-ease, but also, in an uncomfortable relationship, of movements to transform the socio-political conditions that tolerate and justify men's violence against women and children. Critical feminist movements understood the criminalisation of domestic violence as a significant process through which to symbolically and legislatively condemn domestic violence as a crime against women and children, resisting the tolerance of men's violence as a justified patriarchal practice within the privacy of the home. Over the last forty years, domestic violence has shifted from being a private matter to an issue of public crime, with the criminal justice system positioned as the leading service responder (Houston, 2014; Weissman, 2007, 2013; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016). Processes of criminalisation have, however, had unanticipated consequences that work against gendered understandings of domestic violence (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Elizabeth, 2015a). The appropriation of domestic violence response within the 'neutral' and 'objective' discourse of the justice system has produced assumptions of gender neutrality, where domestic violence is a crime 'just like any other'. The reduction of domestic violence to measurable, acontextual and apolitical incidents of criminal activity excludes a consideration of how women are more likely to be killed and experience severe, ongoing and pervasive harm than men (Family Violence Death Review Committee, 2017; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Heilman & Barker, 2018; Wilson et al., 2015). A 'gender-neutral' system of response cannot account for how women's violence may be a practice of self-defence and protection emergent from an environment of ongoing threat, manipulation and intimidation (Robertson et al., 2007; Towns, 2009; Wilson et al., 2015). Assumptions of gender neutrality exclude a consideration of how domestic violence is *not* a crime just like any other, but instead is

embedded within, and reproductive of, gendered social power relations of masculine domination and feminine subordination that provide the conditions of possibility for violence against women and children (Goodmark, 2009). Aotearoa New Zealand's 'gender-neutral' legislation does not account for the underlying power relations that socially locate men in positions of dominant authority, where legislative language such as 'family violence' and 'family harm' constrains and discourages state recognition of gender inequality and the violation of women's rights to safety and protection from masculine control and violence (CEDAW, 2018a; Morgan & Coombes, 2013).

Without an analysis of power and gender, domestic violence as a 'gender-neutral' crime is subject to the same standards of evidence and disciplinary regimes as any other act or incident that contravenes governmental law and order. The legal system demands accounts of empirical evidence that produce recognisable offenders and victims in order to initiate and justify response, such as visible injury or reliable witnesses to the criminal offence willing to testify in a court of law. For example, despite the inclusion of psychological violence in The Domestic Violence Act (1995), judges remain reluctant to grant Protection Orders on the grounds of psychological violence without the presence of immediate and verifiable physical injury or threat (Boshier, 2006; Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007). Standards of evidence are difficult to fulfil when violence against women and children is psychological and sexual, embedded and embodied within environments of coercive control. Stark (2007) mobilised the notion of coercive control to account for how assumptions and practices of patriarchal hegemonic masculinity permeate intimate relationships and everyday life, where socio-political hierarchies of gender produce inequalities that position women as subordinate to men. The superiority of the masculine subject enables men to produce enduring environments of intimidation, manipulation, isolation and domination in order to bring the 'inferior' feminine subject under masculine control. The harm of coercive control is often less discernible, not necessarily visible or measurable, where witnesses can be absent, manipulated, and/or fearful. When the underlying gendered power dynamics and practices of masculine coercive control that permeate intimate relationships between episodes of discrete physical acts are unable to be accounted for, or accommodated within, justice responses, the daily practices of micro-management in the service of hegemonic masculinity are left unaddressed and unchallenged (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2008, 2010;

Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth, Gavey, & Tolmie, 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Stark, 2007; Stewart, Langan, & Hannem, 2013; Weissman, 2007; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016; Wilson et al., 2015). As Kelly and Westmarland (2016, p. 24) state:

If domestic violence is quintessentially a course of conduct, measuring it as ‘incidents’ of crime fails to capture its heart and reality: what is measured counts, and not counting means the everydayness of violence is again hidden, minimised and trivialised.

Women’s advocates have long fought for social and legislative recognition of coercive control as a practice of domestic violence embedded within gendered social power relations, where physical violence is just one tactic among many in the service of masculine domination and the oppression of women and children (e.g., Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Pence & Paymar, 1993; Stark, 2007; The Backbone Collective, 2017; Velonis, 2016). Physical violence often emerges only when psychological coercive control is no longer effective at maintaining feminine subordination (Elizabeth, 2015a; Robertson et al., 2007), and therefore recognition of coercive control would enable the state to provide responsive and preventative intervention when violence is more insidious and less discernible.

Without means to institutionally account for and address practices of hegemonic masculinity and coercive control, the lack of adequate state response can be understood as a lack of interest in the ongoing victimisation of women and children: both by the victims themselves and by those tasked with implementing state authority. Police officers can consider responding to domestic violence incidents that do not involve measurable evidence of physical violence a ‘waste of time’ due to problematics of proceeding with prosecution (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; Robertson et al., 2007; Stewart et al., 2013). Robertson et al. (2007) found that police often trivialised breaches of Protection Orders involving coercive control as ‘technical breaches’, minimising the threat of harm such patterns of abuse produce for the victim. Women who stay with their violent partners can be understood as weak, lacking the strength, wisdom and/or resources needed to leave their abuser, producing institutional reluctance to provide ongoing support for ‘naïve’ and ‘immobilised’ victims who are seen as unable and/or

unwilling to benefit from domestic violence intervention (Burman & Chantler, 2005; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Fine (2011) argues a form of nihilism occurs, where institutional systems of response are aware of their limitations in the ability to address the social conditions of power that enable domestic violence, and therefore are reluctant to intervene if they are not able to demonstrate ‘successful outcomes’ for women located at positions of marginality and inequality. Victims may tolerate ongoing environments of violence due to a perceived institutional inability or unwillingness to respond to practices of coercive control, despite the severe harm and trauma they experience (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Crossman, Hardesty, & Raffaelli, 2016; Elizabeth, 2015a; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Stark, 2007; Stewart et al., 2013). The CEDAW (2018a), in their latest report, identify this reluctance to respond to the more insidious patterns of gender inequality and violence as a violation of women’s rights that urgently needs to be addressed if we wish to improve the safety and well-being of women and children in Aotearoa New Zealand.

The exclusion of an analysis of gendered social power relations within a ‘gender-neutral’ justice system provides the conditions for secondary victimisation and re-traumatisation within criminal justice and family court settings. Systems that are ‘gender-neutral’ and prioritise standards of evidence conceptualise women as equally capable of violence as men, enabling dual arrest policies and the arrest and prosecution of women who act violently in self-defence. The need to identify the ‘primary aggressor’ can categorise women as the ‘instigator’ of domestic violence incidents without a consideration of the ongoing environments of coercive control that position women in insidious and unsafe positions within gendered relationships of domination and subordination (Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Towns, 2009; Wilson et al., 2015). Women can be prosecuted for unrelated criminal activity uncovered during police investigation, charged with failing to protect their children from violence, subject to child welfare intervention and contested guardianship of their children, and immigrant women can face repercussions in relation to their immigration status (Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Burman & Chantler, 2005; Burman et al., 2004; Fine, 2011; Robertson et al., 2007). Assumptions of equal rights and fathers’ rights enable men to use the system to practice coercive control over women and children long after the relationship has ended. Men can use court processes to maintain

control over ex-partners through custody battles, preventing women's ability to relocate to places where they may have stronger support and resources, and forcing women to attend court-mandated relationship counselling with their abuser (Coombes, Morgan, Blake, & McGray, 2009; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Jeffries, 2016; Morgan, Coombes, & McGray, 2007; Robertson et al., 2007; The Backbone Collective, 2017). Without an analysis of the materiality of multiple intersecting oppressions of gender, ethnicity and class, the justice system is complicit in men's violence, reproducing coercive control and actively contributing to practices of hegemonic masculinity and the continuation of violence against women and children. Weissman (2007) argues that the criminalisation of domestic violence, rather than extending protection and support for victims of violence, has instead resulted in harm "often no less traumatic than the violence suffered at the hands of the abuser" (p. 408).

The criminalisation of domestic violence reduces subjects caught within the legal gaze to markers of criminal offence and victimisation, where standards of evidence produce recognisable subject positions of 'offender' and 'victim' to mobilise and legitimate state action. De-gendered identity categories of offender and victim become sites of intervention and response: dislocated from the gendered social power relations that enable practices of masculine coercive control, and re-located within neoliberal spaces of institutional response. Notions of accountability and responsibility become individualised within a court of law as contractual negotiations between identity categories of difference and the authority of the state, not as an acknowledgment of the enduring and pervasive relationships of gender injustices and harm embedded and embodied in Aotearoa New Zealand's communities. 'Some men', not all men, are violent, and we recognise those men as subjects of violence when their abuse is 'severe' enough to have been formally reported and measureable enough to enable criminal prosecution and intervention (Corvo & Johnson, 2003; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012). Flood (2015) argues the distinction between men and masculinity opens spaces for a critical examination of traditional masculinity in ways that do not discourage men from becoming active and involved within anti-domestic violence movements. However, he also states that claims of "'not all men use violence' can involve a focus only on obvious physical and sexual forms of violence and not also on other forms of coercion or violence-supportive attitudes and relations" (p. 166). When hierarchies of 'good' and 'bad' men are reproduced through markers of difference, the violent practices of 'good

men' can be positioned beyond scrutiny. Within contemporary antifeminist discourse, #notallmen has become a catchphrase drawing on neoliberal imaginations of the responsible subject to resist and discourage a critical examination of Western masculine entitlement, privilege and authority (Nicholas & Agius, 2018; Zimmerman, 2014). When we rely on markers of difference to provide the conditions for recognising violent men, the relationship between masculinity and domestic violence becomes a problem *only* for recognisable identity categories of difference, dis-ease and criminality, and not a manifestation of pervasive gendered social power relations that enable masculine domination and the subordination of femininity.

Assumptions of gender neutrality within neoliberal institutions that produce subjects as acontextual, ahistorical and apolitical are problematised by arguments that contemporary legal institutions and systems are *themselves* a manifestation of Eurocentric hegemonic masculinity, where the interests of men in positions of power are protected and enhanced through law and legislation (Goodmark, 2009; Harne & Radford, 2008; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Hunnicutt, 2009; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Renzetti, 2012; Salem, 2016; Weissman, 2007, 2013). Harne and Radford (2008) argue the legal system is a technology of the ruling class, disguised as fair and neutral, but in practice maintains Eurocentric, masculine and capitalist power and privilege. The 'neutral' application of legislation cannot result in fairness and equality when applied across multiple intersections of gendered social oppression: treating everyone as 'equal' within the justice system does not ensure 'equality'. Aotearoa New Zealand is ranked among the top 10 nations in terms of inequality, where women's embedded and embodied experiences are subject to conditions of precarity, discrimination and marginalisation in ways that Western, middle-to-upper class men are not (Fine, 2011). Located at intersections of multiple oppressions, men and women experience the equal application of legislative law as materially different, and this difference matters. To deny the dominance of Eurocentric classist masculinity is to obscure and ignore the ways in which Western institutions, such as the justice system and social sciences, reproduce social injustice through the proliferation and subordination of expanding identity categories of difference and dis-ease.

Intersections of Gender, Ethnicity and Class

The harm experienced by women affected by domestic violence is not an abstract concept that can be generalised across all contexts and communities, but instead is embedded within multiple intersections of socio-political power relations. To ignore the situatedness of women's experiences of violence is to obscure the materiality of intersecting oppressions for women located beyond the boundaries of Western, middle-class norms (Burman et al., 2004; Elizabeth, 2015a; Salem, 2016; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005), silencing the needs and concerns of those living in communities marked by difference. For example, research on disabled women's experiences of domestic violence situate gender power relations within ableist assumptions and relationships of dependency, where disabled women and girls are at greater risk of victimisation, but with fewer resources and access to services than non-disabled women (Shah, Tsitsou, & Woodin, 2016). Shah et al. (2016) argue disabled women are all but missing within the domestic violence legislation and literature, erasing the embedded and embodied stories of disabled women's experiences. Disability is produced as an identity category for inclusion under assumptions of 'diversity' without a meaningful examination of the material effects of oppression for disabled women living with domestic violence.

The appropriation of intersectional theory within the capitalist neoliberal knowledge economy commodifies and consumes difference, rather than critically examining and challenging the social power relations that produce difference as disparity and deficit (Salem, 2016). Disparity statistics reporting the over-representation of domestic violence rates for identity categories of difference support the notion of the culturalisation of domestic violence, where categories of disparity, such as Māori, Pacific Island peoples, immigrant, poor and addict, become markers of violence and disease. When community membership is narrated through discourses of culturalised violence, moral panic and outrage can mobilise demands that the state protect the (white, middle-class) norm from the danger of statistically established communities of violence. The reduction of community belonging to markers of identity categorisation and difference, without an analysis of power, ignores and reproduces systemic processes of oppression that contribute to disparity between the dominant norm and marginalised groups. Fine (2011) argues the production of identity categories of difference and disease re-privatises domestic violence response, working against movements that have sought recognition of domestic violence as a public issue to re-locate 'the problem'

within individual subjects and the cultural communities they belong to. Through apolitical and acontextual assumptions of disparity and culturalisation, dominant Western, middle-class norms evade the markers of stigma and discrimination, erasing the complexity of intersecting power relations of oppression and domination that materially affect embedded and embodied experiences of gendered violence (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Coombes et al., 2016; Ishkanian, 2014; Oksala, 2013; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Weissman, 2007).

The Colonial Politics of Domestic Violence

The Eurocentric production of culturalised identity categories discourages an examination of how processes of colonialism subjugate and marginalise communities outside Western norms (Coombes et al., 2016; Coombes & Morgan, 2015), producing the very disparity that mobilises the industry of neoliberal, capitalist service provision targeting subjects of difference and dis-ease. In the contemporary global context, Western practices, systems and processes are often taken-for-granted as the ‘way things are’ or ‘the way things should be’, obscuring the cultural and value base of such practices, producing Western culture as both ‘cultureless’ and morally superior. Eurocentric globalisation is credited for expanding superior Western cultural scripts of non-violence and gender equality into nations conceptualised through the Western lens as more violent and less ‘civilised’ (Fleming et al., 2015). Neoliberal regimes of subjectivity and morality that position the West as leaders in democracy, equality and civilisation enable violent Western men to escape the confines of group marking: violent white men are acontextual, apolitical and ahistorical individual subjects of immorality, whereas violent brown men are representative of a culture of violence and deviance (Berg, 2014; Loto, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Nikora, & Barnett, 2006; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005).

The conceptualisation of the Global West as a morally superior democratic force of equality ignores how the imposition of Western patriarchal culture and hegemonic masculinity has eroded traditional indigenous gender relationships through processes of imperialism and colonisation. In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand, colonisation has, and continues to, disrupt pre-colonial gendered relationships between tāne (men) and wāhine (women), denying Māori access to Te Ao Māori (the Māori world), cultural beliefs, values and practices, language, land, spirituality, resources, and cultural identity

A Critical Analysis of Power in the Field of Domestic Violence Research and Response

(Baker, 2013; Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; King & Roberston, 2017; King, Young-Hauser, Li, Rua, & Nikora, 2012; Mikaere, 2011; Wilson & Webber, 2014). The independent reports produced by Wilson and Webber (2014) and Herbert and MacKenzie (2014) opened spaces to resist the culturalisation of domestic violence through drawing attention to our history of imperial violence, contextualising narratives of violence against women and children in Māori communities within an articulation of marginalisation, subjugation, and institutional racism and violence. Narrative storytelling of domestic violence as an effect of ongoing processes of colonisation enables the examination of the complexity and intersecting sociocultural and gendered conditions of violence embedded within a political and temporal history. It produces domestic violence within Māori communities as a manifestation of multiple oppressions of subjugation, racism and disparity rather than culturalised as a deficit located within Māori culture.

Despite stories of colonisation working to resist the production of cultural identity categories of difference and dis-ease, the reiterative reproduction of disparity within domestic violence research and response reify and reinforce discriminatory assumptions that domestic violence is problem for non-Western cultures: the consequence of ‘uncivilised’ cultural values and traditions that require targeted response (Elizabeth, 2015a; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). Neoliberal and Eurocentric systems of surveillance and representation produce explicit and implicit connections that bind marginalised identities of difference to the problem of violence. Mediated images and assumptions support and reinforce stigma and discrimination through the over-reporting and over-representation of violence in communities positioned beyond Western middle-class norms, where the cultural politics of colonialism conflate difference with deviance, obscuring the multiple oppressions emergent from Eurocentric social systems and structures (Barnes, Brown, & Tamborski, 2012; Berg, 2014; Burman et al., 2004; Fine, 2011; Loto et al., 2006; McCreanor et al., 2014; Mikaere, 2011; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). For example, white, middle-class abusers and victims often have access to resources that enable them to avoid formal identification and management, such as staying at a hotel rather than remaining in an abusive relationship or seeking the help of police and/or women’s refuge (Berg, 2014). The over-representation of identity categories of difference, such as Māori, within official perpetration and intervention

databases and media representations are arguably more a product of relationships of privilege and precarity than cultural membership and identity (Rua et al., forthcoming).

The culturalisation of domestic violence produced through notions of disparity and deviance conceptualise those belonging to identified communities of dis-ease as ‘burdens to the state’, threatening public safety and well-being at significant ‘cost’ to the Western, middle-class tax-paying norm. Domestic violence research often narrates the ‘cost’ of violence against women and children as a financial, rather than ‘human’, concern. Estimations place the financial cost of domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand between four and nine billion dollars per year, an estimation based on health-care costs, criminal justice and court services, welfare support, child protection, and the cost to employment and productivity in the workplace (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Kahui & Snively, 2014; Paulin & Edgar, 2013). In 2014, the same year as the People’s Report (Wilson & Webber, 2014) was published, The Glenn Inquiry released a report examining the economic cost of domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand (Kahui & Snively, 2014). Kahui and Snively (2014) specifically articulated the costs associated with ‘vulnerable groups’ such as Māori, Pacific peoples, the disabled and QLGBT communities. In particular, their estimations of the financial cost of domestic violence for Māori was staggering, reaching into the billions of dollars and accounting for almost half of the entire total overall costs to the country. Without a critical analysis of power that accounts for ongoing processes of colonisation and socio-political marginalisation, the identity category of Māori becomes a marker of dis-ease and burden, holding in place, and contributing to, the racist conditions for stigma, discrimination and oppression.

Institutional Racism and Violence

When intersectionality is appropriated within neoliberal, capitalist and Eurocentric systems that reify difference as deviance or deficit, discriminatory processes of institutional surveillance, regulation and discipline are enabled to flourish unchallenged, producing gender, ethnicity and class structures as a commodity the knowledge economy can, and should, target for institutional intervention. Systems and services that respond to risk and violence within communities become self-sustaining and profitable industries where the socio-political fear of subjects of dis-ease motivates efforts to identify, manage and/or contain those most likely to be violent in the future (Arrigo,

2013; Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Coombes et al., 2016; Costa et al., 2015; Fleming et al., 2015; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; O'Leary, Tintle, & Bromet, 2014; Thornton, 2008), benefitting from communities' distress. As Bumiller (2010, p. 178) argues:

Intimate partnership violence may become of interest to the state because it unsettles families, harms children, and creates a public health crisis. This mandates intervention for the purposes of containing crises and managing harm, not to address women's systematic oppression.

When domestic violence response targets identity categories of difference and dis-ease, those who belong to communities marked by difference are more likely to be subject to institutional interest, providing the conditions for institutional racism and violence. In turn, the intensive targeting of marginalised communities results in continued over-representation within disparity statistics and mediated stories, strengthening and reinforcing discriminatory and racist stereotypes, justifying and mobilising social and institutional demands for the increased surveillance, management and discipline of communities of difference (Elizabeth, 2015a; Vlasis et al., 2017; Weissman, 2007). In Aotearoa New Zealand, women who belong to marginalised communities are more likely to be re-victimised and re-traumatised when caught within the institutional gaze (CEDAW, 2018b; Robertson et al., 2007). The fear of institutional racism and violence can discourage women belonging to identity categories of difference and dis-ease from seeking formal help and support (Burman & Chantler, 2005; Burman et al., 2004; Cram et al., 2002; Neave, Faulkner, & Nicholson, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Towns, 2009; Weissman, 2007; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Wilson and Webber (2014) spoke with Māori interviewees who said they avoided state intervention and protection because of the lack of culturally appropriate and response services available and the further harm and trauma inflicted by Western systems of response through practices of institutional racism and violence. For example, they narrated fears of being subject to overly punitive responses and having their children removed from the home without notice. When power relations of gender, ethnicity and class intersect, women are often both unable to leave and fearful of institutional racism and violence, holding women within ongoing environments of violence and trauma without options for safety and support (Fine, 2011).

Barriers to protection and support faced by communities located at intersections of multiple oppressions in Aotearoa New Zealand is a violation of the rights of communities marked by difference and marginalisation (CEDAW, 2018a, 2018c). The CEDAW (2018a) have admonished the New Zealand Government for reproducing and sustaining conditions that fail to “address the systemic and structural obstructions to victim safety” (p. 9), urging the development of socio-political systems and practices that dismantle institutional barriers to culturally specific and appropriate services and disrupt processes of institutional racism and violence that re-traumatise marginalised communities. This is a difficult and dangerous task, however, when the neoliberal, capitalist and Eurocentric knowledge economy dominates our systems of understanding and response. The socio-political influence and force of neoliberal, capitalist market-rationality ensures the structures and systems of the larger market society are taken for granted as the way things should be in order to maintain social order and well-being, positioning its assumptions and practices beyond reproach and/or questioning. The challenging of neoliberal and capitalist ideology is a threat to the equilibrium and monopoly of the Eurocentric knowledge economy, and therefore a critical analysis of market conditions and social power relations that enable institutional racism and violence is discouraged and/or prevented in order to retain dominance and relevance (Bumiller, 2010; Coombes & Morgan, 2015; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Ishkanian, 2014; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Salem, 2016; Thornton, 2004; Weissman, 2007). The exclusion of critical analysis from the larger social service market ensures responses targeting individual subjects for regulation and discipline retain dominance as status quo, where identity categories of gender, ethnicity and class are sites of both violence and intervention, enabling the knowledge economy and market to profit from processes and practices of institutional racism and violence.

The Self-sustaining Industry of Domestic Violence Response

The dominance of neoliberal, capitalist ideology positions socially transformative initiatives that account for, and address, gendered social power relations in locations of precarity, where critically questioning the conditions and demands of the knowledge economy risks the reduction and withdrawal of what limited funding and resources they already receive (Ishkanian, 2014), if indeed they receive anything at all. In a competitive funding and resource environment, initiatives that can demonstrate empirical evidence of cost-effectiveness are produced as wise state investments

A Critical Analysis of Power in the Field of Domestic Violence Research and Response

(Babcock & Steiner, 1999; Bennett & Williams, 2001; Ishkanian, 2014; Merry, 2001; Peterson, 2008; Vlasis et al., 2017). ‘Success’ is conceptualised as how well the market can cater to individual need and disorder, and how well individual subjects can respond to, and integrate within, the ideals and norms associated with the market (Esposito & Perez, 2014), leaving minimal room for understanding the incremental and subtle transformation of gender inequality, racism and classism as signs of effective domestic violence response. Success and effectiveness of domestic violence response is usually measured through constructs related to the industry of service (such as arrests, prosecutions and recidivism rates): standards of evidence that are institutionally defined and bound, but that do not necessarily equate with non-violence, change and/or the safety and well-being of women and children (Ishkanian, 2014; Weissman, 2007).

When the knowledge economy demands empirical, statistical evidence of ‘value for money’, socially transformative interventions that require sustained community mobilisation and social change over longer periods of time find it difficult to establish credibility (Hann & Trewartha, 2015; Ishkanian, 2014; Merry, 2001; Neave et al., 2016; World Health Organization, 2010). The problematics of evaluating and resourcing socially transformative responses often result in their premature abandonment, with the funding then channelled into services better able to demonstrate cost-effectiveness within institutionally legitimated standards of evidence. Barriers to funding and support discourage organisations and movements from developing and proposing responses that critically challenge the sociocultural conditions of violence, exacerbating the proliferation of, and sustained need for, fragmented and siloed service provision in the community (Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Ishkanian, 2014; Neave et al., 2016; Wilson & Webber, 2014). Critical community and feminist movements’ ‘survival’ in the field of domestic violence service provision often depends on their ability to assimilate within institutional systems and structures. For example, women’s advocates and critical feminists often find themselves relocated and repositioned as employees of the state, working *within* the justice system to provide victim advocacy or court-ordered stopping violence programmes, rather than *alongside* institutional responses to promote socio-politically transformative change (Weissman, 2007). When critical domestic violence movements that attend to social power relations of gender, ethnicity and class are appropriated and commodified within institutional settings and structures, there is minimal room to uphold their radical and transformative

potentials, and what results is a de-gendering and de-politicising of service provision (Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Ishkanian, 2014; Phillips, Kelly, & Westmarland, 2013). As Ishkanian (2014) argues:

In the current policy context, which is dominated by austerity policies and an almost overriding concern with cost-savings, voluntary organizations working on domestic violence are having to dilute, if not entirely abandon, the human rights and gender equality focus and instead replace them with approaches that have a cost savings focus. (p. 341)

When domestic violence research and response is complicit in a self-sustaining neoliberal knowledge economy and market, embedded within social power relations that protect the interests of Western, middle-class men, the services produced through that system are accountable to the larger market conditions and requirements, and not the men, women and children living with domestic violence every day. Specialised and siloed services attend to compartmentalised and reductionist aspects of domestic violence experience, such as criminal activity, health, child protection, crisis, and financial welfare, ‘dismembering’ and ‘distorting’ victims and abusers until they can be recognised within distinct identity categories of difference for intervention, unable to hold and give meaning to the complexity of holistic experiences. Herbert and MacKenzie (2014) describe the state of domestic violence service provision in Aotearoa New Zealand as a “complex maze of disconnected services and systems” (p. 70) that abusers and victims must navigate before they can access adequate support to meet their needs: a maze within which men, women and children often become ‘lost’ and where hope is minimal.

Ethical Activism and ‘Beginnings’

The structural, institutional and ethical violence of producing recognisable subjects of difference and dis-ease for unequal treatment within state and social services raises considerable ethical questions and concerns for those responding to issues of risk and violence in the community (Coombes et al., 2016). Uncritical acceptance of Eurocentric, neoliberal and capitalist models for domestic violence service and response that erase the complexity and specificity of women’s experiences of living with multiple, intersecting oppressions of gender, ethnicity and class, reproduces practices of marginalisation, subjugation, and oppression (Fine, 2011). Reductionist approaches that

reify difference as individualised deficit hold those who find themselves ‘caught’ within the industry of social service (including those providing services in communities) captive within neoliberal systems of acontextual pathologisation, constraining the ability to work *with* difference to embrace complexity and processes of becoming (Coombes et al., 2016), erasing narratives of resilience, possibility and transformation. Fine (2011) argues that if we do not actively challenge the silencing of voices of marginality, precarity and socio-political resistance, “soon enough the hard, untenable and disturbing portraits of women’s survival in the weeds of inequality will be fully erased, mowed down and exiled from the stories we tell” (p. 13).

Engaging in ethical activism can help us listen to the voices of difference, where processes of critical questioning and reflexivity hold open spaces to develop sustained and collaborative ethical relationships through which we can privilege and hear the socio-politically embedded and embodied voices of experience. Ethical activism acknowledges the complexity of intersections of marginalisation, subordination and oppression in diverse experiences of domestic violence within and between communities, identifying and challenging the neoliberal production of identity categories of difference, deviance and dis-ease. In an act of ethical activism, my story narrates the process of listening to the embedded and embodied stories of men and women materially affected by domestic violence and institutional response, where accountability is understood as a process not only expected of subjects caught within the institutional gaze, but the very institutions themselves. It is an analysis of sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that produce embedded and embodied gendered subjects of (non)violence, identifying, examining and offering a challenge to the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge, and continue, within and across our communities. Critically examining the conditions of domestic violence can help support more preventative, rather than reactive, responses, addressing violence against women and children before it can begin. However, as Herbert and MacKenzie (2014, p. 83) state, “stopping violence before it starts...presents a challenge to any model seeking to address such a complex and wicked problem...where and when is the point 'before it starts'?” Questions of ‘where’ and ‘when’ to start return us to the problem of ‘beginnings’, and the problematics of the demand for coherent, consistent and sequential accounts of oneself at the site of ethical encounters.

Part II: Accountability

What role will we assume in the historical relay of violence, who will we become in the response, and will we be furthering or impeding violence by virtue of the response that we make? To respond to violence with violence may well seem “justified”, but is it finally a responsible solution? Similarly, moralistic denunciation provides immediate gratification, and even has the effect of temporarily cleansing the speaker of all proximity to guilt through the act of self-righteous denunciation itself. But is this the same as responsibility, understood as taking stock of our world, and participating in its social transformation in such a way that non-violent, cooperative, egalitarian...relations remain the guiding ideal? (Butler, 2006, pp. 16-17)

Chapter 3: Accounting for Domestic Violence

‘Becoming Accountable’ and ‘Taking Responsibility’

Discourses of accountability and responsibility emerged as key processes involved in domestic violence intervention and service provision within Pence and Paymar’s (1993) influential Duluth Model of domestic violence response, where accountability is defined as a process through which men acknowledge their abusive acts and take personal responsibility for their violence. Since inclusion in the Duluth Model, accountability and responsibility have become guiding principles, practices and goals for many domestic violence interventions and initiatives. For example, Principle Four of the Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Ministry of Social Development, 2002), Aotearoa New Zealand’s guiding governmental framework for domestic violence response, states that:

Perpetrators of violence in families/whānau must be held accountable for their violence...Perpetrators of violence in families/whānau are ultimately responsible for their violent actions. Family violence prevention initiatives should therefore encourage perpetrators to accept responsibility for their violent behaviour and for changing their behaviour. (p. 12)

Aotearoa New Zealand’s Family Violence Risk Assessment and Management Framework (Ministry of Justice, 2017), a framework that aims to establish consistent and unified responses to domestic violence across the nation, discusses the need to hold perpetrators to account for their violence multiple times throughout the document, with Value Three of their practice values explicitly titled “Perpetrators are accountable” (p. 13). The Family Violence Risk Assessment and Management Framework states accountability lies solely with the domestic violence offender, resisting processes of victim blaming and emphasising the need for individual offenders to take responsibility and be held to account for their violence. Interestingly, the framework also opens spaces for discussions of community accountability and responsibility, stating it is not acceptable to tolerate, condone or collude with acts of violence or abuse in any way, including systemic practices that contribute to the reproduction of violence.

Notions of accountability and responsibility continue to occupy positions of significance within the field of domestic violence research and response, but when we

Accounting for Domestic Violence

speak of accountability and responsibility, how do we understand what we are talking about as process and action? How do we understand the underlying assumptions and practices of ‘becoming accountable’ and ‘taking responsibility’ for our actions? What are the implications of different meanings and processes of accountability and responsibility for domestic violence researchers and responders, and those affected by domestic violence in our communities?

Given accountability and responsibility are such integral and commonly utilised guiding principles of domestic violence service response, the lack of articulation as to their meaning within the contemporary setting of domestic violence legislation and research is surprising. Engaging these bodies of work, I repeatedly encountered discussions of ‘holding men accountable’ and ‘taking responsibility’. Accountability and responsibility were often produced as material institutional practices, such as admitting guilt in a court of law or attending a stopping violence programme, yet without articulation of the underlying assumptions, processes and practices through which accountability and responsibility were served. Indeed, Macomber (2018) and Pease (2017) argue the concept of accountability is complex, unclear and often misunderstood, with no unified explanation or definition available in the field of domestic violence research and response. In her observations of, and interviews with, men and women involved in domestic violence service provision, Macomber (2018) acknowledged that while most could agree that accountability was vital to domestic violence response, they struggled to define accountability, or, when they did, often had different understandings of the notion. For instance, Macomber analysed variations where accountability was understood as proactive (where men are guided by women’s knowledge, experiences and leadership), reactive (where men commit to holding each other to account and engage openly and meaningfully with criticism), or politically oriented (where men reflect on assumptions and practices of masculine privilege). Troublingly, one service delivery worker in Macomber’s research explained that she did not know how she would define accountability, but instead would know it when she ‘saw it’. What would she be seeing when she recognises accountability in practice? How can we be confident what we are seeing is accountability? How do our practices enable and/or constrain demonstrations of accountability, and accountability to whom?

Implicit assumptions and variations in how accountability is understood by those responding to domestic violence is set within a context where understanding domestic

violence is also recognised as an issue for those working in the field. For instance, a 2018 survey of service providers in Aotearoa New Zealand shows widespread recognition that a lack of unified understandings of domestic violence has resulted in inconsistent practice across various service providers, which is posed as a source of concern for those attempting to reduce and eliminate domestic violence within communities (Ministry of Social Development, 2018a). There have been recent appeals for a unified and politically oriented understanding of accountability, where ‘becoming accountable’ entails socio-political processes challenging and disrupting the relationships between gender, power and violence (Pease, 2017). In action, such a political and feminist approach involves the formation of gendered alliances, opening spaces for collaborative critical dialogue in order to address issues of hegemonic masculinity and hierarchical gender power relations that provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. Given that most stopping violence programmes utilise, or are in some way derived from, the feminist model of domestic violence pioneered in the Duluth Model (Barner & Carney, 2011), conceptualisations of accountability arguably already include political investment towards transforming gendered social power relations in sociocultural context. However, the increasing dominance of institutionalised criminal justice responses targeted at the level of the individual subject has worked to dislocate socio-political considerations from conceptualisations of domestic violence, reducing accountability to products of retributive and punitive criminal justice processes (such as arrest and imprisonment) (Bennett & Williams, 2001; Bumiller, 2010; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2012a, 2012b; Kershner et al., 2007; Polaschek, 2016; Stark, 2007, 2012; Weissman, 2007, 2013; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016). Conceptualising accountability as an institutional ‘product’ that can be administered, allocated and consumed works to dislocate processes of accountability from the sociocultural contexts in which violence occurs, and from the ethical obligations and relationships between abusers and victims.

Reflecting on the conflicted and confused definitions (or lack thereof) of accountability and responsibility in the field of domestic violence research and response, I returned to the evaluation research produced for Te Manawa Services to examine how we had engaged with these concepts. To my disappointment, the report did not produce even a tentative explanation of how anyone understood the underlying assumptions and processes of accountability and responsibility. Like the literature in the field of domestic

Accounting for Domestic Violence

violence, it often spoke of the importance of ‘taking responsibility’ and ‘becoming accountable’ devoid of an explanation or critical analysis of what was being implied by those integral, but taken for granted, terms. I found this lack of articulation alarming: how can concepts so fundamental to our responses to domestic violence be left unexamined in relation to their meaning, process, function and consequence? When we hold men to account, or ask them to become accountable, what are we doing, what are we asking, and what are the implications? As researchers, how are we held accountable to those whose stories we articulate within our writing? How can we also become accountable for articulating the processes involved in accountability and responsibility?

Re-examining the interview transcripts, I paid attention to how the men produced stories of accountability and responsibility that were complex, contradictory and diverse, narrated in particular ways that produced certain kinds of subjects: ‘violent men’ in comparison to ‘non-violent men’; ‘moral men’ in contrast to ‘immoral men’; ‘redeemed men’ who were not ‘remorseless men’. These different subject positions emerged from and through stories that justified, denied and/or acknowledged acts of violence according to, and embedded within, the account produced. Accountability and responsibility were articulated differently when situated within different contexts, with material effects for how processes of accountability and responsibility could be understood and practiced. For example, stories of criminal justice processes produced accountability in terms of criminal pleas, stopping violence programme attendance and paying recompense. The subjects that emerged from narratives of criminal justice processes were produced as having been ‘held to account’ if they were obedient to the requirements of a court of law.

Attending to the production of different accountability stories enabled me to recognise the ways in which men and women were responsive to the specific ethical relationship developed at the site of the interview. Before conducting the interviews, I imagined that conversations would begin with me simply asking the men and women to tell me about their experiences of domestic violence in the context of stopping violence intervention and, from that open invitation, dialogue would spontaneously and effortlessly flow. However, I discovered early on that the men and women were reluctant to speak in response to such an unstructured opening. They would often struggle to find a place to begin their story, or would ask directly for guidance as to what I wanted to hear. Very few interviews opened with spontaneous conversation, and instead most men and

women expected me to locate an origin point and narrative thread for them to follow: they wanted me to define their ‘beginning’. Their difficulty knowing where to begin and what they should say seemed to me to imply that there were different stories they could tell according to my expectations for their accounts. For example, one woman appeared to become frustrated with me after I had intentionally avoided constrictively leading or defining the trajectory of the discussion. After a few minutes of struggling to locate a narrative thread to begin her story, she said to me sharply:

“Are you going to ask me a question?” [Susan]

Susan would not talk with me until I had clearly defined what I wanted her to say and where she should begin her story. Once I had asked her to begin with the incident that brought her and her ex-partner to Te Manawa Services, conversation began to flow more smoothly and easily. I had defined both the point of origin for her story, and the narrative I was expecting to hear. Therefore, to enable the flow of comfortable conversation with the men and women, I found myself needing to explicitly clarify where their stories should begin and where their narratives should proceed. I repeatedly offered suggestions such as “the best place I have found to start is for you to tell me what your relationship was like prior to attending Te Manawa Services” or “what incident or event brought you to Te Manawa?” Although such guidance was necessary to open spaces for dialogue within the interviews, I was concerned I had demanded the production of narratives of escalating violence and institutional response, rather than whatever story the men and women felt was most important and relevant to tell in relation to their experiences of violence and change. I recognised the need for structured boundaries of accounts within the interview setting as an effect of the diverse stories the participants could have produced. What they were seeking from me was to know which account was most appropriate in the context of *our* relationship.

Reflecting on the problematics of ‘beginnings’ raised questions of what we are doing when we hold men accountable, asking them to produce accounts of their violence within the context of domestic violence research and response. Institutional definitions of accountability and responsibility are vague, misunderstood and/or absent, and yet the men and women who are ethically engaged at the site of domestic violence research and intervention depend on these concepts to mobilise responses for protection and change. If the concept of accountability is so contingent on the context and terms of ethical

engagement, how does the privileging of accountability and responsibility in domestic violence research and response enable and/or constrain particular articulations, understandings, responses and implications to emerge within sites of ethical encounters, at what costs and to whom? To answer these questions, I turned to Judith Butler's (2001, 2005) work on giving an account of oneself in order to critically examine processes and implications of accountability: to interrogate what we are doing when we demand, or give, accounts of (non)violence.

Recognising the Subject at Sites of Ethical Exchange

When we ask someone to share with us their stories and experiences of violence, whether it be in the research or response setting, we are asking them to produce an account of themselves - their history, actions, articulations and understandings of self - appropriate to the ethical context at hand. Butler (2005) argues that it is at these sites of account that the subject, a recognisable "I", is produced. When we ask men to give an account of themselves in the context of accusations of domestic violence, or when we ask women to provide an account of their victimisation, we (both the person articulating the demand for an account and the "I" responding to that demand) are producing the subject of an account. Through the process of giving an account, the "I" becomes a subject: a cohesive, unitary self we can recognise and respond to appropriately. If we cannot recognise the subject produced in the account, for instance the man as an abuser or the woman as a victim, we cannot initiate the appropriate response, whatever form that may take. Therefore, domestic violence research and response depends on the production of certain kinds of subjects within accounts of (non)violence to mobilise (non)intervention.

The production of certain kinds of subjects is especially important in fields dominated by criminal justice assumptions, practices and processes. As domestic violence has shifted, through the feminist movement, from being a private matter to an issue of public interest, concern and crime, the criminal justice system has been increasingly positioned as the leading service responder for domestic violence (Houston, 2014; Weissman, 2007, 2013; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016). Within criminal justice proceedings, the burden of proof produces obligations requiring the detailed and comprehensive gathering of specific evidence that supports, or defends against, accusations of violence in order to be confident that criminal judgements are valid and

legitimate. Men and women's accounts of violence are a form of evidence produced to make a judgement of criminality that will then inform institutional responses of intervention, management and/or discipline, although in the absence of an offender's confession they require other forms of corroboration. If we cannot accumulate a body of legally sanctioned evidence concerning an identifiable perpetrator's acts of violence against an identifiable victim of violence, then no crime has been committed and we cannot proceed with intervention and response (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Busch, Morgan, & Coombes, 2014; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Hester, 2013; Stark, 2007, 2012; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016). Those recognised as 'not guilty' within criminal justice accounts are released from demands for responsibility and accountability. Those recognised as 'guilty' are subjected to processes of regulation, discipline, and punishment. Therefore, the individual's account of oneself given in response to the demands of the criminal justice system becomes an integral piece of the evidence building process, producing a recognisable subject that mobilises the appropriate response.

However, the production of a recognisable subject within an account for the purpose of response and intervention is much more subtle than communicating information and experiences to an intended audience for judgement. Butler (2001, 2005) argues subjects are *produced*, rather than *described*, within an account. The account does not simply recount a 'pre-formed' subject that existed prior to linguistic articulation at the site of ethical exchange, but rather the account is *the site* where the subject is formed. Before the account, the subject produced in the account is disjointed by multiple, diversely embodied experiences and actions: lived experiences *in and as* practical activities. Through the act of giving an account, these disjointed embodied experiences and actions manifest cumulatively together as a coherent and cohesive narrative producing a recognisable subject for the listener. As Butler (2005) argues:

As I make a sequence and link one event with another, offering motivations to illuminate the bridge, making patterns clear, identifying certain events or moments of recognition as pivotal, even marking certain recurring patterns as fundamental, I do not merely communicate something about my past, though that is doubtless part of what I do. I also enact the self I am trying to describe; the narrative "I" is reconstituted at every moment it is invoked in the narrative itself...I am, in other words, doing something with that "I" – elaborating and

positioning it in relation to a real or imagined audience – which is something other than telling a story about it, even though “telling” remains part of what I do. (p. 66)

If a subject, or perhaps the coherent and structured story of a subject, does not cohere before the demand for an account, it is understandable why the men and women I spoke with were hesitant, reluctant or even resistant to produce an account of oneself without explicit direction and guidance. Given the diversity of stories of (non)violence that can be produced in an account, and the particular subjects that will emerge through different stories, the context and purpose of the specific demand for the account at hand becomes crucial. The men and women needed to anticipate the kind of subjects and the kind of stories that were expected in the context of our particular ethical exchange. Through my guidance and the interview structure, fragments of their experiences and self-reflections were woven together within the parameters of the demand for an account in order to produce a particular story about a particular subject for a particular purpose.

If the context and parameters within which an account must take place and ‘take shape’ produce recognisable subjects that mobilise differing responses, then the institutional structures for accounts within the field of domestic violence research and response require critical reflection. It is important to understand what is taking place at sites of ethical encounters and the implications for response and intervention. Butler (2005) argues that accounts are often institutionally structured through regimes of justice, punishment and morality, constraining the “I” to narrate an account that produces either a ‘not guilty’ (non-violent, moral) subject to exonerate, or a ‘guilty’ subject (violent, immoral) to condemn. Therefore, we can ask how the structure, parameters and implications of giving an account of oneself within criminal justice settings effects the kinds of accounts the “I” can give and the different subjects that emerge from those accounts. What are the contextual, ethical and sociocultural forces that shape and guide the parameters of accounts produced within domestic violence research and response? How do institutions produce and reproduce particular parameters of an account that encourage the production of particular subjects for particular purposes? When we begin to tell our story, we already anticipate, as a consequence of being a social actor in a given socio-temporal context, how our narrative will position our current location within the parameters of morality and punishment, and what kinds of institutional and ethical responses we can expect from that position within those parameters. When I

asked the men to begin their story from a place of escalating violence and professional intervention, I positioned the demand for an account firmly within criminal justice processes and regimes of morality, demanding they tell me whether they were moral non-violent men or immoral and violent subjects. From the very beginning of the interviews, I had demanded the men either exonerate or condemn themselves in their accounts to me by virtue of the context in which we encountered each other.

In the men's accounts, moral subjects were often produced in comparison to an 'immoral other' that served as a foil and testament to the men's morality. For example, the conceptualisation of an immoral other who uses extreme violence with the intent of inflicting pain and suffering on women and children was contrasted with the story of the moral "I" giving the account who did not use physical violence and/or did not desire to hurt others:

“You're getting told that you're the woman basher and you like to smack women over and you like to hit women and you like to make them feel hurt and scared and pain and you like to make pain with your fist and everything else like that, and I'm like 'that's not me'.” [Hector]

The process of comparing moral subjects to an immoral other in an account enables a minimisation or denial of violence through narratives that reproduce stereotypical images and assumptions of how a violent, immoral subject appears and acts. Butler (2006) argues that certain images and assumptions are associated with recognisable 'faces' of immorality within given sociocultural and temporal contexts, enabling us to both 'know' immorality and 'recognise' morality when we see it in the face of the other.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, media portrayals often reproduce domestic violence and child abuse as cultural issues, with Māori and Pacific faces dominating images and headlines of violence, encouraging discriminatory and racist stereotypes that locate domestic violence as an issue within identity categories of culture, difference and dis-ease (Barnes et al., 2012; Elizabeth, 2015a; Loto et al., 2006; McCreanor et al., 2014). When a person's experiences or appearance does not match recognisable socially mediated images and assumptions associated with identity categories of dis-ease, they are less likely to be recognised (either by themselves or others) as violent or a victim of violence (Muehlenhard & Kimes, 1999; Stark, 2007; Velonis, 2016). The men and women I interviewed often produced the 'face' of the domestic violence abuser through

images and assumptions associated with being Māori, criminal activity, gang membership, mental illness and substance abuse:

“Oh, I’m not sitting next to that guy...He’s a big black Māori, I’m not sitting next to him! He looks tough! Scary!” [Peter]

“I was thinking to myself ‘there’s going to be men [on the stopping violence programme] who are really nuts’, like mongrel mob members or something, and I was like ‘I don’t want to go there, they’re probably going to beat on me or something’.” [William]

“I suppose you look at yourself and you think ‘I’m not an abusive person’, and you think ‘what sort of people are going to be there? Are they all going to be gang members?’” [Gavin]

“The people I was with, I thought I wasn’t really in the same league. Yeah, shit, I was at a thing at Lake Alice¹³ or something, you know?...They had some real issues all right. Like, they don’t do anything all week and they’re quite into their drugs and one joker wanted to cut his wrists all week and tried to jump off things, and I was like ‘fuck’.” [Tim]

The difference between faces of moral non-violent subjects and immoral violent subjects enabled (Pākehā) men to dissociate themselves from subject positions of immorality and violence, minimising or resisting calls for accountability and responsibility for their acts of abuse. Such images ignore the impact of colonisation on traditional Māori gendered relationships, producing racist stereotypes of Māori men as violent and aggressive in ways that cannot accommodate the traumatic and ongoing effects of colonisation and the diverse complexity of Māori identity in a colonised, Western nation (King & Roberston, 2017; King et al., 2012; Mikaere, 2011). Instead, the images and assumptions associated with the face of domestic violence enable Pākehā men to deny or minimise their own acts of abuse through the production of ethical distance and disruption (Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005; Towns & Terry, 2014):

“Oh, these guys have got problems, I’m nothing like them.” [Martin]

¹³ Lake Alice was a psychiatric institution operating in the Manawatū region of Aotearoa New Zealand until its closure in 1999.

“I thought they were all fucking hopeless bastards...I felt more like [the staff, who] were more normal, like me.” [Tim]

The faces of victims of domestic violence are also associated with a system of images and assumptions that work towards the denial and minimisation of violence and abuse. In both the men and women’s accounts, the recognisable face of the domestic violence victim was bruised, bloody and broken. The conflation of domestic violence with severe physical violence producing visible injury minimises ‘minor’ physical violence and psychological violence, and ignores patterns and practices of coercive control that can be as harmful, if not more, than discrete physical acts of abuse (Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; Hannem, Langan, & Stewart, 2015; Myhill & Hohl, 2016; Stark, 2007; Stewart et al., 2013; Westmarland, Kelly, & Chalder-Mills, 2010; Wilson et al., 2015). The women spoke to me about how they believed their experiences of ‘minor’ physical violence, psychological violence and coercive control were not recognised as abuse within dominant sociocultural conceptualisations of domestic violence:

“[I had] just the general sort of bruising and everything, nothing sort of, I would say, major, you know? I didn’t have black eyes or anything like that.” [Diane]

“I don’t like to get the police involved, and I felt awful using it because I thought...people are going to go ‘God, he only spat at you’...It would be so much easier if he did bash me because then people could see the outside, whereas they don’t know what’s going on inside for you.” [Belinda]

Belinda’s narrative of wanting the emotional and psychological effects of her victimisation to be socially visible manifests the tensions produced when systems of meaning making cannot accommodate the pain and distress of experiences that fall outside the boundaries of socially mediated understandings of domestic violence. Unable to recognise their appearance and experiences within the available images and assumptions associated with the face of victims of domestic violence, pathways for, and processes of, accountability and responsibility for their experiences of victimisation are denied. Similarly, men were able to deny their violence through narratives that emphasised the non-physical character of their abuse:

“As far as I was concerned I did not belong [on the stopping violence programme]. I’m not a violent person, but yes I do get very mouthy.” [Peter]

Accounting for Domestic Violence

“Why am I here? Just because I said I wanted to shoot you. Wrong choice of words, aye?” [Simon]

“I’ve never, ever hit my wife or children, but verbally abused them I suppose, which, even talking to the guys on the course, a lot of people don’t sort of associate that with being abuse, full stop. They think abuse is where you punch someone out or, you know, that sort of thing.” [Gavin]

When images and assumptions associated with the face of domestic violence minimise and/or deny experiences of violence, the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge within our communities are obscured. The problem of domestic violence becomes located within particular identity categories of difference and disease, preventing a deeper engagement with the sociocultural conditions and gendered social power relations that justify and tolerate violence against women and children. For example, when domestic violence is understood as severe physical incidents, violence can continue within domestic settings as long as it is ‘unrecognisable’ as violence in emotional, psychological and verbal forms. As a result, women often explain staying with their (ex)partners in relation to being unable to recognise, or have others recognise, the legitimacy of their victimisation:

“I guess hitting, once it’s done it might be finished and you might move on and get out, but when it’s verbal, you put up with it and put up with it and put up with it because it’s only little. You put up with it and put up with it.” [Amanda]

“I think he’s never actually touched me because he’s seen that as the cut off: ‘If I ever hit her, that’s when my mum left my dad when he hit her’. I think he’s done other things, but he’s got that safety thing of ‘if I don’t do that, she won’t leave’.” [Fiona]

Discriminatory social prejudice towards the immorality, deviance and deficit of domestic violence also produces denial and/or minimisation of violence through processes of shame and embarrassment, where women and men were reluctant or embarrassed to be associated with the faces of domestic violence:

“You think of family violence as kids getting beat up and you’re beating your missus up or whatever...and I just felt ashamed.” [Peter]

“I didn’t want people to know what’s happened, because I felt really embarrassed about it...I do have this squeaky clean image...and I found it quite embarrassing to know that that had sort of happened to me.” [Diane]

Diane’s account of embarrassment relating to recognition as a victim of domestic violence manifests how images and assumptions associated with domestic violence can produce barriers to seeking help (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007). When men and women are too embarrassed to seek help, or when violence is considered ‘not severe enough’ to warrant institutional response, ‘minor’ physical violence and practices of coercive control are normalised and tolerated. Through images and assumptions of domestic violence that privilege severe on-going physical abuse, the ‘origin’ of violence is located within faces of abusers and victims that we do not recognise as our own, constraining our ability to critically engage with how gendered social power relations and their material effects produce the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. We are limited to narratives that deny or minimise experiences of violence in order to recognise our face as that of a moral non-violent subject rather than the immoral other.

The possibility we may be ‘misrecognised’ as a particular subject draws our attention to the ethical character of an account: subjects are produced and recognised within ethical exchanges between an “I” giving an account and an audience to whom the account is given, or what Butler (2001, 2005) refers to as the Other¹⁴. An account is always produced in relation and response to an Other. The Other asks the “I” ‘who are you?’ and the “I” responds with an account of oneself, producing a subject for the Other to recognise. There would be no account if there was no demand to ‘explain oneself’ to an Other, and so we could consider an account an attempt to produce a recognisable “I” for the Other in the context of that demand. This is the sense in which the site of an account is an ethical site: a site at which we are exposed to, and establish a relationship with, the Other. To answer the question ‘who are you?’, the “I” must self-reflect on how their experiences, thoughts, and actions can be contextualised within the demand for an account, what expectations the Other has of the account, and anticipate potential consequences of the account given (Butler, 2001, 2005). In other words, we structure

¹⁴ It is important here to note the difference between the **O**ther who demands an account (whether imagined or embodied) and the **o**ther who is positioned as a ‘subject of difference’ within an account. I have used capitalisation to mark the distinction between **O**ther and **o**ther throughout my writing.

and craft our account to meet the expectations of the Other in ways that consider the material effects of the subject we produce in the account. As Matthew told me:

“We basically all portray an image that we think is what people want us to be.”

[Matthew]

Matthew’s narrative of portraying an image could suggest that the subject produced in an account is an act of deception: a false representation in order to intentionally persuade the Other to recognise them as a particular subject. However, assumptions of deception rely on the presence of a fully formed coherent subject prior to the site of an account, one that can be concealed or re-defined through intentional deceptive processes. However, Butler (2001, 2005) argues the subject is produced *in* the account, *within and through* ethical relationships, and therefore, the persuasion of men’s narratives is a product that emerges at the site of the account, *through the account*, rather than an outcome of deception. The notion of persuasion as a product of ethical exchange at the site of an account opens spaces to reflect on how contextualised demands at sites of ethical encounters enable and/or constrain particular persuasive subjects to emerge in an account of the self. How do the ways in which the Other demands an account co-produce the subject that emerges?

Ethical relationships at the site of an account are not unilateral. The “I” does not simply tell the Other who she/he ‘is’. Rather, an account is a negotiation and collaboration of meaning: producing, transforming, and redirecting the ethical relationship as required by the context of the address (Butler, 2005). If the “I” produced in an account is a moral subject, they can expect approval and connection with the Other. If the “I” emerges as an immoral subject at the site of the account, the relationship with the Other will be one of judgement and condemnation. Accounts of ‘guilty’ and ‘not guilty’ subjects within criminal justice narratives are produced through binary discourse that leaves little room for accommodating the complexity and contradiction of lived experience, rendering experiences that do not conform to the identity categories available within criminal justice narratives ‘unspeakable’ (Butler, 2006). Dualist binary discourse demands a somewhat simplistic account of the self (guilty/not-guilty; violent/non-violent; immoral/moral), forcing narratives to conform to expectations of coherency and conformity in order to produce a unitary and categorically recognisable subject. Any experience that falls outside the boundaries of the unifying subject positions available is

difficult to account for without threatening recognition or evoking misrecognition. For example, within dualist binary discourse, the man who believes he is not violent will struggle to account for any acts of violence without the threat that he will be not be recognised as a moral non-violent subject, or will be misrecognised as an immoral violent subject by the Other. The Other must recognise the “I” of an account from their own position, one that includes, but is not irreducible to, the interaction between the Other’s own subjective experiences and sociocultural norms (Butler, 2001, 2005). The Other will bring to the account their own terms of understanding which they apply to the task of recognition. It is possible, even when we produce a coherent narrative of a particular moral subject, the Other may fail to recognise or may misrecognise the “I” produced in the account.

The threat of misrecognition of the subject we believe ourselves to ‘be’ can result in practices of denial and defensiveness. One man in particular narrated his struggle with the tenuous complexity of attempts to produce an “I” that will be recognised appropriately by an Other: the desire to be recognised as a non-violent, moral subject despite narratives of violence and anger. In Hector’s account of speaking with a woman facilitator on the stopping violence programme, the woman (the Other of the original ethical encounter he was narrating to me) had accused him of being an immoral violent subject, resulting in defensiveness, anger and a desire to strike out against her:

“I hate violence. I’ve never hit a woman...And I made her cry, because I just turned into the ogre and I said ‘Look, I’m not the one. I’m not a violent fuck...You want to point the finger? Go to that guy there and he will clearly smack your head in’...I turned around and told her ‘look, I’m not here by court order. I’m here by volunteer. I’m here because I’ve got a nasty voice, I’m not here because I’ve got a big fist’...She rarked me up and I was getting to the stage where ‘Yeah, I would love to hit you. I would love to hit you, but I don’t hit females. I don’t hit people’, but she was getting to the stage by telling me who I was and what I was doing and the way I was feeling, she was making me want to hit her...I wanted to just pick her up by her head and shake her like a ragdoll. You don’t talk to me like that...and no, I’m not that person.” [Hector]

In his account, Hector draws on images and assumptions of a domestic violence abuser, privileging physical violence over psychological and verbal forms of abuse, producing

the intention to hurt and cause pain as a marker for recognising a violent, immoral subject. The fear of being misrecognised as a violent man produced a confused and contradictory narrative, whereby his desire for violence against the woman was a defensive response to accusations of violence against another woman. Such confusion and incoherence was a manifestation of the complex bidirectional ethical character of an account, where processes of recognition and misrecognition both structure and threaten the production of a coherent “I”.

Those working in the field of domestic violence research and response can be considered an Other who demands an account from men and women affected by domestic violence and, as such, they are implicated in the production of subjects of accountability and responsibility at sites of research and intervention. When the Other of domestic violence research and response articulates the demand for an account, they set the parameters and structure of an account within sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality relevant to the context of the demand.

Narratives of accountability and responsibility that inform research and practice take on the form of the ethical encounters and institutional contexts at hand, which has implications for how we can understand and embody ‘becoming accountable’ and ‘taking responsibility’. For example, when institutional responses set the parameters for accountability within criminal justice processes, men can produce themselves as moral non-violent subjects, or at least a subject who has been ‘held to account’ and ‘taken responsibility’ for their violence, through telling of their adherence to legal requirements. The production of accountability as a legal and contractual agreement between offender and the court system does not necessarily include, and often omits, processes of taking responsibility for violent acts and becoming accountable to the victims of violence (Guzik, 2007). When processes of accountability do not mobilise self-reflection and commitment to change, but rather require adhering to requirements prescribed by a court of law, the conditions of possibility that enable violence to emerge within relationships are ignored, leaving unchallenged any assumptions that tolerate and justify violence against women and children (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Stark, 2012; Weissman, 2007, 2013; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016; Westmarland et al., 2010). The demand for an account occurs within an ethical exchange that often does not include the victims or wider community, but is instead a contractual negotiation between the offender and the

criminal justice system. In this context, accountability can be ‘achieved’ through legal admissions of guilt, reparation and reduction of risk that might not hold meaning or significance to either those guilty of violence or their victims. The men I interviewed often spoke of meeting the criteria for legal accountability in ways that omitted or denied ethical obligations to those victimised by their violence:

“It was bullshit, you know? I only went there because I didn’t want a criminal record...They said I had to give back to women and I said ‘well, how much do you want?’ and I just gave them money to get rid of that, and then I had to do this bloody [stopping violence] course...I want to travel a bit, so I don’t want things on my bloody passport. That’s all that worried me. Like, if you want money, tell me how much you want. It’s only money. Don’t worry me, I just want it to go away.” [Tim]

“I said ‘what is the quickest way, easiest way out of this?’ and [my lawyer] said ‘plead guilty’...I will get a discharge without conviction if I do a youth and parenting course...and so I said ‘that sounds marvellous’...I thought the discharge without conviction, career-wise, sounds like a safe move...This was the easy way out.” [Tony]

Tim and Tony have been legally held to account, but have they become accountable for their violence to those who were harmed by their abuse? Have they engaged with the underlying assumptions and processes of their violence, taking responsibility for their violent acts? The problematics of producing accountability within the parameters of the criminal justice system becomes troublingly clear when listening to women’s accounts of ongoing victimisation and abuse after their (ex)partners completed the court-ordered stopping violence programme. Within the women’s accounts, (ex)partners were produced as an other who was able to meet legal requirements for accountability without meaningfully engaging with social, moral or ethical processes of accountability and responsibility, leaving in place the conditions of possibility that tolerate and justify violence against women and children and enabling violence to continue:

“He just learnt to talk the talk and just be able to say the steps that he’d made and what he wants from his future...He had completed [the stopping violence programme] and he sounded like he regretted the person that he was in the past and he was happy to be the person that he is now and now he could give so much

more to his children and he had that much more respect for women and that he felt bad about what he'd done and the control, but he's still like the biggest control freak out." [Amy]

"He's just saying what they want to hear... There's just been absolutely no change to the point where I'm thinking 'this is waste of time going to anger management, because you're just not doing anything', and I think the reason why is because he's just being his normal 'oh, I'll just say what they want me to'." [Fiona]

Amy and Fiona's accounts of continuing abuse suggest that understandings and practices of accountability are constrained within, and limited to, the specific ethical encounter from which the demand for an account is made. Within legal processes of accountability, men are produced as having been 'held to account' through understandings of accountability and responsibility not necessarily shared by the victims of their violence. Constraining accountability and responsibility to the parameters of legal requirements discourages a social and ethical commitment towards reducing and eliminating domestic violence. Processes of accountability are dislocated from gendered relationships embedded in sociocultural context and re-located within legal requirements and achievements. Therefore, within the context of critiquing the limitations of criminal justice responses, it is also important for those working within the field of domestic violence to critically question the implications of the ethical and sociocultural contexts and parameters from, and within, which an account is produced.

Producing Morality within Accounts of Violence: The Negotiation between the 'Nonsubstitutional' and 'Substitutional' Self

If an account is given in response to, and in collaboration with, an Other, then the "I" of an account is not the 'creation' or 'achievement' of an isolated individual subject, but instead is the product of an ethical exchange embedded in sociocultural context. In order to be recognised, there must be shared regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality operating within the context of an account that enables recognition of the subject produced. Processes of recognition weave together both the "I"'s subjective history of experiences and the normative terms of shared understanding that give that history meaning. Butler (2001, 2005) combines the work of Cavareno and Hegel to engage with how the "I" is both a product of embodied experiences and actions, and regulatory regimes of sociocultural norms. The subject emerges as a complex

interaction between what could be considered the ‘nonsubstitutional self’ and ‘substitutional self’¹⁵. The nonsubstitutional self is the corporeal being, the embodied and bodily-bound self; a practical actor who narrates their history of experiences and actions at the site of an account. The substitutional self is the product of exposure to, and positioning within, collective regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality at sites of ethical exchange, providing the conditions for recognition of subjects within a given socio-temporal context.

In the context of domestic violence response, the nonsubstitutional self refers to narratives of the ‘evidence’ of men’s cumulative embodied practices of (non)violence across the lifespan, producing either a violent subject for targeted treatment and/or punishment, or a non-violent subject who requires no institutional response. When men’s narratives of the nonsubstitutional self acknowledge and accept a history of violence, without denial or minimisation, they can act as a powerful catalyst for engagement with intervention. For example, one man I spoke with told me he was initially resistant to engage with the stopping violence programme because he believed he did not have a problem with anger and violence and therefore was not an appropriate target for intervention. However, after watching a video demonstrating different forms violence could take, he was able to self-reflect and recognise his subjective experiences and actions as violent, committing himself to processes of change towards non-violence. The compiled evidence of his corporeal history of violence produced a narrative of a nonsubstitutional violent self, reducing his resistance to domestic violence intervention and encouraging acceptance for treatment and support:

“I watched that video and I just felt ashamed. That was me. They are actually talking about me. They’re not role-playing, that’s me in there. And it really sunk [in]. It hit home...I went back straight from here to my wife’s house...and I apologised to her. I said...’Look, I’ve seen that video and I was-, That was me. They’re talking about me and I’m real sorry’.” [Peter]

Once Peter was able to narrate experiences of violence within his nonsubstitutional life story, he was able to accept and address his subjective history of anger and abuse.

¹⁵ Butler (2001, 2005) uses variations of the terms ‘substitutable’ and ‘nonsubstitutable’ as states or characteristics of ‘being’, where, for example, one can ‘be’ nonsubstitutable or ‘establish’ their substitutability. In this thesis, I draw on these terms when talking about the ‘nonsubstitutional’ and ‘substitutional’ self to construct a theoretical contrast for the purpose of analysing the layers of the production of the “I” in narratives of domestic violence.

Accounting for Domestic Violence

Accepting violence encouraged him to become proactively accountable to his victim through taking responsibility for his actions and apologising. However, Peter's account of himself as a violent subject was not consistent. At times, his narrative was contradictory, producing him as also a non-violent subject and a victim of violence who was acting in self-defence:

“She said I was an angry person and I didn't think that I was to be honest, and I still don't think I was...I'm not an angry person. I don't beat anyone up, never have and never will. I've never hit a female in my life...As far as I was concerned I was the victim. I was the one getting picked on at home...I was the one getting the verbal abuse.” [Peter]

The inconsistency and tension between subject positions of violence, non-violence and victim in Peter's account was similar to the difficulties many of the men had when attempting to narrate a stable and coherent “I”. Whilst telling a story of violence, men drew on a diverse and complex history of life experiences, and those life experiences and corporeal actions held different meanings depending on the context in which the experiences had occurred, and in relation to the context of the account. Peter, for example, recognised his own anger and violence after watching a video during a stopping violence programme session, and the account he gave of that story produced a violent subject. However, when he drew on sociocultural conceptualisations that conflate domestic violence with battering, Peter recognised himself as a non-violent subject since recollections of his nonsubstitutional self did not include physical violence. In the context of the teachings of the stopping violence programme, Peter was violent, whereas when contextualising his acts in relation to shared understandings of violence as physical, he was non-violent. The incoherence and contradiction in some men's accounts of themselves as violent and/or non-violent subjects can be explained by differently shared sociocultural assumptions of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that give meaning to subjective actions, and the negotiation between subjective experiences and shared regimes.

At the scene of address, the “I” offers an account of themselves as a subject who can be recognised by the Other through shared social norms and conditions of understanding, embedding the nonsubstitutional self into a substitutional self who is positioned within regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality. Corporeal actions are embedded

within narratives of violence and morality that are shared within sociocultural contexts. In Peter's example, narratives of violence exclude non-physical violence, and so whilst he could understand himself as violent in the context of domestic violence intervention, he could also understand himself as non-violent within wider social norms and understandings. The substitutional self does not always easily 'absorb' the experiences of the nonsubstitutional self into coherence: if men understand themselves, through shared regimes of morality, to be a moral subject (the substitutional self), his acts of violence in the past (his nonsubstitutional self) cannot be contained within a moral subject position. Negotiating between the nonsubstitutional and substitutional self can produce inconsistency and contradiction in an account, making recognition a complex and difficult task if coherence is also a sociocultural expectation. However, when sociocultural contexts hold norms and assumptions that tolerate and justify violence, the substitutional self can more easily accommodate violent embodied practice through narratives that draw on those norms to contextualise the actions. In this sense, the substitutional self excuses the nonsubstitutional self for violent acts through narratives that capitalise on sociocultural norms to accept and condone violence. For example, two of the men I spoke with talked about their use of violence during or after attending the stopping violence programme in response to the threat of sexual offending against children. In the accounts, the men were produced as moral non-violent subjects who had also engaged in morally justified acts of child protection (rather than violence), and therefore whilst their nonsubstitutional self had engaged in violence, their substitutional self was positioned as a moral, protective subject:

"I quickly stopped pounding on him [when] I heard the sirens...I only did it because I've always said, if anyone says anything bad about my kids or anything I will [hurt] them...I just told all my family members and stuff and they said 'well, you did what you needed to do'." [William]

"The guy who sat next to me I hated through the whole course because I knew that he was a paedophile...We had to do these little skits and things like that and I kept on saying 'well, I'll be in this group here and you're in that group over there' and he would say 'why? I want to be in your group' and I said 'I don't want you to be near me. As a *father*, I don't think you should hang out with me', and all the other guys picked up on it and were going 'what?' and I said 'as a *father* I do not

think you should breathe'... We all confronted him. [I] think we ended up in a punch-up on site there, but it was quite funny." [Hector]

William and Hector's stories of embodied acts of violence towards other men are contextualised as justifiable when in the service of protecting society from child sex offenders. Child sex offenders are often considered the most detested of all offenders, produced within social discourse as 'inhuman monsters'. Therefore, if child sex offenders are outside the human and moral condition, violence towards them cannot be considered a moral crime, but instead could be a practice of restoring social order (Spencer, 2009). The narrative of protecting children from child sex offenders enables the violence of the nonsubstitutional self to be embedded within the production of a moral and non-violent substitutional self. Narratives can work to assimilate the contradiction between the history of the nonsubstitutional self and shared sociocultural assumptions that inform the substitutional self through stories that gather experiences and practices into a cohesive narrative thread consistent with shared norms and assumptions of subjectivity and morality so that any inconsistency is obscured.

The men's narratives of the moral substitutional self that tolerated or justified the nonsubstitutional self's acts of violence often drew on sociocultural norms of masculinity and patriarchal authority. Western conceptualisations of masculinity under patriarchal ideology position men as the protectors and defenders of women and children, where aggression and violence is justified, and even produced as a moral practice, if in the service of masculine protection. (Budgeon, 2014; Flood, 2011, 2014, 2015; Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Schrock & Padavic, 2007; Weissman, 2007). Assumptions and expectations of protective masculine violence open spaces for violence to be accepted as a socially sanctioned and morally just practice, negating any threat of contradiction and incoherence within men's accounts of themselves as a moral subject. In the men's stories, narratives of defending and protecting children through acts of acceptable and 'moral' violence encouraged me as the Other to recognise the "I" as a moral non-violent substitutional self in spite of stories of violence:

"[My daughter's partner] has thwacked my daughter a couple of times I think, and I have said to him 'that's it. Next time Dad's going to step in and I don't care

where I end up, but I can guarantee you, you won't be walking for a damn long time'." [Peter]

"No way in the world would I want my little girl to marry someone who was like me. I'd probably go round there and punch him out." [Gavin]

Peter and Gavin told me they were no longer violent men, and did not condone violence in any way, and yet narrated an appeal for violence in order to protect their daughters from 'men like them'. The contradiction in their accounts manifest the tensions and negotiations involved between the nonsubstitutional and substitutional self and how shared regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality can support negotiations and produce a morally coherent subject within the narrative. The nonsubstitutional self's desire for, or acts of, violence were justified within assumptions of parental protection, producing the substitutional self as a moral subject. Sociocultural norms associated with parenting and discipline worked to tolerate and condone violence in many of the men's accounts, where violence was narrated as a moral practice if in service of protecting children and maintaining social order:

"I was running out of-, I didn't have any more tricks in my bag...Once I had run out of everything else and it was still happening, I talked to [my son] about it. I warned him and warned him 'don't do that. Don't keep doing that' and it kept on happening, and that's when I used violence." [Mark]

"[My daughter] was rude and really abusive to her mum, even pushing her mum around and we tried many ways to try to correct her behaviour, and we found that pulling privileges, grounding, taking privileges off her would only make her more angry and more aggressive and more resentful towards us...So we decided the old-fashioned way, which was wrong in terms of the law, which was physical discipline. And so I took her aside and I said 'nothing else works. I'm going resort to giving you a smack with my belt' and it was just going to be three on the backside and not violence, [not] in anger." [Tony]

Tony explicitly defined the physical discipline of his child as 'not violence' through narrating the intention behind the violent act as parental concern and not anger. Therefore, the substitutional self as a moral non-violent subject is protected and sustained through appeals to the substitutional self's moral and socially acceptable intent. Narratives of intent were integral to the production of a moral non-violent

subject who had engaged in acts of violence, where child abuse was accounted for as an act of parental concern, love and guidance rather than malicious harm and injury. If the substitutional self did not intend for the nonsubstitutional self's violence to cause pain and harm, the production of a moral subject was still possible. In contrast, an immoral subject was the product of narratives where both the substitutional and nonsubstitutional self's intentions were to purposively inflict pain and suffering. When domestic violence abusers are conceptualised as subjects who intentionally and purposefully intend to inflict harm on their victims, narratives that deny intent can work to deny, minimise or justify acts of violence. Bettinson and Bishop (2015) warn that notions of intent privilege the needs, concerns and interests of the violent subject, and obscure or disregard the trauma and harm caused by violence regardless of intent. Indeed, there was often little or no reflection on the effect of the violent act on the victim of violence in men and women's narratives of 'moral intent'. Instead, violence was produced as an altruistic, moral response to increasing threats to the safety and well-being of the child and/or others in the family, reconstituting the nonsubstitutional self's acts of abuse within the substitutional self's moral, masculine authority and protection:

“[My partner] gave her a slap, but the thing is the only reason he did that was because that was the third time she'd tried to attack me...and I saw the slap, but I wasn't watching [my partner], I was watching her because I thought 'well, I trust [him] with my back', but with her the way she was I thought 'well, if I don't watch what she's going to do, she might give me a right hook or something'. And I'm trying to calm her down and she's still yelling and swearing and cursing.”

[Melanie]

“[Our son] was giving his mum a bit of a lip, like young people do, and I gave him a bit of a punch and he got a bleeding nose and [his mum] freaked and rang the cops, and then I had to go to court. They didn't really arrest me. They just took me away. They took me away, finger printed me and all that sort of thing, then I went home and everything was all good...[The police] sort of said he probably deserved it.” [Tim]

Both Melanie and Tim's stories morally justify child abuse as a function of good parenting. In Tim's story the moral justification is supported through the production of social others in the story who also justify and condone violence when intended for

disciplining children and maintaining social order. The police officers are produced as social others who understood Tim's violence against his son as "deserved" given his son's disrespectful actions, and share his conceptualisation of abuse as a moral, socially condoned act of parental discipline. Narratives that position violence as a socially acceptable and moral act permitted through patriarchal assumptions of protection, produce and reproduce assumptions of masculine privilege and authority, where men's violence is tolerated, justified and/or encouraged as a technology for control and domination within hierarchical gendered power relations (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Messerschmidt, 2000, 2012; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Mowat et al., 2016; Stark, 2007, 2010). The tolerance and justification of masculine violence in order to protect and maintain control over children stands in contrast to legal reformation in Aotearoa New Zealand where the ability to defend allegations of child abuse through claiming disciplinary reasonable force was removed within the Crimes (Substituted Section 59) Amendment Act (2007). Despite changes to legislation, the men's accounts suggest the conceptualisation of violence against children as a practice of good parenting is still pervasive in Aotearoa New Zealand:

"They say you can discipline your kids, but you can't hit them...What's the difference? Some people discipline by smacking on the bum." [William]

"I knew that what I was doing was illegal, but I'd spoken to a few people about it and they said that it works if it's done properly...Sometimes it's the only thing that will bring a child to the point where they realise that they do need to actually look after mum and dad. And so it was done in that calm, controlled manner. As I say 'it's not like we hate you or are angry at you, we're just trying to stop a particular behaviour of yours that is abusive and aggressive'." [Tony]

The tolerance of violence against women and children as a moral protective practice is a manifestation of the dominance of patriarchal power within our contemporary sociocultural setting, producing and reproducing gendered power relations of domination and subordination, where the masculine subject's needs and concerns are privileged over the traumatic and harmful effects of violence for the women and children victims (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Jeffries, 2016). As one of the men I spoke with told me:

“People think I’m pretty laid back and no one’s ever seen me angry...I had to go [to the stopping violence programme] for [punching my son in the face] and no one’s ever said anything other than ‘what a waste of time’, and I said ‘well, that’s society and that’s what I’ve got to do’. Like, at the end of the day, I did what I did and if it had of been 10 or 20 years ago, probably the cop would’ve given him a clip around the ear for talking to his mother like that, you know? Like, when I was a young fulla that’s-, The cops used to give you a clip around the ear...or send you home and that was all well and good.” [Tim]

Challenging sociocultural norms that conceptualise violence as an acceptable and/or justifiable response to situational demands is a difficult task, one that the men I interviewed actively resisted within their narratives. Despite social campaigns challenging norms that tolerate domestic violence, such as the It’s Not OK campaign, the men often talked about how socio-political movements towards zero tolerance of violence in any form was both undesirable and unnecessary. In their accounts, violence was socially productive, enabling the development of respectful and hierarchical relationships that maintained social order:

“One day [my son] came home all wet and I said ‘what happened to you? You’re all wet’, and he said ‘Oh fuck, I called [my friend]...a pig and he threw me in the river’, because [his friend is] a policeman, and I said ‘oh, good job’ and they sort of respected each other, you know?” [Tim]

When relationships between men are organised within and through competitive hierarchies of masculinity, violence emerges as a valued and privileged tactic for the development of homosocial bonds and social order (Flood, 2008). To question the morality of violence in contexts of social order and respect is to threaten men’s ability to establish relationships with each other within hierarchies of masculinity. As such, the men I spoke with often dismissed efforts to conceptualise violence as immoral or undesirable, producing attempts at social transformation as ignorant and unreflective of the socioculturally established and privileged ways through which homosocial bonds and social order can be established and maintained:

“There was a male cop and a lady cop and the lady cop was a real-, She wanted to...maybe go further, so I had to go to court...The male cop didn’t really want to know about it, but the female cop said ‘no, no, this is serious’. In the old days, you

did that all the time, you know?...The [male] cop said to me...if that sheila hadn't of been there, they would have just left it at that...She was a bit of a Hitler...and I think she'd been watching too many movies." [Tim]

Tim's narrative of his experiences with police officers supports homosocial processes that celebrate authoritative and aggressive masculinity and exclude women's interests and concerns, producing and reproducing the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge as a moral masculine practice, as recognised by some critical researchers in the field (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014). The regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that justify moral non-violent subjects' acts of violence resist transformative efforts, conceptualising violence and abuse as a productive masculine practice in the service of protection and maintaining social order. When acts of abuse are located within social norms that justify and tolerate violence in the service of protecting and defending children, the nonsubstitutional self's use of violence is mitigated by recognising the substitutional self as a moral non-violent subject. Therefore, sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge unchallenged as a condoned and moral choice in certain circumstances, where the substitutional self can evade demands for accountability and responsibility for the nonsubstitutional self's acts of violence, ignoring and silencing the trauma and pain inflicted on the victims of violence.

Chapter 4: The Structural Violence of an Account

Dismemberment, Dispossession and Dislocation: The Crisis of the Demands of an Account

Sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality structure the ways in which we can tell our stories to produce particular recognisable subjects in an account (Butler, 2001, 2005). The “I” is the product of the complex assimilation of, and negotiation between, the nonsubstitutional self’s life story of corporeal experiences and the substitutional self’s location within sociocultural norms. When an Other demands men give an account of themselves as a process of domestic violence response, the “I” must reflect on, interrogate and integrate their subjective thoughts, feelings and experiences into narratives embedded within the sociocultural and ethical context of the demand to produce a moral subject of (non)violence. Since the subject produced in the account may be moral or immoral depending on the meaning of violence in context and ability to justify the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence within the substitutional self’s moral position, the demand for an account at sites of domestic violence response where violent acts are judged as immoral presents a crisis for the “I”. How can the men account for acts of violence without condemning themselves as an immoral subject? Stories of the moral subject that also articulate violence and abuse require the “I” to dismember and distort the nonsubstitutional self’s narrative, ‘severing’ acts of violence from the context in which they occurred in order to ‘re-attach’ them within a narrative of a moral non-violent subject in response to a demand elsewhere.

A technology of dismemberment employed within the men’s accounts was the discourse of ‘losing control’, where acts of violence could be conceptualised as uncharacteristic of and dislocated from the moral and non-violent substitutional self. To recognise and reconcile the nonsubstitutional self’s actions within the morality of the substitutional self, and weave their narrative into a singular, moral thread, some men’s account’s conceptualised acts of violence as an external and separate force that momentarily took control over their bodies:

“I just lost control of what I was doing and a loss of control is a horrible feeling too. I remember thinking that I didn’t like the fact that I had no control when I got to that boiling point and then just did stuff... You get to know what it’s like for us

The Structural Violence of an Account

boys when we blow that-, Flick that switch or whatever it is that makes you into the horrible person that you don't like." [Matthew]

Matthew's narrative suggests that not only are his acts of violence unreflective of his moral substitutional self, but they are also unwelcome and unwanted. Matthew, as a moral non-violent subject, does not tolerate or condone violence and therefore narrates his practices of violence as a force imposed on him and beyond his control. Much like the fictional character of Dr Jekyll, the moral non-violent subject is opposed to the immorality of violence, desiring to banish and purge experiences of violence that do not integrate well within moral subjectivities of non-violence. In order to survive as a moral subject, the "I" must sever its violent acts from an account of unifying coherence. Narratives of alcohol consumption and intoxication also enacted such distinct severing of the moral subject from his practices of violence through losing control of himself and temporarily becoming someone different, someone who is not the substitutional moral self. Instead, when intoxication 'takes over' the nonsubstitutional self, men can temporarily engage in acts of violence that should not be integrated into the recognisable substitutional self:

"A lot of the times that I did have dramas were when I was having a drink."
[Matthew]

"Alcohol added a lot of problems to my violence, so I don't get drunk anymore...As soon as I get drunk, anything could happen after that, even people I love can get hurt. So that's why I finally woke up and that's played a big factor to my violence. It's still there, but when I'm drunk I can't control it." [Gareth]

The women also talked about understanding their (ex)partners' violence as a momentary loss of control, where the acts of abuse and violence inflicted upon them did not represent their relationship with their (ex)partners in their everyday mundane lives together. When the men were violent, the women found them 'unrecognisable' in relation to their usual moral substitutional self, despite some women acknowledging the men's history of violent acts beyond their own victimisation. Therefore, women's narratives produced the men as a non-violent other who had temporarily lost control over their own actions:

"He's a very, very calm person...He can handle situations better than I can. Very calm person, but I think to a point, if pushed I think he would snap...He was

locked up in [prison] for, I think, [several] months...but I think some of it was to do with [his ex-partner] as well.” [Diane]

“It was just that one off loss of control moment...In past relationships he has also done this...[but] not with me myself. I’d never seen it until that moment.”

[Bronwyn]

Both Diane and Bronwyn’s stories acknowledge their partners had a history of violence against women, but maintain this does not reflect the calm, non-violent subject they know their partners to be within the context of their intimate relationship. To make sense of the contradiction between the men’s violence and the women’s understandings of their partners as moral non-violent subjects, practices and histories of violence were severed from the women’s accounts of their own victimisation. In their relationship, abuse against them became a momentary loss of control that did not reflect who they believed the men to be. Both the men and women’s accounts of ‘losing control’ conceptualise experiences of domestic violence as an abnormality, arguing that an external force was responsible, provoking a violent response from a normally non-violent subject. When domestic violence is understood as a departure from the moral norm through narratives of losing control, the masculine subject is able to maintain a moral non-violent subject position, despite acts of violence where his “violent actions were not consistent with his sense of self” (Boonzaier, 2008, p. 193). Masculine subjects can obfuscate their accountability and responsibility through appealing to the morality of their ‘usual self’, ‘dismembering’ immoral acts of violence from the moral non-violent substitutional self through producing those acts as beyond their will or control.

Narratives of external forces that act upon the subject in ways they do not control suggests that the constitution of subjectivities through embodied practice operates, at least to some degree, dispossessed of awareness and beyond choosing. Butler (2001, 2005) discusses how such a sense of externalisation and imposition may be a product of regimes and terms of understanding that have operated on us prior to our ability to produce an account of oneself. She argues the sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that govern and regulate the ways certain kinds of subjects can be produced through an account existed and operated on the subject *prior* to the production of the “I”: the conscious subject able to articulate the conditions of its own

The Structural Violence of an Account

subjective positioning. Although these regimes ‘give’ us the terms through which we can know and account for ourselves, we are not necessarily aware of how they work upon us in complex and diverse ways, even as we produce and reproduce them by offering them to the Other as a foundation for recognition (Butler, 2005). We are, to some degree, external and ‘dispossessed’ from ourselves, never fully aware of how regimes of intelligibility, morality and subjectivity act upon us and through us at the site of our accounts. As Butler (2001) argues:

The “I” cannot tell the story of its own emergence, and the conditions of its own possibility, without in some sense bearing witness to a state of affairs to which one could not have been present, prior to one’s own becoming, and so narrating that which one cannot know. (p. 26)

As a consequence of the externality of the terms and regulatory regimes through which we can account for ourselves, our knowledge and awareness of the production and reproduction of sociocultural discourses and terms of understanding in our accounts can only ever be partial and opaque (Butler, 2001, 2005). We only know ‘pieces’ of the structures of understanding through which we come to make sense of ourselves and our actions, and the underlying assumptions and implications of those ‘pieces’ are not completely explained to us nor understood by us. Notions of partiality and opacity are particularly problematic for those located within Western contexts dominated by neoliberal imaginations of the responsible individual and the privileging of narration and self-knowledge within an account. Butler (2005) argues partiality and opacity threaten the survival of the neoliberal subject, where regimes of intelligibility demand an “I” who can fully narrate an account of themselves as a responsible subject at sites of ethical exchange with an Other. The inability to produce a comprehensive and self-aware account presents a “threat to life” (Butler, 2005, p. 65) that needs to be either denied or overcome in order to produce, and survive as, a responsible, recognisable subject at the site of address. Attempts to deny and overcome the problematics of partiality and opacity within a complete and coherent account of oneself may explain the contradiction manifest in many of the men’s narratives.

The external, partial and opaque character of an account also presents a threat to processes of accountability and responsibility within the context of domestic violence service response. How can men ‘take responsibility’ and ‘become accountable’ for their

violence when they struggle or are unable to fully know and narrate who they are as a moral subject and why they were violent? How do those in the field of domestic violence intervention respond to a man who does not, and perhaps cannot, know the conditions of his own violence? Narration of violence and the ability to ‘know thyself’ are essential for engaging processes of accountability and responsibility that require self-reflection and acknowledgement of violence, but what are the consequences of the demand for complete self-understanding when that may not be possible? Butler (2001, 2005) argues the disavowal of the external, partial and opaque character of our accounts suspends the ability for humility in ethical encounters, where refusing to acknowledge the limitations of ‘knowingness’ prevents us from engaging with the difficulties and tension that can result from attempting to produce a coherent and comprehensive account of ourselves at the site of address. Such disavowal can cause frustration, distress and ethical disconnection, where the “I” is obligated to respond to the demand for an account within structural requirements that are difficult, if not impossible, to fulfil. Within domestic violence response, men are required to not only narrate their experiences as violence, but also understand the conditions of possibility that enabled their violence to emerge, a difficult task if our understandings of the self and its actions are only ever partial and opaque. Indeed, many of the men I interviewed accounted for an initial difficulty and distress with engaging with stopping violence services when they were unable to understand their experiences as violence, or the conditions that enabled their violence to emerge:

“I can’t remember how many nights I did thinking ‘I don’t really belong here. I don’t know why I’m here. I can’t be bothered’... The first four or five weeks, I took nothing in: ‘I don’t belong here. Oh hell, I don’t want to sit too close to him. He beat his wife up’, you know? And that’s how I was when I first arrived. I didn’t say nothing, just sat there...made it look like I was doing something.”

[Peter]

The women I spoke with evoked notions of partialness and opacity when accounting for their disappointment in the stopping violence programme’s unrealistic expectations for the responsible, self-aware subject who can fully narrate their experiences. For instance, Melanie, recalling her partner’s stories of experiences on the programme, spoke of her frustration with the need for men to produce a complete and comprehensive account of themselves and their actions. She suggested the inability to acknowledge and tolerate

The Structural Violence of an Account

incomplete accounts was harmful to the development of therapeutic relationships that could motivate change towards non-violence:

“[The men on the programme] weren’t able to learn or explain things the way it happened the first time [they attended the programme]. It’s happened again because the course hasn’t actually helped them because they haven’t expressed themselves to say ‘I don’t know why I did it, but this is what built up to it’, and then work out: ‘ok, that’s what happened up until this stage and then you hit her, why don’t we try this way, so that if you’re still building up, it’s not going to come to the same conclusion’.” [Melanie]

Melanie’s resistance to the demand for men’s complete and comprehensive accounts of themselves paradoxically reproduces the need for such an account in order to produce change. She suggests our accounts must conform to a temporal sequence in order to make sense of ourselves and our actions: we need to know the events leading up to an act of violence in order to make sense of the violence itself. Partiality and opacity are compounded by demands for a coherent and sequential narrative that tells the story of how the subject produced in an account came to be (Butler, 2001, 2005). Within sites of domestic violence research and response, men are required to narrate a story that explains how and why they are a violent subject in order to then transform their life story from one of violence to non-violence in the future. For example, criminal justice responses to domestic violence demand a coherent, sequential and consistent narrative that provides evidence of a cohesive, temporal history: the specific embodied events, reasons and explanations relating to accusations of violence in a court of law. Once the evidence has told a story of how the violent or non-violent subject emerged, the appropriate course of action can be taken, whether that is punishment, rehabilitation, or even a conclusion that no intervention is needed because the subject produced is ‘not guilty’ and therefore not accountable for violence.

Stopping violence programmes and interventions also require a cohesive, sequential temporal account of the “I” in order to initiate processes of change. Cognitive behavioural approaches, a common component of stopping violence programmes, demand that men reflect on why they have used violence (their life history as a violent subject) in order to identify the ‘cause’ of, and ‘solution’ to, violence (e.g. ‘faulty cognition’ and cognitive restructuring) (Robertson, 1999). Anger management

programmes encourage men to identify and challenge their embodied affectivity in order to learn the ‘triggers’ of their anger, the patterns of its escalation, and techniques to retain control of their emotional ‘expression’. The demand for sequential, coherent and comprehensive narrative accounts of the self is an underlying, guiding process of domestic violence service response, but is this expectation reasonable given the limits to self-knowledge and understanding? Can we identify and articulate the multiple, intersecting and ever-changing conditions of possibility when accounting for wicked problems such as domestic violence? Is the structural demand for a starting point or ‘referent’ in a coherent story of violence achievable if our knowledge of the regimes and terms of understanding through which we can tell that story is partial and opaque? How does the demand for temporal sequence and coherence threaten the ability to narrate the complexity, diversity and, at times, inconsistency of lived experiences of violence?

The men and women I interviewed often had difficulty producing a narrative that obeyed the demands for temporal sequence and coherency, struggling to accommodate sites of disruption and interruption within their stories of violence and victimisation. Such narrative disruption manifested in the accounts through broken sentences, instability in temporal trajectory, interruptions to the narrative thread in order to further explicate key terms and experiences that bring meaning to the current story, and an awareness that their story had been dislocated from the purpose of the account demanded from them at the site of ethical address:

“I’d be better off finding-, If I had some other place to go-, So we did that and then when I got back-, Oh, before that, before-, I’m jumping backwards and forwards-.” [Belinda]

“I just thought, God, the last thing I need is to go to work and then start a new job and then have to say ‘I need to take the day off because I’ve got to go to court because’-, and someone like me who has this-, I do have this squeaky clean image, you know, I don’t sort of do this, do that and, you know?” [Diane]

“A couple of things that ended up happening-, I mean, this is going to the rear end of it when we finished at [the stopping violence programme]...” [Tracey]

“Um, I’ve gone a little off track on the [stopping violence programme] thing.” [Kate]

The Structural Violence of an Account

The need to identify a recognisable starting point for an account is problematic when our lived experiences are diverse, complex and contingent. The ‘origin’ of a story, such as the escalation of violence, is narratively interrupted and/or dislocated through an awareness that other stories and experiences which could be told also act upon and through the identified referent of an account. In other words, the ‘beginning’ of the story of the “I” is also ‘in the middle of’, ‘concurrent with’ and ‘at odds with’ other stories that interrupt the sequential narrative of an account (Butler, 2001, 2005). Prior to giving an account, there is no fixed origin of the story of violence because the story has not yet been produced. It is not until the act of address in an ethical encounter, the site at which we are demanded by the Other to produce an account of ourselves, that we begin to formulate a coherent and sequential narrative drawing on subjective experiences and sociocultural understandings deemed most appropriate to meeting the demand at hand. Prior to the demand for an account, our story, in the particular form it takes at the site of ethical exchange, paradoxically both did not exist and “always arrives late” (Butler, 2001, p. 27). However, our narrative will dissolve unless we find ways through which to structure our stories into a singular, coherent trajectory of experience. In this sense, the production of a coherent, sequential narrative is a ‘necessary fiction’ that enables the possibility for recognition (both of ourselves and by the Other) within the parameters and demands of an account, but cannot accommodate the complexity, inconsistency and incoherence of lived experience (Butler, 2001, 2005).

The Flight from Condemnation: Returning Violence with Violence

Giving an account locates the subject within regimes of morality, opening up processes of moral judgement and response that have material effects. When we tell our story, we are aware that the “I” produced through the coherent, consistent narrative of the account may be met by the Other with either approval and connection or judgement and condemnation, depending on how the subject produced is located within sociocultural norms of morality (Butler, 2012). When giving an account of violence in the context of domestic violence services, if the “I” produces a narrative that acknowledges and accepts the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence, then condemnation, discipline and punishment may follow, but so will possibilities for intervention and change. Conversely, if the “I” narrates a story that minimises, denies or rationalises violence, they may escape or at least mitigate painful consequences of condemnation and punishment, but will also block pathways for transformation enabled through opening

spaces of self-reflection and commitment. Therefore, an account is a site of risk and productivity, mobilising material practices in response to the account produced within ethical exchange. An ‘unwilled demand’ for an account within domestic violence response, and the structured parameters of that account required by regimes of intelligibility, morality and subjectivity, can also be conceptualised as an act of violence, demanding, through force, that the “I” dismember, sever and dislocate their narrative to produce a subject that then risks further violence through condemnation and punishment. When the demand at the site of an account is framed within the form of an accusation (‘you are violent and immoral’), the “I” is aware that the subject produced will be recognised by the Other as a particular moral subject, and this act of recognition may have both painful and productive consequences. Responding to the demand for an account of domestic violence carries risk and anticipation, where the ‘hail’ of the Other makes an accusation we are powerless to avoid and to which we must respond within the parameters of that accusation. As Butler (1997) argues, when the accusation of the demand for an account calls our name:

it is my name, and yet I do not recognize myself in the subject that the name, at this moment, installs. Consider the force of this dynamic of interpellation and misrecognition when the name is not a proper name but a social category, and hence a signifier capable of being interpreted in a number of divergent and conflictual ways...If that name is called, there is more often than not some hesitation about whether or how to respond, for what is at stake is whether the temporary totalization performed by the name is politically enabling or paralyzing, whether the foreclosure, indeed the violence, of the totalizing reduction of identity performed by that particular hailing is politically strategic or regressive or, if paralyzing and regressive, also enabling in some way. (p. 96)

Even when men self-reflect and acknowledge the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence, they are aware that to give an account of oneself through narratives of violence and immorality has social, ethical and political consequences. Narratives that produce an “I” who is abusive without defence, denial or rationalisation locate the substitutional self firmly within positions of immorality and perhaps criminality, mobilising structural violence in the form of judgement, condemnation, discipline and punishment. As such, fear and threat governs over the production of an account, where the risk of structural violence that may follow from an account of immorality can

The Structural Violence of an Account

motivate men to deny, minimise and justify their violence in order to evade and/or escape processes of condemnation and punishment. The men interviewed spoke to me of their reluctance to give an account of oneself that produced an immoral and violent “I” and the vulnerability associated with the risk of being judged as violent rather than ‘normal’:

“[Admitting I had a problem was] the biggest part I think...It took a little bit to get used to because as far as I was concerned I was just normal, I didn’t have a problem. Other people had a problem, but not me, so it came as a big eye opener.”

[Martin]

“You had to confront yourself, that you had an anger problem anyway, by just coming in the door, because that was the hardest thing...A lot of people won’t [admit they have an anger problem] because they don’t want to put themselves in a position of being out in the open that they do get angry.” [Matthew]

Resistance to the vulnerability produced by the demand for an account provides the conditions of possibility for justifying violence to enable the “I” to ‘flee’ from the threatened violence of judgement and condemnation. In Martin and Matthew’s account, violence is not explicit, but evoked through ‘having a (anger) problem’. Narratives of provocation enable more explicit ‘flight’ through the storying of the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence as logical and understandable responses to external threat. Like stories of losing control, stories of provoked violence locate the origin of violence external to the “I” producing an account, justifying the violence as an unusual action from a usually non-violent subject, defending against the risk of condemnation. As Boonzaier (2008, p. 201) argues, appeals to provocation function “to represent particular forms of (positive and morally acceptable) subjectivities within a context of speaking about morally reprehensible behaviour”, enabling men to produce a morally privileged subject position despite their use of violence. In the men’s narratives, the external origin of violence was often the victim of violence themselves, where processes of victim blaming rationalised and justified acts of violence, defending against judgement and condemnation:

“She was as much to blame as me...This wasn’t actually my fault...She started it and went right in my face and I head-butted her, but she provoked me.” [John]

“I didn’t realise I had a problem and then I got landed with a couple of assault charges, though I still didn’t think I was in the wrong because it was more self-defence than provoked.” [Martin]

“She tells me for the last two [years] she’s been seeing this other guy. I said ‘I’m going to fucking kill you both’... I said to her ‘you could have told me way back at the start, but after two years, of course I’m going to lose the plot. Of course I’m going to say those things’.” [Simon]

Appeals to ‘logical’ and ‘understandable’ acts of violence in response to victim’s actions produces violence as a discrete incident provoked by situational factors, masking conditions of possibility for violence such as masculine privilege, power, and control (Boonzaier, 2008; Hunter & Tyson, 2017), and enabling the justification, minimisation and denial of men’s violence against women and children. Despite challenges to provocation discourse in the field of domestic violence, such as the abolishment of the provocation defence within the Crimes (Provocation Repeal) Amendment Act (2009) in Aotearoa New Zealand, narratives of provoked and ‘understandable’ acts of violence are resilient and persistent. Judges continue to produce narratives of provocation during sentencing processes, where the ‘reasons’ for violence are often discussed as mitigating factors in sentencing decisions (Hunter & Tyson, 2017). When violence is justified as a logical response to provocation, the gendered power relations that enable domestic violence to emerge are ignored and unchallenged, and provocation discourse can act as a further process of control and manipulation through producing the victim as the responsible subject worthy of judgement and condemnation. When ‘provocative’ victims are required to hold themselves accountable for their own victimisation, it is then also their responsibility to ensure that violence does not occur again by making sure their actions do not provoke. As such, narratives of provocation enable men to ‘flee from judgement’, constrain processes of accountability and responsibility, maintain the conditions of possibility for domestic violence, and can be used as a strategy for psychological violence and coercive control:

“I’ve got a rule at home: I don’t yell and scream and don’t wind me up because I don’t like to be that person. And the couple of times I have turned into that person and I’ve told them-, I’ve stopped myself through it and I said ‘look, you’ve made

The Structural Violence of an Account

me this person. I don't want to be this person. This person does not exist'."

[Hector]

"He understands he has been controlling in the past, but he doesn't fully get it. He's still saying it's my fault. There's still that 'it's your fault'. The reason why he gets wound up is still my fault. Everything's my fault." [Fiona]

Hector and Fiona's stories demonstrate how the concept of provocation acts as a barrier to men's engagement with processes of accountability and responsibility, whilst also shifting accountability and responsibility to the victim of violence. When fleeing from the violence of an account, processes of justification minimise opportunities for self-reflection and change towards non-violence whilst holding in place gendered power relations that position the victim as 'the problem'. As such, provocation discourse can work as a barrier to engagement with domestic violence services, limiting the effectiveness of interventions. The substitutional self is not responsible for the nonsubstitutional self's acts of violence, and therefore has no need to identify and/or challenge the conditions of possibility that enabled the violence to emerge:

"How do you get a guy to understand he's got a problem? That's the hardest part I'd say, getting someone to anger management class, getting them to identify they've got a problem." [Martin]

Provocation discourse enables men to appeal against the 'misrecognition' or threat of misrecognition as a violent immoral subject, effectively denying the victim to speak of their victimisation. If the "I" is a moral violent subject, any attempt to hold them to account for immoral violent acts is unwarranted and will not be heard. As such, fleeing from the violence of an account through justifying violence severs ethical relationships of accountability between abuser and victim, reproducing gendered social power relations where men's voices and concerns are privileged, and women's voices and needs are silenced.

Paradoxically, recognising the "I" as a subject of violence can also work to sever ethical relationships of accountability and responsibility. When men are recognised as an immoral violent subject, regulatory and disciplinary institutional responses open spaces for new accounts of the self to begin: new narratives of change and redemption, where the previously violent subject is 'redeemed' through meeting the institutional and legal obligations of accountability. The redeemed moral and non-violent substitutional self

emerges from intervention ‘cleansed’ of the immorality imposed through the nonsubstitutional self’s violent acts. A temporal shift has produced a subjective transformation, where the previous domestic violence abuser becomes the current redeemed and reformed moral subject. As such, the ‘name’ by which we are ‘hailed’ in the accusation of the account (‘you a violent man’) is productive, opening up pathways for new subjectivities of redemption and morality (Butler, 1997). The moral non-violent subject produced through institutional processes of discipline and punishment no longer resembles the immoral violent subject who first accessed domestic violence services, and as such is no longer subordinated by, and under, processes of accountability and responsibility. As the men told me:

“I feel like a completely different person today than I was when I first went in there.” [Matthew]

“[It felt good] walking away from something that could have been, you know, and knowing what you used to be like, to what you are now, walking away from it, yeah, it was fulfilling. It’s so empowering. It’s brilliant.” [Brian]

The new moral subject that emerges from domestic violence intervention is no longer burdened with the responsibility of their old subjectivity’s acts of violence, severing ethical relationships of accountability between abuser and victim, potentially silencing and excluding the pain and needs of the women and children who were abused. Reliance on institutional requirements for accountability and responsibility dislocate domestic violence from the intimate ethical space between abuser and victim, enabling men to ‘meet the criteria’ for accountability in ways that can omit the suffering and needs of the victims (Bumiller, 2010; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Kershner et al., 2007; Stark, 2007, 2012; Weissman, 2007, 2013). The severing of relationships of accountability and responsibility between abuser and victim is an act of ethical violence that privileges men’s redemption over addressing patterns of coercive control that tolerate and justify violence against women and children.

The central figure in narratives of redemption is the abuser, where the story of violence tracks the man’s journey from ‘sinner’ to ‘saved’. As such, domestic violence services become a symbolic church where men can sacrifice their immoral nonsubstitutional self in order to be cleansed, emerging ‘reborn’ as a redeemed, moral and non-violent

The Structural Violence of an Account

subject. Indeed, one man, when talking about the stopping violence programme he attended, told me:

“We used to call it men’s church: Welcome to men’s church.” [Peter]

Processes that cleanse the substitutional self from the ‘sin’ of the nonsubstitutional self remove the ‘stain’ of condemnation and the burden of accountability and responsibility. Accounts given at the conclusion of domestic violence response produced a redeemed moral subject purged of immorality and violence. This process of ‘rebirth’ was narrated as a source of pride and accomplishment in the men’s accounts, where the new subjective position of morality not only enabled them to abandon their previous burden of accountability and responsibility, but also was deserving of social approval and reward:

“People just came up to me at the pub, on the street, people that I knew were going ‘good on you’, really encouraging you, you know? ‘I had a father that was really angry like that and I wish he’d done something about it’. It was very rewarding.” [Matthew]

“They asked me to come back after my course had finished because everybody missed me...I actually went back the week after I’d finished and one of the facilitator’s said ‘oh, all the guys are missing [you] because of [your] input’.” [Ethan]

The position of redeemed subject produces transformative spaces of hope and non-violence, arguably working to challenge and disrupt the structural violence of accounts that produce and condemn immoral and violent subjects. However, the purging of previous acts of violence can also work as a defence against being held accountable for any current and/or future acts of violence. Men may use their achievements and accomplishments gained when burdened under processes of accountability and responsibility as their previous immoral and violent self (such as completion of stopping violence programmes) to provide evidence of their newly acquired moral subject position. An account of a ‘purified’ moral subject, legitimated by and through institutional and legal processes, discourages the need for further intervention or punishment, even if the ‘new’ subject continues to engage in violence. As such, accounts of a redeemed subject ‘cover over’ the conditions of possibility that enable ongoing violence against women and children, especially socially tolerated forms of

violence such as psychological violence and practices of coercive control, through privileging institutional processes for accountability and responsibility.

In the women's narratives, the 'defence of the redeemed subject' enabled the possibility for men's adherence to court requirements and programme attendance to be utilised to avoid punishment for ongoing practices of violence. The women spoke of the 'redeemed subject' as a façade and manipulation, where their (ex)partners drew on socially and institutionally sanctioned narratives of redemption and change to avoid accountability for the women's victimisation. Within such stories, the women talked about ongoing experiences of violence and abuse without recourse to services for help and support. For instance, one woman spoke of an incident where her ex-partner, who had previously completed a stopping violence programme, had subsequently run her and her young child off the road after a Parenting Order without notice had been placed against him. She told me:

“It just didn't work. He just learnt how to hide it better and how to make it sound better that he had done [the stopping violence programme] when he was in court and just I think he learnt quite a lot of terminology from there and more of how to control himself just to fool people...And then of course when the courts ordered him to do [the stopping violence programme again after the car incident]...he said 'but I don't need to because I've been to [a stopping violence programme]' and they went 'oh, ok you have. No, you don't need to'.” [Amy]

Institutional discourses of accountability and redemption sever the ethical relationship between men and the victims of their abuse, enabling ongoing acts of violence as long as they do not meet the threshold for further criminal responsibility and intervention. Men become accountable to the state, not their victims, and the flight from judgement and condemnation is sustained through ensuring any further acts of abuse are located outside legal definitions of domestic violence. For instance, one man spoke of how he learned where the boundaries between tolerated and criminal violence were located after his initial involvement with the criminal justice system. Once aware of the line at which the nonsubstitutional self's acts of violence will be recognised as evidence of the substitutional self's immorality, violence and criminality, the “I” can position itself within those parameters and boundaries to produce and maintain an account of a moral non-violent subject. Institutional discourses of accountability that ignore and/or silence

The Structural Violence of an Account

the conditions of possibility that enable violence to emerge produce non-violence as a 'fiction' of an account, motivated by a desire to avoid criminal sanction and punishment rather than an ongoing process of commitment towards meeting the victim's emotional and physical needs and a change towards non-violence:

"I sort of just knew how far to go with [my son] and I just leave it at that now. I sort of learned throughout all my shagging around and going to court and paying lawyers. I thought 'it's not worth the hassle'...I said to [the youth aid officer], like, you know, 'last time I touched him I got into trouble. So I'm playing by society's rules now'." [Tim]

Institutional and criminal justice processes that enable men to sever ongoing ethical relationships of accountability and responsibility to the victims of their violence allow men to utilise legal and institutional systems to continue their abuse of women and children in ways that avoid criminal responsibility, even post-separation (Beeble, Bybee, & Sullivan, 2007; Crossman et al., 2016; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Stark, 2007, 2012). When domestic violence response, including research, demands an account of oneself as a coherent and consistent subject, narratives of provocation, redemption and institutional accountability can work to justify violence, deny responsibility and leave in place the conditions that enable domestic violence to emerge. At the same time, the moral, non-violent and/or redeemed subject produced within the account severs relationships of accountability between abuser and victim, a practice of epistemological and ethical violence produced and reproduced at the site of domestic violence research and response. The threat of (mis)recognition as an immoral violent subject has material effects that are socially, legally and bodily invested, and therefore any production of the self comes at a cost to the men giving an account of themselves and also to their victims. If those who struggle with the complexity of understanding and accounting for oneself produce a subject who is non-violent, services and intervention that may be needed can be withdrawn, and processes of accountability and responsibility constrained. However, if men are produced as the violent subject of an account, structural and ethical violence through condemnation, discipline and punishment follows. Either narrative path produces problematics for establishing non-violent and collaborative ethical relationships through which to address notions of accountability and responsibility for all those affected by domestic violence, and so the

challenge is to imagine ways in which men could account for their violence without mobilising further violence in return.

Community Accountability: Challenging Accounts that Hold Conditions of Violence in Place

Opportunities for narrative pathways that resist the epistemological and ethical violence of accounting for oneself as a responsible, moral subject are constrained by the dominance of the neoliberal knowledge economy in contemporary society. The reduction of domestic violence to individual-level deviance and deficit to be identified for targeted intervention produces the responsible individual as the ‘source’ of and ‘solution’ to a social problem. Neoliberal imaginations work to ignore the sociocultural and temporal conditions for domestic violence, discouraging processes of accountability at the community level and marginalising efforts towards social transformation (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Oksala, 2013; Stark, 2007; Weissman, 2007, 2013). Within neoliberal ideology “the idea of “society” is...little more than a heap of individuals” (Esposito & Perez, 2014, p. 421), and they are individuals who are acontextual, ahistorical, apolitical and solely responsible for their own actions. Attempts to hold wider sociocultural structures and systems to account are criticised within neoliberal regimes of understanding as ‘making excuses’ for the immoral, violent and responsible subject, and can be understood as a tolerance towards violence itself (Arias, Arce, & Vilariño, 2013; Butler, 2006; Corvo & Johnson, 2003). However, if the subject is produced at the site of an account, and an account is embedded within sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, morality and subjectivity, we cannot ‘extract’ an autonomous and context-free subject as a target for intervention (Butler, 2011), especially in response to wicked problems such as domestic violence. If responses to domestic violence can imagine ways to also accommodate the sociocultural contexts of violence against women and children, processes of responsibility and accountability can begin to “hold the community to account” (Polaschek, 2016, p. 7) in order to address and disrupt the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge (Hearn & McKie, 2008; Phillips et al., 2013). The ability to identify, analyse and challenge the complex and multiple conditions of domestic violence can work to reduce both domestic violence *and* the ethical violence of institutional demands for an account of oneself as a unified, coherent, responsible, moral subject.

The Structural Violence of an Account

The women I spoke with talked about community accountability and responsibility, and how despite recent social movements such as the It's Not OK campaign initiating a community dialogue towards non-violence and community responsibility, a sense of disinterest or dislocation in communities' engagement with issues of domestic violence remained. The communities in which these victims were embedded took no responsibility for the safety and protection of women and children living with domestic violence, turning away from their victimisation and tolerating acts of violence perpetrated against them. Lack of community and neighbourhood interest and intervention enabled violence against women and children to continue unaddressed and unchallenged:

“How many houses down this street have a violent home? We don't know and it's always behind the door and even if you hear it, nobody says anything about it because no one wants to be involved...No one wants to do anything about it and it's really sad.” [Lucy]

“I was at the [traffic] lights...and he jumped out of his car, he was behind me, came round, tore the monsoon off, was smashing on the window. [Our child] was in his car seat, he was really young, but everyone around was just sort of looking, but not looking, you know? And I just thought wow, if it was me...I just couldn't see anyone go through that.” [Amy]

Lucy and Amy's stories raise questions of community accountability and responsibility, where we could ask whether ignoring violence against women and children is tantamount to processes of tolerance, normalisation and justification. Should the community be held accountable for their silence, and if so, how? Such questions of community responsibility and accountability may also be appropriate for community services such as health providers that are located in positions where they could potentially take action to prevent domestic violence through intervention and protection. Some of the women I spoke with told me stories of community organisations where issues of violence were ignored or avoided, leaving the conditions of domestic violence unaddressed and unacknowledged through omission, silence and evasion:

“We've got a brand new baby in the home, we've had past issues...and yet the Plunket nurse didn't turn up for three weeks after she was supposed

to...Something could have happened in that time...That's the...sort of thing, you know, that can let you down." [Diane]

"He wouldn't let me go to appointments for antenatal check-ups and all that and they'd be ringing up and going 'why aren't you here?' and I'm like 'oh, I'm just waiting for him to show up with the car'...I think they suspected [I was being abused], but they didn't say or do anything, or they didn't take me aside to ask if I was ok." [Vicki]

Tolerance of domestic violence within the wider community not only enables domestic violence to continue through omission and avoidance, but also actively works to discourage those affected by domestic violence from seeking help and intervention. Normalisation and tolerance of domestic violence, especially psychological violence and practices of coercive control, enables community members to dismiss and/or deny victim's stories of violence, 'covering over' their accounts of victimisation. For example, one woman talked about how friends, family members and health professionals actively disregarded her experiences of victimisation, denying the presence of abuse and discouraging her partner's engagement with, and commitment to, the stopping violence programme he was attending:

"His mother was telling him he didn't need to go [to the stopping violence programme]. His doctor was telling him he doesn't need to go. Everyone was telling him he didn't need to go apart from me and [the stopping violence programme]...When he mentioned anger management to the psychiatrist, the psychiatrist said 'you don't need that'. So, because the doctor says 'you don't need that' and your mother says 'you don't need that' then he thinks 'I'm just going because my wife wants me to'." [Fiona]

The consistency with which those who knew Fiona's partner discounted the need for intervention suggests a discursive coherence to denials of her victimisation. Through shared systems of intelligibility and morality that excuse the perpetrator, the community itself becomes responsible for Fiona's ongoing victimisation. Yet, the community cannot be held accountable through demands to produce a coherent and unitary narrative of its own experiences, practices and motivations in the ways a responsible individual can. When dominant approaches to domestic violence response and intervention rely on, and demand, a subjective narrative account of violence within

The Structural Violence of an Account

neoliberal regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, they provide no conditions of possibility for holding the community to 'account'. As Esposito and Perez (2014, p. 421) argue, "within the market version of social reality, the individual is understood as the only viable unit of concern and analysis", constraining the ways we can imagine processes of accountability and responsibility at the community and social level. Such constraint limits our ability to produce transformative change to address and disrupt the sociocultural conditions of possibility for domestic violence at the site of their manifestation within the embodied actions of nonsubstitutional selves.

Perhaps Butler's (2005) examination of the 'death of the subject' might help open spaces to imagine ways in which we can engage with processes of community accountability and responsibility. Butler discusses the death of the subject as resistance against regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that dislocate the "I" from its socio-temporal location. It is a challenge against processes that hold the subject autonomously responsible for its own circumstances and actions, and force the "I" to know itself completely as a coherent and unitary self. It is the death of 'the subject' that we demand and recognise within the structural parameters of an account, and therefore represents the death of who we currently *must* be (but not who we *can* be), and the violence associated with such demands at sites of address. Butler acknowledges that the death of the subject is a potentially difficult and distressing event, resulting in a threatening 'unrecognisability'. This is particularly problematic for domestic violence responses indentured to identifying, analysing and responding to recognisable subjects and their narratives of subjective violence. However, such a death is not a death of 'the' subject (the "I" giving the account), but a death of the dominance of sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that enable and reproduce practices of violence. It is, therefore, what Butler (2005, p. 65) refers to as "a necessary grief". A grief that challenges the structural violence of accounting for oneself, extending and exceeding the ways in which we can understand ourselves, our actions and our relationships with others as ethical social 'beings'. If we problematise the ways in which we can become a subject, we can begin to disrupt the conditions of possibility for domestic violence that emerge from regimes of subjectivity and morality in our contemporary context. Constrained and constricted within parameters of the account, produced by, and reproductive of, regimes of 'knowing' and 'being', our possibilities for 'becoming' particular subjects are limited and limiting. However, the site of an

account is also a site of transformation and, as such, we may be able to engage this site of transformation in ways that seek to understand and attend to both the violence acted *upon* and *by* nonsubstitutional selves. To do so, we need to consider how the “I” giving an account of oneself is subordinated by, and reproduces, sociocultural conditions that enable domestic violence to emerge as a possibility for, or indeed a technology of, the constitution of subjectivities. In Part III of this writing, Butler’s theoretical work on the constitution of subjectivities opens up spaces for recognising the men and women’s accounts as embedded in sociocultural conditions of possibility for their emergence as subjects of violence.

Part III: Subjectivity

We need to situate the individual responsibility in light of its collective conditions. Those who commit acts of violence are surely responsible for them; they are not dupes or mechanisms of an impersonal social force, but agents with responsibility. On the other hand, these individuals are formed, and we would be making a mistake if we reduced their actions to purely self-generated acts of will or symptoms of individual pathology or “evil”. Both the discourse of individualism and of moralism (understood as the moment in which morality exhausts itself in public acts of denunciation) assume that the individual is the first link in a causal chain that forms the meaning of accountability. But to take the self-generated acts of the individual as our point of departure in moral reasoning is precisely to foreclose the possibility of questioning what kind of world gives rise to such individuals. And what is this process of “giving rise”? What social conditions help to form the very ways that choice and deliberation proceed? Where and how can such subject formations be contravened? (Butler, 2006, pp. 15-16)

Chapter 5: Becoming a Subject of Violence

The Foundations of Subjective Emergence and Survival: The ‘Internalisation’ of ‘Externality’

Embedded within ethical relationships, and subordinated by the demand for an account, a recognisable “I” emerges through narrative as a particular kind of subject (Butler, 2001, 2005). However, if the subject is produced within and through an account, how can we understand the one who feels compelled to respond to the demand for an account? Who turns towards the Other in response to the question ‘who are you’? Butler (1997) draws on Althusser’s notion of the ‘pre-subject’ to speak of the self that responds to the ‘hail’ of an account, a person who has a history of experiences and a consciousness, but is not yet ‘the subject’ who will be produced within and through the act of giving an account. In the field of domestic violence research and response, we can conceptualise the ‘pre-subject’ as the self that turns towards the demand for an account of violence within domestic violence service and intervention. This pre-subject is the nonsubstitutional self that engages, or has engaged, in acts of violence and abuse, and as such offers insight into the conditions of possibility that enabled acts of domestic violence to occur. However, this pre-subject is not easily ‘accessed’ by institutional responses limited to engaging with the subject produced within accounts of oneself at sites of address. If the subject emerges from an account, how can we understand the pre-subject’s history of experiences of violence embedded in context? How do we make sense of the self who feels compelled to turn in response to the hail of an account?

The act of turning in response to the hail from an Other suggests a pre-subject who already possesses consciousness or psyche prior to the demand for an account (Butler, 1997). This pre-subject is also already aware of, and positioned within, regimes of morality that ethically obligate the “I” to respond to the demand for an account: a subjectivity prior to the subjectivation through an account. But how we can make sense of this consciousness prior to the production of the subject we recognise in an account? Such a question introduces a paradox of subjectivity: in order to produce a recognisable subject through an account, the pre-subject must account for themselves as a particular subject, and through doing so ‘becomes’ a subject. In other words, the subject is assumed to respond to the demand for an account *and* is produced at the site of the account. Taking for granted this paradox works to disavow and obscure how

Becoming a Subject of Violence

sociocultural and subjective experiences are woven together to produce the subject at the site of address. To engage with the 'pre-subject' would open spaces for us to consider not only the conditions of possibility that enable particular moral subjects of (non)violence to emerge in an account, but also the violence practiced by the pre-subject in the context of lived experience prior to the account without necessarily assuming they cohere or coincide.

Engaging with psychoanalytic theory, Butler (1997) examines the world of the infant and child to question whether it is during infancy that the psyche (the internal "I" that will later respond to the demand for an account) is formed. The infant's world is the world of the Other: a world they do not know, do not understand and do not control. The infant is vulnerable to, and dependent on, relationships with the Other to meet their needs, and therefore the world of the Other is a world that they must engage with and respond to in order to survive. From a psychoanalytic position, such vulnerability and dependency produces a 'passionate attachment' to the Other, where processes of subordination and exploitation enable the infant to survive and thrive (Butler, 1997). As an infant, we are unable to question or challenge the social norms and expectations we are exposed to, not only because arguably at such early years we do not possess the critical capabilities, but also because to challenge or question the object of our attachment is to threaten our survival. Our passionate attachment needs only to be 'good enough' to survive. To question or discriminate the character of our relationship with the Other introduces the notion of agency in love, producing the possibility that love can be rejected and resisted, and therefore placing our survival at risk. The primary dependency of the infant's passionate attachment produces a need, or desire, to submit to sociocultural and relational regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality in order to unquestionably accept and thrive in the world of the Other over which they have no control. Therefore, the 'becoming' of a subject in infancy is founded on relationships of dependency, vulnerability and subordination to the Other. It is a way to enter and exist in the social world that is both constrictive and productive. As Butler (1997, p. 21) argues "within subjection the price of existence is subordination."

The psychoanalytic theory of primary impingement attempts to account for how the world of the Other is experienced, and responded to, by an infant unable to narrate their experiences of 'becoming a subject' (Butler, 2005). Primary impingement refers to our experiences of the Other that took place before we were capable of producing an

account of ourselves as a particular subject, but that nonetheless form the ground and conditions from which our subjectivity emerges. Although infancy is a location without articulation, primary experiences and relationships can be considered ‘sites of address’ that an infant must respond to appropriately, adapting to the demands of the Other in order to survive. The world of the Other is a world infants do not have full access to, or understanding of - external, partial and opaque - and at the scene of primary address the Other’s regimes of subjectivity, intelligibility and morality become ‘part of’ the infant, providing the scaffolding for their growing self awareness and understanding (Butler, 2001, 2005). Sociocultural regimes provide guiding structure or templates for how the infant can ‘be’ in social relationships and ‘exist’ as social subjects in the world around them. Yet at the same time, these regimes remain “overwhelming and unreadable, enigmatic and formative” (Butler, 2005, p. 70).

Traces of the theory that experiences of infancy we cannot recall may serve as a formative subjective force could be recognised in the men’s accounts where they talked of feeling a suspicion or fear that early childhood experiences they could not remember might have nonetheless influenced their own violent acts in adulthood:

“People said to me ‘your father was physically abusive towards you’ and I said ‘I don’t know’ because my mother left my father when I was three...and I hardly ever saw much of him ...People say he used to physically abuse me...and that sort of translates, you know, it’s the cycle of violence. It started there and it goes on with me.” [Thomas]

“We were [raised violently] actually, when we were younger, you know, quite young...because my father used to [be violent], so far as I know. I don’t have memories of it, I just got told by a few aunties and that, you know, my old man was quite hard on my older brothers.” [Brian]

Thomas and Brian’s accounts reproduce intergenerational transmission of violence discourse (O’Neill, 1998), despite their early childhood experiences of violence remaining beyond conscious awareness and recollection. Linking their own violence to their fathers’ violence produced a narrative of ‘infection’, where the ‘pathology’ of domestic violence is transmitted through childhood experiences of victimisation. The ‘infected child’ need not to remember the point of infection for the pathology of domestic violence to provide the conditions for violence to emerge in adulthood.

Becoming a Subject of Violence

More commonly, however, men explicitly recalled acts of violence and abuse experienced in childhood, and made an association between their fathers' violence they can remember and their own violent acts. In comparison to the men's suspicion that experiences of violence they cannot recall may have been 'internalised' as a formative subjective force, explicit memories of violence were more confidently produced as 'causes' of masculine domination and violence in adulthood. Experiencing their fathers' violence in childhood was conceptualised as a learning process, where abusive fathers taught sons how to embody masculinity and relate to women and children through practices of masculine control, intimidation and violence:

“My father was violent towards my mother and that was just part of life. I thought it was normal. I really did. I thought all men beat their wives up.” [John]

Through repetitive responsivity and subordination to the social world of the Other, the developing child learns to recognise others, and eventually themselves, as particular kinds of subjects. Drawing again on the work of Althusser, Butler (1997) describes this process as 'learning to speak properly': a metaphor for processes of subjectivity that attend to the mastery and pride of producing oneself as a particular recognisable subject, as well as processes of subordination and deference to sociocultural regimes of subjectivity, intelligibility and morality. There are resonances here with theories that attend to how gender is implicated in learning to act violently. Young boys learn what it means to be a man through repeated reproduction of the practices and embodied manifestations of masculinity in comparison to the characteristics and treatment of those who are feminine and non-masculine, such as women and children (Flood & Pease, 2009; Holt et al., 2008; O'Neill, 1998; Øverlien, 2010; Richards, 2011; Smith et al., 2011). Many of the men and women I spoke with made sense of the relationship between childhood and adult experiences of domestic violence as a process of 'learning to speak properly'. For both the men and women, continued experiences of violence in the context of patriarchal relationships produced and reproduced hierarchical gender power relations that provided the conditions for domestic violence in later life. Boys would learn how to be a man through masculine authority, aggression and violence, and girls would learn how to be a woman through passive tolerance of victimisation:

“My beliefs when I was brought up were 'you do this, you were punished'. I was brought up like that and I suppose I carried on like that and then it wasn't until

going to [the stopping violence programme] that I realised that wasn't the right track to follow, but through my family and that, that's all I knew...My routine was dad would come home, [give me a] hiding because of something I'd done during the day already and then he'd be off to work again until probably about midnight...The only time I knew of my dad was hiding time." [Martin].

"It stems from [my partner's] father. His father used to beat his mother up and nearly killed her basically. Put her in hospital and she left him then...I personally believe that's...why [he is] like this is because all his male influences have been controlling in a way....He said that he's had an epiphany and he said...'I've been treating you like my father treated my mother'." [Fiona]

"I grew up and I just thought it was normal. That this is it. This is how life is. Because my mum was in a really violent relationship, you know, it was awful." [Lucy]

In accounts of childhood experiences of violence, men's violence against women and children was normalised through gendered power relations, where learning how adult masculine and feminine subjects acted and related to one another in childhood provided the images and assumptions for how to become embodied gendered subjects in later life. The women told me of their fears that their own children had already begun to 'learn how to speak properly' as a gendered subject of violence from the ways their (ex)partners' abused them. They were concerned that their children had already internalised and started to reproduce hierarchical gendered relationships of masculine privilege and authority and feminine subordination and inferiority:

"I still see it now with my son, the way that he behaves. He's quite controlling and bossy and, like, little things like if someone's eating and they're making a sound, he'll get all angry and nut off about it and I can see that [comes] from his father, those are the sort of things he did...I could see things with him that he was learning from his father." [Belinda]

"[My partner] said to me one day 'the kids talk to you like shit'...and I thought afterwards 'yeah, but look at what they're learning. That's how you talk to me, so they're learning that it's ok to talk to women [like that]'...They're looking up and learning from their dad." [Lucy]

Becoming a Subject of Violence

The women's accounts of their concerns for their children suggest they, as parents, feel their or their (ex)partner's actions have 'infected' their children, teaching them to 'speak properly' as masculine and feminine subjects through gendered relationships that tolerate, normalise and even encourage masculine control, authority and aggression. Similar to the discourse produced in The Glenn Inquiry's reports (Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Wilson & Webber, 2014), the men and women I spoke with conceptualised normalisation processes involved in intergenerational transmission of violence as confined to the family unit, where the 'infection' of violence spreads through relational and intimate contact. Reducing the process of transmission or 'infection' to the family unit works to produce the normalisation of gendered violence as a pathology 'contracted' at the site of an individual's origin. As one man told me:

"I always knew that I had that in me as a person. You know, growing up I had seen it and experienced it." [Mark]

Mark's narrative produces the conditions for violence as an individual characteristic or possession, given from the father to the child and internalised into the psyche of the "I" giving an account of oneself. The immoral violent subject was formed through conditions beyond the child's control, and yet narratives of intergenerational transmission of violence reproduce neoliberal assumptions of the responsible individual, where subjects who are unable to control their violence are condemned not only through practices of discipline and punishment, but also through painful self-reflection. The men who acknowledged their violence in the context of intergenerational transmission of violence discourse often narrated their sense of self in negative terms, where taking responsibility for their violence became a source of shame and distress. The men told me that because of their earlier experiences, they were irrevocably changed and something 'inside' of them was deviant and immoral. For example, one man told me:

"When you look in the mirror and the person you see, no one else can see it, but you can see it, the evil person that you're looking at, the evil things inside."

[Gareth]

Gareth's account of self-reflection and recognition locates the immorality of violence within the psyche of the immoral violent subject, condemning the "I" as a coherent and consistent figure of immorality, one that has often been "evil" since infected by childhood experiences of violence. However, narratives that conceptualise violence

through discourses of internalised attributes, such as moral traits and a coherent psyche, can also provide pathways for redemption, where subjects of immorality and violence have the opportunity to redeem themselves as moral subjects through preventing further transmission of violence in their own children's lives. As discussed earlier, narratives of rebirth and redemption can enable men to escape the burden of the violent, immoral subject. While the violence of redemption narratives serves to *sever* ethical relationships, engaging discourse of the intergenerational transmission of violence firmly embeds processes of redemption *within* ethical relationships. Men would talk about having the responsibility to eliminate violence from their own lives in order to make sure their children are not victimised by other men's violence, thus halting the 'spread of infection' within and through ethical practices of accountability:

"I was sort of thinking 'man I would hate for my daughter to end up with an asshole like me'. So that was a huge, huge, huge thing, especially with the kids being young and everything...My behaviour is showing them that that sort of stuff is ok, that it's all right." [Gavin]

"I was thinking about my kids and I don't want them to grow up like I grew up...They do grow up in my life so what I do, they do copy." [John]

Neoliberal conceptualisations of the intergenerational transmission of violence position the subject who has learned to speak properly at an uneasy intersection: one where the self is formed in response to the world of the Other and yet is also a separate individual responsible for its own actions. The subject produced within neoliberal accounts is the culmination of subjective experiences, choices and actions that emerged within and from sociocultural regimes of morality, intelligibility and subjectivity, but is also divorced from these regimes through the production of the individually responsible subject. Institutional responses to social issues, such as domestic violence, reproduce neoliberal imaginations of the responsible subject, demanding that the subject gives an account of the self as a rational actor 'possessing' the personal power to make choices (moral or immoral), accepting personal responsibility for those choices, and holding themselves accountable for their individual actions (Elliott, 2014; Esposito & Perez, 2014). The men's accounts often produced such 'responsible subjects', resisting understandings of their acts of violence as emergent from a interweaving of their

Becoming a Subject of Violence

subjective and sociocultural history and experiences, conceptualising them instead as a product of individual choice:

“[My parents] blame themselves in a way, but I can’t blame them when it was my own fault because I knew what I was doing was wrong. I still did it. Knew what the consequences were and I still did it, but mum and dad still blame themselves to this day because of the way I turned out.” [Martin]

“What your family do or have done is totally irrelevant, we’re each responsible for the choices we make.” [Tony]

“The powerful thing [I learnt] was that...I was responsible for my anger because I used to say ‘you made me angry because you did that’ and I realised that I was responsible for the way I feel and I think that was huge for me. Yeah, that would be the main thing because you tend to go blame somebody: ‘if you hadn’t said that, I wouldn’t have got angry’ and you know now that it’s up to me if I chose to be angry.” [Matthew]

Narratives of personal responsibility are important in domestic violence response as they enable men to acknowledge the harm they have inflicted on the victims of their violence (Pence & Paymar, 1993). As manifest in Martin, Tony and Matthew’s accounts, personal responsibility works to resist discourses of provocation and minimisation that justify and/or tolerate violence against women and children. However, the reliance on producing autonomous, independent and responsible subjects of neoliberal imaginations discourages an examination of how the wider sociocultural context contributes to the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge. A focus on individual responsibility disconnects the vulnerability and dependency of childhood passionate attachments and primary impingement, privileging values such as control, authority and independence: values that are often associated with masculinity and that tolerate and justify masculine practices of aggression and violence (Carrington, McIntosh, & Scott, 2010; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Heilman & Barker, 2018; James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Messerschmidt, 2000; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Mowat et al., 2016; Stark, 2007). Early childhood experiences in the social world of the Other are reduced to individualised risk factors for violence, producing the responsible subject as both the origin of violent acts and also the targeted solution through self-control and individual change. Reducing engagement to the level

of the nonsubstitutional subject at the site of an account constrains approaches that conceptualise social issues as a consequence of the intersection between individual experience and wider sociocultural regimes of morality and subjectivity (Coombes et al., 2016).

Relying on the production of an autonomous and responsible “I” at the site of an account not only discourages engagement with wider sociocultural contexts, but also avoids an examination of how one *becomes* a subject. The term ‘subject’ has historically been conceptualised both as a discursive category (‘the subject’) *and* a site of production (being ‘subjected to’ sociocultural regimes): a site of both recognition and productivity (Butler, 1997). Contemporary neoliberal engagement with ‘the subject’ is often limited to the discursive labelling of particular ‘kinds’ of subject (identity categories), ignoring processes of productivity and becoming that enable the recognisable subject to emerge in accounts of the self. As a site of production, the term subject refers to processes of subordination and possibility: the “I” is subjected to the demand for an account and the sociocultural regimes that structure the account, and is simultaneously formed through processes of submission and dependence. To be ‘subject to’ is a site of possibility and productivity, where the “I” is both ‘open’ and ‘exposed’ to social and structural practices of productive power. Imagining the subject beyond the confines of neoliberal conceptualisations of discursive identity categories can acknowledge and attend to notions of process, productivity and subordination. Such conceptions may help relieve the tension and difficulty resulting from the demand to produce an account of oneself as a coherent, consistent subject. An examination of the subject as a process opens spaces to embrace notions of ‘becoming’, where the subject emerges at sites of productivity, recognising itself and making itself recognisable to the Other through subjection to regimes of subjectivity, intelligibility and morality and the demands of an account. The ways in which we can understand ourselves as a particular subject emerges from a “social temporality of norms” (Butler, 2001, p. 26) that are ‘put to use’ when we produce an account of who we are. The accumulation of subjective experiences and reflections (our nonsubstitutional life history), and subordination to sociocultural regimes of ‘knowing’ and ‘being’ (the foundations of the substitutional self), are woven together to produce the “I” that emerges at the site of the account.

An examination of the ways in which the ‘external’ sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, morality and subjectivity become ‘internalised’ to form our sense of self

Becoming a Subject of Violence

as a subject is at odds with our contemporary systems of knowledge production in psychology and social sciences, resulting in an academic reluctance and “growing hostility” to engage in such work (Gill, 2008, p. 434). Butler (2005) offers the term of ‘negotiation’ to help us try and make sense of the complexity of subjectivity and sociocultural forces of becoming, where sociocultural regimes are ‘internalised’ through processes of self-reflection: a negotiation of how the nonsubstitutional self may be situated within substitutional governing norms and ideals in a given socio-temporal context. This negotiation is dynamic and productive, responding to contextual demands and enabling the formation of a recognisable subject. But it is also a process of restriction, whereby regulatory regimes limit the ways in which we can ‘take up’, embody and/or resist the subjects available for production in our accounts (Butler, 1997). As Butler (1997, p. 84) argues:

Subjection is neither simply the domination of a subject nor its production, but designates a certain kind of restriction in production, a restriction without which the production of the subject cannot take place, a restriction through which that production takes place.

Regulatory regimes of subjectivity, morality and intelligibility operate within our given sociocultural and historical context before we are born, therefore are governing forces for subjectivation ‘external’ to our existence and emergence as a subjective “I”. As the nonsubstitutional self accumulates experiences and knowledge through social encounters in and with the world of the Other, it learns shared systems of meaning that are reproduced through embodied practices in order to form a recognisable subject (the substitutional self) (Butler, 1997). We witness how our actions and stories provoke particular responses, what those responses enable and constrain, and the possibilities for ‘doing’ and ‘being’ those potentialities offer us in relation to others. We gain an appreciation of the consequences of how well we achieve (or fail to achieve) particular norms and ideals promulgated within our socio-temporal context. Sociocultural regimes provide the means for self-recognition and subjectivation and are ‘internalised’ to form the conscience: the site at which previously external regimes become an internal governing and regulatory force (Butler, 1997). However, if we ‘become’ an embodied version/translation of sociocultural regimes, how do we account for diversity in experience and action? Why are those who share the same histories and social contexts not all the same? For instance, why do only a minority of those whose lives involve

domestic violence as children struggle with issues of violence as adults? How do we become different kinds of subjects through the internalisation of the same shared sociocultural regimes and norms?

To understand diversity in the kinds of subjects that can be produced within shared sociocultural and temporal contexts, Butler (1997) examines how the subject can be understood both as a product of ‘external’ regulatory regimes *and* an agentic social actor. The concept of the agentic social actor is familiar to us in our contemporary neoliberal context: the agentic actor is an autonomous, acontextual individual who ‘wields’ or ‘possesses’ power over their own choices and actions. Whilst neoliberal imaginations of the agentic actor work to disguise or deny processes of subordination to cultural norms, such denial is *itself* an act of power, where the conditions of our subjective formation are concealed from us, unable to be questioned and challenged. The subject formed through and within regulatory power comes to be understood as the origin of productive power, “an effect achieved by reversal and concealment of that prior working” (Butler, 1997, p. 16). The agency or ‘will’ of the subject is a reiteration, a reproduction and an utilisation of the authoritative power of sociocultural regulatory regimes. Neoliberal imaginations demand individualistic explanations for social issues, such as domestic violence, leaving the influence of regulatory regimes and forces, such as neoliberalism and gender, ignored and unchallenged. A meaningful engagement with processes of power in the context of subject formation needs to consider what Butler (1997) calls the ‘paradox of subjection’, where the subject produced through subordination to formative power emerges as a subject of agentic power, responsible for their own beliefs and actions. Engagement with this paradox enables an examination of how the capacity for individual responsibility and agency is produced through, an effect of, but is also different from, subordination to sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality.

The formative power of sociocultural regimes is not ‘transferred’ or ‘displaced’ from a formative (external) to an agentic (internal) location retaining the same form and function, otherwise all those who share a common sociocultural context would be homogenous (Butler, 1997). To account for the diversity and complexity in subjective experience, there must occur some form of temporal and transitive shift from pre- to post-subjection where formative power’s domination is disrupted, translated and transformed into the subject’s agency. Such a transformation could be considered an

Becoming a Subject of Violence

'exceedance', where power assumes a 'form' that both *retains* and *extends beyond* the functions and processes served when 'inaugurating' the subject (Butler, 1997). Once 'inaugurated', the subject is still 'bounded' by, and within, formative power, but is also the site at which power transforms in excess of its formative limits and purpose. The notion of exceedance can accommodate the interaction between psychic life and external regulatory regimes, enabling a process of 'dual thinking' (Butler, 2006). Dual thinking refers to the analysis of how both formative and agentic power work upon the subject, and opens up questions of how the embedded and embodied subject internalises and reproduces wider sociocultural regulatory regimes. Dual thinking can help those working in the field of domestic violence research and response to resist and disrupt the (re)production of the neoliberal context-free subject through an examination of shared sociocultural contexts, whilst still retaining notions of personal accountability and responsibility for acts of violence. Through understanding agentic power as an exceedance of formative power, we can move beyond the limitations of individualistic understandings and responses to also consider how violence is an act of power made 'available' and sanctioned within a sociocultural context. For instance, when attempting to account for his violence, one man told me:

"I was always self-absorbed into my own thoughts. If anything didn't go my way, it would be all right because I'd just go beat them up. That's why I was always arrogant and always, you know, didn't give a stuff. I always thought 'oh well, at the end of the day, if anything goes down I'll just smack them in the face'."

[Gareth]

We could accept this account of a "self-absorbed", "arrogant", and violent subject who utilises violence as a personal choice for personal gain. Such an individualistic conceptualisation would work comfortably within neoliberal approaches that favour individual responsibility and agency. However, we could also ask how the ways in which we can 'be' in our given sociocultural context produce processes of self-absorption and arrogance and how these processes emerge from, and reproduce hierarchical gendered social power relations. How does violence become a technology for gaining and maintaining masculine authority and control? Asking questions such as these situates individual responsibility within processes of sociocultural influence, opening spaces to develop a richer, detailed and potentially more productive

understanding of the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. As Butler (2006, p. 16) argues:

Our acts are not self-generated, but conditioned. We are at once acted upon and acting, and our “responsibility” lies in the juncture between the two. What can I do with the conditions that form me? What do they constrain me to do? What can I do to transform them?

Becoming a Gendered Subject: Hierarchical Gender Binaries and National Identities

Sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality govern and regulate embodied experience and action, providing the norms and ideals that structure and guide how the “I” can be produced as a particular kind of subject. Within these regimes, gender works as a regulatory norm producing subject positions of men and women: social identity categories that produce and reproduce images and assumptions of how one can appear, act and ‘be’ as a gendered subject (Butler, 2011). As such, gender is not only a concept in the realm of theory or philosophy as an intellectual set of assumptions, ideals and norms, but is also an embodied experience. Discourses of masculinity and femininity mark the body through the productive power of regulatory force, mobilising the gendered body to act in ways that produce and reproduce normative gender discourses and ideals. Gender is not an innate or biological ‘essence’ that we are born with, but instead is a productive process of power that makes possible, and indeed *demand*s, a materialisation of gender norms within our embodied practices and social relationships in order to produce a recognisable gendered subject. Butler (2002, 2011) argues, in this sense, that gender is performative, whereby performativity becomes a condition and reproduction of the constraints and regulations of gendered subjectivity: the repetitive re-enactment and embodiment of sociocultural norms and ideals associated with gender.

Drawing on the work of Irigaray, Butler (2011) discusses how gender can be understood through a binary framework, where the social categories of man and woman are produced as distinct contradictions that enable the embodied gendered subject to identify itself in relation to others through comparison and opposition: under binary logic masculinity *is* what femininity *is not*. Therefore, the production of a coherent and stable gendered identity is predicated on acts of exclusion, where in order to be

Becoming a Subject of Violence

recognised as a particular gendered subject there should be no enactment of the binary opposite within embodied practice and experience. For instance, the masculine subject is produced through practices of masculinity *and* the exclusion of images and assumptions associated with femininity. Masculine and Feminine¹⁶ subjectivities are distinct, separate and distant in order to be recognisable, coherent and stable (Butler, 2011).

The men and women I spoke with evoked the social categories and binary logic of gendered subjectivities, where their narratives of embodied practice and experience produced masculine and feminine subjects that were different and distinct. In their accounts, masculinity was associated with assumptions of a ‘natural’ or ‘innate’ tendency towards physical strength and activity, whereas often femininity was more passive and associated with emotional and social enactments:

“I’m a country boy. I hunt and I fish and if I’m stuck at home all the time it just does my flippin’ head in...[Hunting is] just something that just yanks at me and I’ve just got to do it and if I can’t do it, I’m just pissed off and I’m grumpy and down...It’s probably hard to explain to a woman, I don’t know. Do woman have feelings like that where they just have to do something?...I could only imagine it is the same as if Glassons¹⁷ were having a bloody sale, you’ve just got to go.”
[Gavin]

“We grew up on a farm. A lot of the boys got sent out and they’d...go out on the farm and do their hard yakka¹⁸, but there was always someone who had to look after my nana and keep my nana company, so I was that person. And do the gardening and all that sort of jazz, so I’d always had that connection with women.” [Brian]

“[My partner] comes very much from a generation where men hunt, kill, and, you know, provide for their family and the woman stays in the kitchen. You know, they’re real old school.” [Karina]

¹⁶ Masculine and Feminine are capitalised here to draw attention to their dominance as primary identity categories (common nouns) through which we can understand ourselves within contemporary contexts. To make these familiar terms somewhat ‘unfamiliar’ also serves to interrupt the reading, reminding us these distinctions can be contested and transgressed (although the transgressions reiterate the status of the distinctions by their status as transgressions).

¹⁷ Glassons is a popular women’s clothing store in Aotearoa New Zealand.

¹⁸ ‘Hard yakka’ is a colloquial phrase used in New Zealand to refer to hard work.

Gavin, Brian and Karina's accounts of embodied practices of gender produce masculinity as active, physical and sometimes, as in the case of hunting, violent: in Brian's words, masculine activities are "hard yakka". This contrasts with feminine practices that are passive and sociable, such as staying home to garden or cook together. The men and women's accounts often produced gendered norms and practices reflective of "male active dominance and female passive receptivity" (Budgeon, 2014, p. 323), where gender is conceptualised as a hierarchically governed binary. Feminine practices are often valued as relatively inconsequential or unimportant, such as Gavin's flippant contrast between the masculine practice of hunting and the feminine practice of sale shopping. As such, distinctive gendered practices clearly mark the embodied subject as a subject of gender positioned within hierarchies of power and privilege.

We can also think about nations as 'subjects of a different order' (Butler, 2006), where there are assumptions of what it means to be from a particular nation: dominant ideals, norms and practices produced and reproduced as a national identity or subjectivity. The production of hierarchical binaries of gender in the men and women's accounts that position masculine strength, activity and industry in opposition to women's passivity and subordination may be implicated in wider social, cultural and historical norms that privilege masculinity as a national identity of Aotearoa New Zealand emerging from a history of colonisation, violence and hegemonic masculinity. The image of the stereotypical 'kiwi' hunter/fisherman/farmer was a common narrative within the men's accounts, where New Zealand men are active outdoorsman: physically fit, strong, vigorous and able. This image of the 'kiwi bloke' is complicit in New Zealand's history of colonisation and the stories of Western settlers who claimed authority and sovereignty over Aotearoa New Zealand through violent force and the oppression of Māori communities and culture. Such stories produce, reproduce and privilege Western hegemonic masculinity and its associated assumptions and embodied practices of industry, physical strength, authority and violence (Berg & Kearns, 1996; James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Liepins, 2000; Ritchie & Ritchie, 1993; Towns & Terry, 2014). Processes of colonisation imposed patriarchal ideology upon both Māori and settler communities, where Western men bonded together through violence, industry and power, and women were excluded from social and political representation and participation. This separation of men and women through processes of domination and subordination produced gendered relationships as a hierarchical binary where women

Becoming a Subject of Violence

are subordinate to men and enacting Western masculinity confers privilege and entitlement (King & Roberston, 2017; King et al., 2012; Mikaere, 2011).

Aotearoa New Zealand's pioneering history of dangerous 'men's work', such as whaling and war, produced a 'crew culture', where Western masculinity encourages men bonding together through strong loyalties to each other and the exclusion of non-masculine subjects (Towns & Terry, 2014). Crew culture is reproduced in contemporary society through the idealisation of "macho strength, male dominance and entitlement, heavy alcohol consumption, male privilege, emotional reticence, and hierarchies where heterosexual men prevail over women and other men" (Towns & Terry, 2014, p. 1014). The pub and other sites of alcohol consumption provide traditional spaces for male homosocial bonding in Aotearoa New Zealand, where groups of men can practice masculinity by drinking together, often without the presence of women (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014; Willott & Lyons, 2012). Places of alcohol consumption are masculine spaces that do not, or should not, include women, working to reproduce gendered relationships of opposition and exclusion. As one man told me:

"I think maybe, it sounds like a real chauvinistic view, but I think that the whole concept of pubs was a good idea in the days, especially back to six o'clock closing, that they can go to other guys and vent some stuff before they go home to their families...The way that bars and things are going, a lot of bars are disappearing now, the old traditional public bars are going and that will be a shame if that does stop because there is a lot of good and positive stuff that comes out of pubs." [Matthew]

Whilst Matthew's narrative of pubs as spaces of masculine bonding acknowledges the exclusion of women from men's spaces as chauvinism, his narrative maintains the separation of gendered identities through hierarchical binary logic. Women are positioned as a source of conflict not only for men's well-being, but also for the family's well-being if men do not have spaces to "vent" in solidarity. Masculine homosociality privileges the dominance and independence of men, excluding women from ethical and social life and subordinating feminine activities and interests (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014), and despite pubs no longer excluding women, drinking remains as part of a collective masculine practice in Aotearoa New Zealand. Indeed, the

men often talked about how they felt coerced to participate in the consumption of alcohol with other men as a requirement of masculine homosociality:

“The guys, you know, they’d helped me out for about six months so I just felt obliged to drink with them, you know?” [Brian]

Brian’s narrative produces alcohol consumption as a reciprocal bonding practice where men feel like they must engage in drinking together in order to fulfil the homosocial bonds of loyalty and connection. These spaces of male homosocial bonding are also associated other masculine norms, such as violence and aggression, establishing a relationship between drinking alcohol and practices of violence:

“I came from a background of...a lot of pubs...a lot of violence and things going on.” [Matthew]

“My father was a freezing worker, [my ex-partner’s] father was a freezing worker, both heavy drinkers, both used to go home and knock the wife around.” [John]

Both Matthew and John’s narratives produced places of drinking as cultural spaces where masculine practices of homosocial bonding embed associations of heavy alcohol consumption with violence. Another cultural practice in Aotearoa New Zealand that links masculine bonding with aggression and violence discussed in the men’s accounts was involvement in sports, in particular rugby. Towns and Terry (2014) argue that, in contemporary society, ‘crew culture’ has transformed into ‘mateship’, where men’s homosocial bonds of competitiveness, physical strength, aggression and masculine privilege are practiced through sporting pursuits such as rugby. The men I interviewed often conceptualised rugby as an activity where they can engage in masculine bonding and connection through enacting physical and mental strength and manifesting power and dominance:

“Rugby for me has taught me quite [a lot] about being in a team and a boss...Rugby teams get in a lot of trouble because someone goes and gets hurt or someone goes and gets in a fight and everybody gets in. That’s not good, but it does teach you a lot of things about being there for other people and stuff, and rugby is very positive as far as, for me, learning about working as a team and being a boss.” [Matthew]

Becoming a Subject of Violence

“People are like ‘oh, look at the violence on the rugby field and playing a sport’, but playing a sport is fun. It’s what guys do on a rugby field.” [Thomas]

In our Western, colonised nation of Aotearoa New Zealand, where assumptions of hegemonic masculinity are ‘written into’ our cultural history, rugby is part of our national identity, uniting citizens in a way that is “explicitly masculine” (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 127). It is a sport where masculine values of control, leadership, strength, aggression, intimidation and practices of excluding women produce and reproduce patriarchal power and hierarchal gendered binaries (Thompson, 1988). Both Matthew and Thomas’s accounts produce rugby as a valuable cultural practice that enables boys and men to learn and reproduce privileged masculine characteristics within social spaces. Involvement in rugby was often understood as a way to ‘be a man’ and fulfil masculine desires for physical activity, demonstrations of strength and socially tolerated manifestations of violence.

Thomas’s claim that being violent on the rugby field is just “what guys do” suggests that men are ‘innately’ drawn towards physicality and aggression, reproducing notions of biological essentialism where the binary opposition of gender produces men as being ‘naturally’ more inclined towards physical activity and violence than women. An ‘essential natural inclination’ produces and reproduces expectations of men that socially tolerate or even encourage risky and violent masculine acts, narrated as the tendency for ‘boys to be boys’:

“You got to realise, boys will be boys, they’re going to go and want to play with guns, drive cars, do stupid things.” [Thomas]

“I went through a midlife crisis thing...I bought myself a triumph sprint. I bought myself a 44-magnum revolver. I bought myself a shotgun and a 22 Ruger, full silencer as well.” [Hector]

Recklessness, risk-taking and irresponsibility are tolerated, justified and even encouraged, often considered ‘rites of passage’ for boys and men within sociocultural settings that privilege masculine practices of fearlessness and competitiveness (Barnes et al., 2012; Carrington et al., 2010; Murnen, Wright, & Kaluzny, 2002; Renzetti, 2012). Interestingly, essentialising assumptions of recklessness, risk-taking and irresponsibility as innate masculine tendencies produces a paradox for the masculine subject, where recklessness and irresponsibility sits uncomfortably in contradiction to other masculine

values such as leadership, rationality and responsibility. Here, the masculine subject must be physically strong, active, and a leader, and yet is also at the mercy of his reckless, risky and irresponsible innate masculine urges. Perhaps what enables this paradox to be reconciled within a coherent masculine subject is the notion of masculine ‘toughness’, where men are produced as embodiments of strength and invulnerability, able to take risks because they are both physically and mentally strong enough to survive and thrive in and through such risk. Indeed, the men I spoke with talked about masculine strength as not only a physical manifestation or attribute, but also emotional and mental ‘toughness’, where men do not display emotional vulnerability in front of others, but instead embody stoicism in social situations and relationships:

“Typical kiwi blokes, we don’t talk about feelings and that sort of stuff.” [Gavin]

Gavin describes stoicism and resistance towards emotional vulnerability as a “typical” characteristic of men in Aotearoa New Zealand, reproducing the ‘crew culture’ characteristics of the pioneering, independent, tough and macho colonising national masculine identity (James & Saville-Smith, 1994; Towns & Terry, 2014). In the men’s accounts, masculine emotional toughness was often contrasted with women’s emotional practices of seeking social support and talking about their feelings, producing masculine and feminine emotionality in binary opposition to one another:

“Girls seem to be able to talk about stuff. They have a mother or a sister that they can go and have a cup of coffee and talk about stuff and moan about men and get it off their chest and stuff, where guys just aren’t very good at it at all.” [Matthew]

“Women have contact with themselves and they go and do things, men sort of get sort of isolated or they sort of just work on things themselves.” [Thomas]

Thomas and Matthew’s accounts produce the masculine subject as a socially isolated ‘lone wolf’, emotionally strong and independent, resisting the vulnerability of relying on connections with others for strength and support. In contrast, women are produced as more emotional, vulnerable to their feelings and reliant on social support for strength. Although Matthew’s narrative suggests masculine social isolation is a weakness of character, where men “just aren’t very good” at sharing their emotions, there remains an underlying assumption of the superiority and strength of invulnerability. Men are not dependent on others to work through any conflict or issue, preferring, as Thomas says, to “work on things themselves”, whereas women are vulnerable to their emotions, and

Becoming a Subject of Violence

dependent on others for support, reproducing sociocultural binaries of men as reasonable and strong in opposition to women's emotionality and weakness.

The women's accounts also reproduced hierarchical gender binaries, but more explicitly problematised the paradox of how men's embodiment of emotional 'toughness' and independence could also be considered a weakness. Their accounts produced the inability of men to talk about their feelings and experiences as a potential vulnerability, a masculine characteristic that distances men from the networks of support, help and transformation that are available to women as feminine subjects:

"In our sort of generation, growing up, nothing was talked about, especially for men, you know? Men didn't cry and men were the breadwinners and, you know, it was hard. I can imagine it was hard for men and in our day and age." [Lucy]

"I said to him 'why don't you get off your backside and do something' because I said 'I've been to counselling for blinking [several] years and we've had marriage counselling for [several] years. You do something to fix this problem'. And no, he'd never do something like that. Most men wouldn't, would they? A lot of men wouldn't." [Amanda]

The men and women's accounts contrast masculine stoicism and social isolation with feminine emotionality and dependency on social networks of support, producing practices of emotional expression and inexpression as subjective gendered activities positioned in binary opposition to, and conflict with, each other. Men do not talk about their feelings, but women do. Men cannot display vulnerability within social relationships, but women can. In this sense, gender norms structure and guide masculine and feminine embodied experiences, even when they may be paradoxical, difficult and distressing, enabling practices that align with gendered expectations and discouraging those that fall within the social category of the binary opposite. If the subject's embodied practices fail to uphold their assigned gendered identity, and includes act associated with the contrasting gender, they risk social sanction and disapproval (Brody, 2000; Budgeon, 2014; Butler, 1997). To avoid social judgement and condemnation, men must reflect on, regulate and discipline their embodiment of masculine ideals and norms within the context of social relationships, ensuring their actions and appearance are in contrast and opposition to the binary opposite of femininity.

The Productivity of the Norm: The Regulation, Governance and Discipline of Gendered Subjects

Self-reflection and self-discipline in relation to embodied gender norms, expectations and practices can be conceptualised as a ‘turning back’ on the self, whereby sociocultural regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality become ‘internalised’ as force for self-regulation and governance (Butler, 1997). The formative power that provides the terms for, and inaugurates, the gendered subject is ‘turned back’ on oneself through the site and modalities of our conscience to regulate and govern our embodied practices of gender. Drawing on the work of Freud and Nietzsche, Butler (1997) conceptualises this process of turning back as the ‘productivity of the norm’. Drives, impulses or needs meet some form of prohibition in the external social world and, in doing so, turn back on/against the self to produce a recognisable subject of gender¹⁹. The act of ‘turning back’ produces an ‘internal space’ (the psyche) where the subject can reflect on how well they meet the expectations of particular (gendered) subject positions, utilising processes of prohibition and repression to regulate and discipline their embodied appearance and actions. Through turning back on oneself, we can monitor and regulate our embodied practice to ensure we are rewarded for appearance and action that falls within the boundaries and parameters of our gendered identities, and avoid social sanction and reprimand for embodied manifestations that do not align with gendered expectations (Bartky, 1998; Butler, 2011). We come to desire the ‘turn’ of self-reflexivity, regulation and discipline, where processes of social reward and sanction opens spaces for the ‘accomplishment’ of a recognisable gendered subject within ethical encounters (Butler, 1997).

When assumptions of masculinity include the suppression of emotion and vulnerability, alongside an independence that resists the development of social connections and

¹⁹ Freud specifically attends to sexual desires, drives and needs in processes of self-regulation and ‘turning back’ on oneself. The relationship between sexuality and (gendered) subjectivity is not one that I have engaged in-depth with in the current research as the conversations I had with the men and women interviewed did not open spaces for discussions that explored this connection. However, as Messerschmidt (2000, p. 287) argues “the connection between sexuality and masculinity is undeniable”. Therefore, the relationship between gender, norms and sexuality is an important consideration when reflecting on processes of subjectivity and domestic violence, especially when addressing issues of sexual violence and processes of heteronormativity that influence the production of masculine and feminine subjects within social power relations. Future research that draws on the voices of those who have experienced domestic violence could open spaces for dialogue with men and women that explicitly attends to, and explores how sexuality, gender, and subjectivity are related in ways that produce the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge.

Becoming a Subject of Violence

support, men's emotional expressiveness threatens to compromise their masculinity through feminised enactments and is regarded as shameful and potentially provoking social condemnation (Budgeon, 2014; Jennings & Murphy, 2000; Towns & Terry, 2014). Therefore, in order to be recognised as masculine, men need to govern their actions within the parameters and norms of masculinity. Recognisable emotional regulation and suppression works to protect their subject position as man and avoid the condemnation and punishment that comes with a compromised gendered identity. As an example, one man talked about his reluctance to participate in a youth and parenting programme with his son because of the programme's requirement for emotional expression, and potential implications of this requirement for his position as a masculine subject:

“[The Youth and Parenting programme] was just a bit wimpy really...I think it was a bit new era sort of thing. Like, I'm not really into talking like that with [my son] and all that sort of crap.” [Tim]

In Tim's account, masculine emotional talk is produced as “wimpy”: a position of weakness that is socially condemned and not appropriate within the context of homosocial interactions and relationships (Towns & Terry, 2014). Tim refers to the encouragement of men's expression of emotions as “new era” and “crap”, suggesting that any contemporary social expectations for men to share feelings and emotions conflicts with traditional, more socially acceptable assumptions of what is recognisable masculine practice. The environment of stopping violence programmes challenge and disrupt social expectations for masculine stoicism, where men are encouraged and enabled to share their emotions and vulnerability with other men. However, the programme environment is not immune to social expectations and demands for masculine invulnerability to emotion. The men interviewed spoke to me of the tension produced when the sharing of emotional pain was met with scorn and condemnation from group members who continued to recognise other men's masculinity through social norms that produced emotionality as a weakness and source of shame:

“[The group member] opened up and he bawled and bawled and we all went up and said ‘look, let it out’, pat him on the back-, Oh, the new fellas didn't. The new fellas probably thought, ‘what a sook he is’.” [Peter]

Expectations for emotional stoicism and resistance of social connection was strongest for men-to-men relationships, but did not hold for the context of men-to-women interactions. Many of the men described the ease and comfort of speaking to the women facilitators on the stopping violence programme, indicating that when men interact with other men, being emotional and vulnerable is shameful and actively discouraged, but when interacting with women, emotions and vulnerability are tolerable:

“Guys can talk more freely and that to a woman than what they can to another guy. You could talk to [a male facilitator] and that, but, I don’t know, I think I felt I could speak freer and that, and easier talking to [a woman facilitator].” [Martin]

Men may feel more comfortable talking to women because of the gendered assumptions of emotionality and social connectedness that are associated with femininity and ‘women’s practice’. Furthermore, given the hierarchical character of gendered relationships, the feminine figure may not produce the same fear of sanction and punishment at the site of ethical encounters as would a masculine figure. When women are produced in a position of weakness and passivity in comparison to masculine privilege and entitlement, men may feel they can display vulnerability without the threat of losing status or social standing. Men may also feel more comfortable talking emotionally with women given normative expectations that women take care of men’s feelings as a manifestation of their nurturing femininity, as is discussed in methodological literature related to domestic violence research (e.g., Broom, Hand, & Tovey, 2009; Flood, 2013; Pini, 2005; Pini & Pease, 2013; Winchester, 1996).

The performativity of gender is a relational process producing and reproducing gendered norms through embodied action in social spaces governed by hierarchical gendered power relations (Butler, 1997, 2002). Regulatory norms and expectations produce, act upon and sustain gendered bodies, offering up masculine and feminine bodies as a “moralized domain” (Butler, 1997, p.58) to be controlled, regulated and, if necessary, punished. The gendering of bodies in contemporary Western cultures is situated within regimes of surveillance, discipline and power that produce women’s bodies as weaker, smaller and more ‘docile’ in comparison to masculine bodies, locating femininity as ‘inferior’ to the ‘superior’ masculine figure (Bartky, 1998; Gill, 2008; Stark, 2007). Whilst Gill (2008) acknowledges that 21st Century feminine subjectivities are challenging, to some extent, the passive and subservient production of

Becoming a Subject of Violence

femininity in favour of a more aggressively sexualised body, she argues that feminine bodies are still subjected to greater surveillance, regulation and discipline than masculine bodies. As one man told me:

“My stepsister said ‘don’t buy girl’s make-up, buy them a book on self-esteem’. And I was actually watching a programme about breasts and they were talking about women and again this thing of self-esteem issues with women, you know, they want bigger breasts and everything else, change their breast size and everything else and their weight and people talking about-, And [my wife] says ‘oh, I get obsessed with the scales’ and I said ‘well, I don’t really discuss weight with women because it tends to be a very, very touchy subject’.” [Thomas]

Thomas’ story of the self-surveillance and regulation of women’s bodies produces the gendered subject as wanting or desiring to fulfil the expectations of gender norms as a personal choice: the desire to ‘turn back’ on oneself through self-reflection and discipline. Neoliberal demands for a responsible subject merge with gender norms that govern and guide our processes of subjectivity, where failure to regulate embodied practice within the parameters of gender risks not being recognised as a gendered subject and/or facing social sanction and punishment (Bartky, 1998; Butler, 1997). When gender is conceptualised as a hierarchical binary within which women’s bodies are produced as weak, submissive and passive, to act in ways that defy or disrupt expectations is met with disapproval and condemnation, producing and reproducing gendered power relations at sites of ethical encounters. For example, the men told stories of experiences with women who defied feminine expectations of weakness and passivity, often producing feminine embodiments of strength, confidence and/or aggression as undesirable, narrating their disapproval of women embodying masculine characteristics:

“[The woman facilitator] was quite abrasive or, you know, she’s quite a strong woman.” [Brian]

“Sometimes [the woman facilitator would] be a bit snappy in class...She asked me to get up and say something...and I said ‘Ok. Yeah, I’m [William]. That’s [the woman facilitator], she needs to go to the women’s course’ and [the male facilitator] started laughing. Everyone started laughing. She was like ‘why’s that’ and I was like ‘I’m pretty sure you’re too snappy with everybody and I’ve been

told by a few of the boys...that you need to stop being so-, A bit angry with us’.”
[William]

Brian and William’s accounts suggest a difference in the social value and acceptance between masculine and feminine enactment of confidence and strength. The use of the words “abrasive” and “snappy” when describing women facilitators on the stopping violence programme suggests that values such as strength and confidence that are normally privileged as desirable masculine traits are viewed negatively when practiced by a woman within hierarchical gendered power relations. Furthermore, stories of men facilitators’ aggression or anger were not subject to the same criticisms:

“[The male facilitator] was brilliant. Just absolutely brilliant...in any given situation. Oh, I’ve seen him kind of lose it on the course...Kind of semi, not lose it, but just getting frustrated, you know, but that’s when people were joking.”
[Brian]

Brian’s story of the masculine facilitator being “brilliant” despite displaying anger when “frustrated” in comparison to the “abrasive” and “strong” woman facilitator in his earlier quote manifests the value difference between masculine and feminine practices of anger and strength. Within gendered power relations, women’s displays of aggression and authority defy Western gender norms, and while it is ‘possible’ for gendered subjects to defy expectations of their assigned gender identity, such defiance is discouraged through social disapproval and condemnation. Therefore, despite neoliberal imaginations of individual choice, the embodied and embedded gendered subject is not a figure ‘chosen’ by the self, but instead is the “forcible citation of a norm” (Butler, 2011, p. 177). A ‘compulsory practice’ and obligated subordination to sociocultural regimes of gender, subjectivity and morality, coerced through technologies of self and social regulation, discipline and punishment. If there is a choice here at all, it is one of survival. Do we survive as a ‘legitimate’, recognisable and moral gendered subject, or condemn ourselves to the disapproval and social sanction that results from defying our designated gendered identity? At what costs and to whom?

The Subjective Conditions of Violence: Gender Performativity, Threat and the Dread of Femininity

The compulsory practice of gender within hierarchical gender binaries, and the threat of social sanction and punishment if embodied practice fails to achieve expectations of masculinity and femininity, requires a conceptualisation of gender performativity as continual and repetitive. If the agentic power of the (nonsubstitutional) subject is a citation or reiteration of a formative power that inaugurates the (substitutional) subject (Butler, 1997), and if ethical encounters are the sites where subjects are produced (Butler, 2001, 2005), then the “I” is never a ‘complete’ or fixed gendered production. Instead, the gendered subject is a process of continual subordination to gendered norms within constantly changing and evolving ethical spaces. Gender norms and ideals provide parameters and boundaries for gendered identity that regulate what one should or could be, but our embodied materialisation of those ideals are only ever approximations, constant and reiterative, in subordination to the technologies and resources of gendered subjectivation within a given sociocultural context. We can never ‘achieve’ the ideal, but instead continue to strive towards it, mobilising our bodily appearance and practices in a repetitive, reiterative attempt to embody gendered norms (Butler, 2011). As such, the position of masculine subject does not ‘belong’ to the man, but instead is a benchmark of subjectivity that the embodied subject continually endeavours to realise. Within ethical encounters, one’s ‘achievement’ of gender norms and ideals may be called into question or actively challenged at any time, therefore the gendered subject is a site of potential contestation and threatened subjugation (Butler, 2011).

In the men and women’s accounts of experiences of violence, ethical encounters that called into question the men’s masculine privilege, authority and control were often met with aggression. At sites of contested gendered subjectivity, threats to men’s positions and status as the superior masculine figure within gendered hierarchies provoked feelings of anger in response to the risk of disruption:

“I was just about to leave really and [my ex-partner’s brother]...was almost like patronising...which kind of just infuriated me and we went at it...When I got with my ex-partner, she just had a knack of bringing a lot of things back through, you know, my [learning disability]. She knew where to hit and that’s not an excuse,

that's just how I felt, you know? So when I reached that point again, when I had the fight with [my ex-partner and her brother], that kind of just brought it right back again." [Brian]

"We ended up going out there to one of his reviews and we just argued in the review session...[The facilitators] were on my side...He doesn't like getting told that he is wrong so he wasn't happy...We didn't really talk that night, the rest of that day and night...He was shitty, only because I made him feel little in front of his counsellor." [Susan]

Brain and Susan's accounts present anger and aggression as an available response for men when masculine authority and power are contested. Within ethical encounters that threaten to subjugate the masculine subject, technologies of aggression, intimidation and manipulation provide opportunities and processes through which men can re-establish their superiority and position others as inferior in contrast. For example, one man told me a story of contested masculinity where a woman facilitator on the stopping violence programme challenged his authority and privilege and he drew on practices of intimidation and humiliation as tactics to position himself as superior to his weaker contestee:

"I'd make you go from this big to [small]. Stand over you and intimidate you. Power of the voice [to put you] down as a lower person...I can make you feel like you want to just climb inside your shoe and never come out." [Hector]

Hector's account of the desire to establish masculine authority and domination in response to threat is a manifestation of the productivity of power at sites of ethical encounters, continually embedded within and through relationships with gendered others. The productivity of agentic power and hierarchical gender norms establish a relationship of dependence between gendered subjects at sites of ethical exchange. The masculine subject is produced through processes of exclusion and the repudiation of feminine characteristics (Butler, 2011), establishing gendered power relations where the superiority and strength of the masculine figure contrasts to women's passivity and weakness (Budgeon, 2014; Flood & Pease, 2005; Gavey, 1992; Stark, 2007). The binary of masculinity and femininity thus provides the grounds for identification as a recognisable gendered subject and also establishes a relationship of dependency that can threaten gendered identity. The masculine subject is produced through gender norms

Becoming a Subject of Violence

that locate the “I” in a position of power, authority, control and strength over others in order to be recognised as masculine and is therefore dependent on the production of feminine and other non-masculine subjects as passive and inferior by comparison. If the “I” is located in a position of relative weakness or subordination, the production of a masculine subject is contested and threatened. Therefore, identification and recognition as a masculine subject at the site of ethical address is not a ‘given’ or guaranteed product, but instead is vulnerable to relationships of power and dependency established within regimes of gender and subjectivity. Men navigate the production of a masculine subject embedded within approximations to an idealised norm at the site of ethical relationships. The dependency of their position as a masculine subject in relation to the ‘feminine other’ introduces the constant threat that they will, somehow, at some point in the future (or perhaps in an account of their past given to an Other) lose their identification as a man (Butler, 1997). The embodied masculine subject becomes a site of gendered practice that is unstable and incomplete, embedded in relationships of dependency and productivity that shift and change in any particular ethical encounter or address.

In response to contested masculinity, the embodiment of masculine norms and ideals such as control and domination act as technologies of gendered subjectivity, where practices and patterns of masculinity are integral to producing and reproducing the superiority of the masculine subject in contrast to feminine inferiority. Relationships of control and subjugation provide the conditions for masculine subjectivity *and* responses to the threat presented by dependence and contestation, producing the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge as a means to maintain the superiority of masculinity, the subordination of femininity, and ensure the survival of the masculine subject. All the women I spoke with narrated stories of control and domination in relation to their experiences of domestic violence. Although there was diversity in the presence of physical violence in the women’s accounts, each woman shared the experience of psychological violence and coercive control produced as a technology of masculine authority and domination over their bodies and actions²⁰. For example, one

²⁰ Many of the women interviewed had also participated in the women’s stopping violence programme at Te Manawa Services and engagement with the programme may have provided women with the vocabulary of control and domination reproduced within their stories. Therefore, through the educational processes of programme engagement, the women may have been enabled to identify and ‘give voice’ to issues of power and control more readily than community members who have not had the exposure to such gender analysis of intimate partner violence.

woman described the various ways in which her ex-partner established control and dominance in the relationship, including authority over her appearance, action and finances:

“It was like living in a military camp. Everything had to be his way. His way or the highway. I mean, he wouldn’t hit us, but he’d threaten with it...He was controlling everything, right down to what I wore...even paying bills...everything was under his name.” [Vicki]

In Vicki’s account of her victimisation, the presence of physical violence is not necessary if psychological processes of intimidation and manipulation are effective in establishing masculine control over feminine bodies. The establishment of dominance over women’s bodies and actions produce and reproduce patterns and practices of coercive control, where psychological and/or physical violence is employed to deny or minimise women’s agency, rights and resources within gendered power relations (Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Johnson, 2008; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Stark, 2007; Wilson et al., 2015). Physical, psychological and emotional violence all serve as technologies for the establishment of gender hierarchies and social power relations where women are inferior and submissive in relation to the strength, power and authority of masculine subjects (Adams, 2012; Stark, 2007). As one woman told me:

“[My ex-partner] is a control freak, like, it’s all about him...and there’s always the undercurrent of ‘I’m the tough man’...I think when we first got together, I can’t remember all the conversations now, but I can remember thinking later on...they were really leading to what does he need to do to be able to control my life.” [Amy]

Amy narrates the dynamics of her relationship with her ex-partner as being “all about him”, producing an account of intimate relationships where the man is the central privileged and authoritative subject within gendered power relations. Her story of victimisation produces the masculine other as the figure of control, organising her embodied experiences in ways that serve his needs and interests with little consideration of her well-being and safety. The privilege and dominance afforded to masculine subjects provide the conditions of possibility for relational entrapment, where a

Becoming a Subject of Violence

patterned system of reiterative manipulation and intimidation constrains feminine mobility and agency in the service of submission to masculine authority (Stark, 2007).

While technologies of control work to maintain gendered power relations within domestic settings, there is always the latent threat that such technologies may fail to reproduce and reinforce gender binaries of domination and submission at the site of ethical exchange. If the production of the masculine subject works through processes of exclusion and inclusion, when women begin to act in ways associated with assumptions of masculinity (such as displaying independence or resistance to masculine authority), the stability of the masculine subject in comparison to the feminine foil is threatened. Maintaining masculine control and domination in response to such threats ensures the survival of the masculine subject within ethical encounters where they are contested and resisted. For instance, one woman told me the act of going to the pub on her own fell outside the bounds of submissive and dependent feminine practice established within her intimate relationship, and was responded to through escalating processes of control, manipulation and isolation:

“Seeing a woman waiting at the bar for a friend is nothing in [my home country], so when we met, everything was fine and then within a year, possibly two years, suddenly me going to the pub on my own became a hassle. Something would happen or he would turn up or if I wouldn’t be at the pub that I had originally said I was going to there was an argument that I have moved and he couldn’t find me. So, in the end, it was easier not to [go to the pub], which now I realise was his plan to isolate me and keep me at home.” [Fiona]

Fiona’s account produces her embodiment of masculine values such as independence as a threat to be met with escalating practices of manipulation in order to re-establish her partner’s masculine authority within the relationship. Fiona narrates her own submission as a protective action, locating herself within a position of subordination in order to de-escalate tension and the threat of violence within the relationship. Practices of coercive control within hierarchical gender binaries work to entrap women within positions of subordination in order to produce immediate safety, maintaining gendered power relations of domination and subordination that tolerate and justify domestic violence. The women I spoke with also told me that when psychological violence and/or manipulation and intimidation no longer effectively subordinated them as a feminine

subject to masculine control, their (ex)partners used physical violence to re-establish their authority and dominance:

“His eyes would go like fire, aye. He’d start swearing a lot, putting me down and yeah, he’d start that way and if he didn’t get the results he wanted, you know, fear in me, that’s when he’d start using physical violence.” [Amber]

“I never used to argue. I knew when to stop, and so things never got that far because I always backed down. So the one time that I didn’t back down...he pushed me and I fell over and broke my hand...If he was with someone that was a bit more stronger...he probably would have killed them.” [Belinda]

The women’s narratives of coercive control produce domestic violence as an embodiment of masculine privilege and authority: an ethical act that produces and reproduces hierarchal binary relationships of gender providing the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge. Physical, psychological and emotional abuse are utilised to establish and re-establish the dominance of the masculine subject in relation to feminine submission, producing and reproducing gendered power relations through processes of entrapment and subordination (Adams, 2012; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Hayes & Jeffries, 2016; Johnson, 2008; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Stark, 2007; Wilson et al., 2015). When domestic violence is associated with images and assumptions of severe physical acts that leave visible evidence, stories of non-physical or ‘minor’ violence as acts of domestic violence are excluded and/or discouraged. Therefore, the everyday practices and environment of characteristically gendered dynamics of domination and subordination are ignored and/or obscured, constraining our engagement to address the harm caused by psychological violence and coercive control, and to prevent violence in potentially lethal forms (Bumiller, 2008, 2010; Dutton & Goodman, 2005; Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; Hannem et al., 2015; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Myhill & Hohl, 2016; Stark, 2007, 2010, 2012; Stewart et al., 2013; Towns & Adams, 2009, 2016; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016; Westmarland et al., 2010; Wilson et al., 2015). When we are constrained to tell or listen to stories that speak of the conditions of possibility for domestic violence such as narratives of coercive control, their difference from normative assumptions of physicality makes it difficult for many men and women to recognise or understand their experiences as domestic violence. Therefore, I was not

Becoming a Subject of Violence

surprised that few men's narratives acknowledged issues of coercive control in their accounts of violence. Although it was uncommon for men to produce their use of violence as a response to threatened control and authority, one man did articulate that his abuse escalated to physical violence if non-physical abuse was ineffective in maintaining domination over his ex-partner:

“[It was] verbal [violence] mainly. It only got to a physical point when things weren't going my way.” [Steven]

Steven's account produces both verbal and physical violence as technologies for control, justifying the use of physical violence as a response to threatened authority and domination. To tolerate resistance against masculine privilege and authority within patriarchal and neoliberal contexts is to 'fail' as a rational, responsible, and dominant man and even risks the production of pathology and deficiency, therefore presenting a threat to the survival of the masculine subject (Butler, 2011). Patriarchal ideology produces men as legitimate figures of authority and control for the purposes of maintaining social order, justifying, tolerating and even encouraging aggression and violence as a legitimate and socially sanctioned response to threat. Not to violently defend against contestation of the masculine subject may be considered an act of de-masculinisation (Budgeon, 2014; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Jewkes et al., 2015; Messerschmidt, 2000; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Schrock & Padavic, 2007). Indeed, Fulu and Miedema (2015) and Stark (2007) argue that violence in response to women defying expectations of femininity produced through hierarchical gender binaries is becoming an increasingly pressing concern in social contexts where the lines between embodied masculine and feminine practices are beginning to blur. Women's growing participation in the workforce, alongside increased urbanisation and uncertain employment opportunities provide reduced spaces for men to manifest their 'manliness' through physical and economic demonstrations of privilege. From this space of unstable and shifting gender relationships, violence emerges as “a means by which men construct a new form of masculinity: a compensatory method of exerting control when they feel that their authority has been called into question” (Fulu & Miedema, 2015, p. 1439).

The men and women's accounts of increasingly severe acts of psychological, emotional and physical violence in response to contestations and disruptions within hierarchical gendered power relations may be related to hypermasculinity. Hypermasculinity can be

engaged as a process where escalating and exaggerated masculine practices, such as violence and aggression, are employed at sites of subjective threat where the tentative hold on positions of power afforded to the masculine subject are questioned.

Hypermasculine performances become attempts to ‘overthrow’ the challenge to the authority of the masculine subject and re-establish domination and control (Mowat et al., 2016; Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; Reidy, Berke, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014; Reidy, Shirk, Sloan, & Zeichner, 2009). Experiences of weakness or loss of control (experiences associated with femininity or conceptualised as ‘un-masculine’) are intolerable²¹ for some men who offensively prohibit, through practices of violence and aggression, the threat of femininity in their ethical encounters, thereby reproducing their masculine power and privilege. In the men and women’s accounts, violence was often produced as a learned offensive and protective response to situations where men’s safety and/or status was threatened or questioned:

“He is a very self-absorbed person, but I think that again comes from his childhood. He’s had to be because he’s had such horrible things happen around him he has to think of himself for survival.” [Fiona]

“I haven’t had a lot to do with my family so I’ve kind of-, To compensate for not having family behind me I’ve become more defensive.” [Steven]

“I remember the days at school and that, [I] used to lash out...It wasn’t really lashing out, it was protecting myself so to speak.” [Mark]

Violence as both an offensive and defensive practice of self-preservation as a masculine subject produces the conditions of possibility for domestic violence within contested and threatening gendered power relations. Men draw on norms of masculinity such as violence and aggression in exaggerated practice to defend against, and over-power, those who threaten their status and security as a masculine subject. Processes of hypermasculinity and heightened masculine response to threat can be situated within Butler’s (1997) discussion of the relationship between the conscience and processes of prohibition, repression and sublimation. Repression occurs when the conscience prohibits intolerable desires and drives, sublimating those desires towards more socially

²¹ It should be noted here that a loss of control is conceptualised as tolerable for men when used as an explanation for how the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence are not a reflection of the substitutional self’s morality, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Becoming a Subject of Violence

acceptable and privileged practices. However, the conscience is not only the source of repression, but also the effect, where continual repression of desires strengthens and makes more intolerant the conscience. In this sense, as men repress desires, experiences and practices that are associated with femininity and are therefore prohibited (such as vulnerability, weakness and subordination), their adherence to, and reproduction of, the norms and ideals of masculinity are exaggerated and increased, producing 'hyper-versions' of the masculine subject. Any potential threat to men's position as a masculine subject is a manifestation of prohibited feminine subjectivity which is met with escalating masculine practices that effectively 'destroy' the challenge femininity poses.

Women's stories of the temporal sequence of their victimisation narrated processes that fit with how prohibition, repression and sublimation work to produce practices of hypermasculinity in response to increasing threat to masculine authority. The women spoke of how when their (ex)partners' positions as a masculine subject were secure through achievements of masculinity, such as authority, control, independence and privilege, the men's violence and anger did not manifest in ways the women experienced as immediately frightening, threatening and/or harmful. However, when circumstances occurred that resulted in a loss of status, power and the embodied markers of masculinity, violence increased and escalated. For example, one woman told me that once her ex-partner lost the masculine markers of financial, economic and romantic security, his violence towards her 'returned' and increased:

"It was really good, because he did have a really good job and he was making good money and he had quite a nice girlfriend at that stage, so things were probably quite nice for him. But he got drunk one night and drove his car and smashed into another vehicle and did a runner...and so he lost his job through that. And of course the girlfriend, with all the money, sort of went not long afterwards...Since that's all happened, he's just turned dog again." [Belinda]

Another woman spoke of how her ex-partner's violence escalated when their children were removed from the home, an event that challenges his position as head of the household, father and provider:

"He was doing really good too, but then when the kids got taken he just lost the plot again." [Amber]

Accounts of escalating violence in response to the loss of markers of masculinity manifest the instability and incompleteness of the masculine subject and the need for continual and reiterative masculine practices in order to not only produce, but also defend and maintain positions of authority and dominance afforded through gendered social power relations. The masculine subject, as a site of contestation and potential subjugation, must therefore invest in seeking out threats and challenges to their subjective positioning in order to secure survival as a man. For example, one woman spoke of her partner's heightened sensitivity to any potential threat to his masculinity within their intimate relationship, and how those (imagined) threats were met with exaggerated masculine practices of aggression and violence:

“He’s very sensitive in a way. You can say something and he will take it well way over the top. I didn’t even think of those things, but he’s taking it on like that [as a threat] and then he will see red and he’ll go over the top.” [Fiona]

Repetitive and hypervigilant surveillance in order to identify potential threats to masculinity provide multiple opportunities for the masculine subject to respond to, and overcome, subjective threat through exaggerated masculine practices. In this sense, potential challenges to masculinity are productive, strengthening the production and reproduction of masculine ideals and norms and expanding the domain of authority and control (Butler, 1997). As Butler (1997, p. 58) argues “a bodily experience, broadly construed, comes under the censor of the law only to re-emerge as the sustaining affect of that law.” Indeed, the men’s accounts often included stories of hypervigilance against threatened de-masculinisation, where violence and aggression served as both a response to threat and as a technology through which masculinity, and the associated processes of control, protection and authority, can be reproduced and strengthened at sites of ethical exchange:

“I was brought up violently and that’s just why I wanted to be violent to my kids, so that when they get older they can look after themselves. Because that’s one thing I can say, I got a lot of hidings when I was young, but at least I know now not many people can do that to me now.” [Gareth]

“[The men on the stopping violence programme] all seem to be that way: vulnerable and striving, and a lot of their behaviour is fear driven. Fear of losing

Becoming a Subject of Violence

control and they think they have to be in control or bad things are going to happen.” [Tony]

The prohibition and repression of feminine and/or de-masculinising practices such as demonstrations of vulnerability and weakness, and processes of sublimation through heightened embodied masculinity, work to secure some sense of stability for the masculine subject, but, as Tony’s account suggests, this is a false security where men are aware they may be found ‘lacking’ in future ethical encounters. The fear that the de-masculinising effect of femininity will ‘destroy’ or ‘diminish’ the masculine subject is not exclusive to relationships between men and women, but also within men’s relationships with each other, where there is the possibility that another man may ‘do’ masculinity better than the “I” can, thus positioning the subject as less masculine in comparison. Therefore, the hierarchical structure of gender not only speaks to the masculine/feminine binary, but also operates *within* systems and embodied practices of masculinity, where men face de-masculinisation at the hands of stronger, more authoritative men who ‘do’ masculinity better than they can (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The men’s narratives often produced an implicit hierarchy within masculine subjects, where those who were stronger, tougher, less emotional and more aggressive were perceived in a more favourable light than men who demonstrated weakness, emotionality and vulnerability within ethical encounters:

“There’s a group of about 20 guys in there and we all managed to mingle into what groups we were going to sit in every time we turned up and I was with the hard nuts and there was a couple of soft pricks.” [Hector]

“There [were men in the stopping violence group] that they used to say ‘shit, I nearly cut my wrists this week’ and that sort of thing. I thought ‘well, why don’t you? Do it then’, you know? ‘Stop being a big drama about it’...I couldn’t really keep a straight face sometimes. I thought these jokers just needed to harden up and stop being drains on society.” [Tim]

Hector and Tim’s accounts imply that men who are emotionally stoic and/or aggressive occupy higher positions in the masculine hierarchy than those who are emotional and vulnerable. Spoken of as “soft pricks”, “jokers” and “drains on society”, men who manifest weakness or emotionality face social disapproval and sanction within the hierarchal organisation of masculinity. The ‘achievement’ of a masculine subject

position can be considered the product of competition, where hierarchical structures of masculinity enable men to position themselves as more ‘manly’ than others, and therefore closer in approximation to the norms and ideals associated with the masculine subject. Flood (2008) argues that within homosocial relationships, men seek the approval of other men and this can take the form of competition where men are recognised as masculine through displays of dominance and ‘mastery of masculinity’ over other men. Those who can produce themselves as more masculine than others are rewarded with authority and (albeit temporary) gendered identity security, whereas those who display un-masculine characteristics, or act in ways that are less masculine, may lose status and respect as a man. Indeed, the stopping violence group environment was often spoken of as a competitive space where men attempted to establish dominance over others by being ‘bigger, better, stronger’ than their peers:

“Just everything we talked about, [another guy on the stopping violence programme] had a bigger or better story and everything was just a matter of fact, and he’d make a statement and it’s as simple as that. No questions asked. That’s it. And it was just like it just killed the conversation.” [Gavin]

“Once some of us had been there a while we kind of became a little bit competitive as to how we could resolve things in better ways and I did notice that through some of the guys.” [Steven]

Gavin and Steven’s accounts suggest stopping violence programmes are sites of homosociality, where the masculine subject is produced and reproduced in relation to other masculine subjects, competing for more favourable positions within the hierarchy of masculine subjectivity. Whilst competition can serve to heighten and exaggerate practices of masculinity, in the context of domestic violence intervention it can also work to discourage participation in, and engagement with, domestic violence services. When social power relations produced within domestic violence response position service users as subordinate and vulnerable to the authority of intervention, the authority and privilege of men accessing services may be threatened. Within hierarchal social relations, domestic violence workers hold positions of higher authority as symbolic figures of morality, accountability and/or justice, and men enter into ethical encounters with services in a position of weakness and vulnerability beyond their control. In response to their location in positions of relative weakness and subordination, and the

Becoming a Subject of Violence

threat of de-masculinisation this position produces, some men are motivated to disengage with domestic violence services, severing ethical relationships that challenge their authority and control and threaten their position as a man. For example, when speaking about his experiences of previous anger management counselling, one man told me:

“[The counsellor] was a bit of a fool... I didn't like him at all...[He] had a sort of 'greater than thou' attitude because he's been there and done it all and...he'd say that quite a bit, you know, when we'd be talking about what I'd done and the behaviour that I'd learned off my father and he'd say 'oh yeah, been there, done that'. He was just a tosser...He thought he was going to lead me down the path of righteousness.” [John]

In John's account, the counsellor was an other who had attempted to position himself as more knowledgeable, experienced and moral than John, someone who believed he had the authority to lead and guide John towards redemption. In response to the challenge this produces to John's status as 'more masculine than the other', John calls the counsellor a “fool” and “tossler”, negating any threat of a de-masculinising subordinate position through an attack on the other's wisdom, status and authority. Within the competitive hierarchy of masculinity, the threat others pose can be disrupted through narratives that discredit the masculine authority and privilege of the source of threat, establishing the “I” in a more favourable light in comparison.

In the men and women's accounts, assumptions and values of heteronormativity were often utilised to subordinate, discredit and demean men who either displayed feminine characteristics such as emotionality and vulnerability, and/or posed a potential threat to the masculine subject's position within competitive gender hierarchies. Men can achieve status and respect in relation to other men through their heteronormative sexual conquests, where “sexual activity is a key path to masculine status” (Flood, 2008, p. 342). Within heteronormative assumptions, homosexuality is conceptualised as a 'failure' and a violation of masculinity that threatens to destabilise gender norms and relationships (Butler, 2011; Towns & Terry, 2014). Associated with feminine desires and practices, homosexuality 'terrorises' masculinity (Butler, 2011), threatening to expose the subject as un-masculine, but can also be yielded productively as a weapon to de-masculinise other men within the hierarchy of masculinity. The men's accounts

produced homosexuality as either a sexual identity to be feared, or a weapon for de-masculinising potential threats:

“I was a homophobe. Well, I still am, but, you know, other guys would come up to me and go ‘hey bro’ and I was like [gestures moving away].” [Simon]

“My teenage daughter didn’t want a ...bar of me; she was more involved with the faggot. The faggot’s my ex’s new partner.” [Hector]

The competitive environment of heteronormative gender hierarchies enables men to situate themselves as closer to the ideal of masculinity, and therefore more worthy of respect and authority, through accusations of, and responses to, homosexuality. Men can call into question others’ heterosexuality, such as in Hector’s account, or distance themselves from potential threats to their image as a heterosexual man, as heard in Simon’s account of wanting to distance himself from perceived homosexuality. In this sense, competitive hierarchies are productive, enabling men to produce themselves as a masculine subject, respond to threats to their survival as a masculine subject, and position themselves higher in the masculine hierarchy than others. However, in the context of homosocial relations, the competitive heteronormative masculine hierarchy can also discourage men from sharing their emotions and vulnerability with each other out of fear of being associated with homosexuality, and therefore facing social disapproval and loss of masculine status (Towns & Terry, 2014). The matrix of heteronormativity, homophobia and competitive masculine hierarchies constricts avenues for social connection and support that could otherwise form homosocial relationships that enable transformation and non-violence. For example, one woman told me her partner never expressed his emotions or feelings in order to avoid being associated with, and socially condemned for, homosexual characteristics:

“For him to talk about his feelings would be real poofy. Pansy.” [Karina]

The prohibition and repression of norms and practices associated with femininity and homosexuality, embedded within regimes of masculinity that privilege strength, independence and authority, can result in processes of sublimation that transform desires for emotionality and social connection into masculine acts of aggression and violence. When men feel vulnerable and/or emotional, the fear of de-masculinisation can be reduced through embodied practices of masculine violence, eliminating the threat men’s emotions pose to the production of the masculine subject and providing the

Becoming a Subject of Violence

conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge in subjective defence. For example, in the men's accounts, the inability or reluctance to develop spaces where men could express their emotions and experience vulnerability resulted in an increase of violence and abuse:

“Before [attending the stopping violence programme] I wouldn't have spoken to anyone. I would have bottled it up and I would have been breaking shit...I never used to ask for help. I used to always just try to do everything myself and when I failed, shit hit the fan. Everything went sideways.” [Steven]

“I'd get angry and just couldn't control myself, because I didn't want to feel that hurt.” [Gareth]

Steven and Gareth's accounts of violence in response to the desire for, and fear of, emotional vulnerability suggests that despite norms of masculinity requiring stoicism and invulnerability, men have emotional needs they are discouraged from acknowledging and communicating for fear of losing status and respect as a man. As Towns and Terry (2014, p. 1014) state “despite experiencing a full range of emotions, they are often aware that discussing or displaying them in front of male friends is considered an indication of weakness.” Through processes of prohibition, repression and sublimation, the masculine body becomes a site of conflict: both the ‘enemy’ and embodiment of the ideal masculine subject (Butler, 1997). When men must fight against their own embodied desires for emotion and connection in order to produce and maintain the subject position of man within competitive gender hierarchies, then turning back on the self through self-surveillance, regulation and discipline enables turning towards the ‘law’ of masculinity (Butler, 1997, 2011). Within such processes of turning, the relationship between productivity and prohibition is one of psychosocial violence, where unattainable, rigid and unforgiving regimes of masculinity force men to suppress all but the most extreme and unbearable emotional pain (and sometimes even unbearable emotional pain as well) through fear of social sanction and judgement (Cleary, 2012; Jennings & Murphy, 2000; Towns & Terry, 2014). The dread of being de-masculinised overwhelms the desire for emotional expression and well-being, constraining the development of relationships that could support change towards non-violence and challenge the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge.

Prohibition only arises once a desire, need or potential act is met with reprobation and resistance, and through processes of repression and self-regulation the masculine subject suffers the 'loss' of what those desires or needs meant to him both emotionally and materially. However, he is unable to reflect on what the loss of those desires mean to him, nor incorporate the pain of loss into an understanding of the self, because the desires were forbidden and foreclosed to him as a masculine subject. Therefore, the unforgiving dread of femininity in the service of producing and maintaining the masculine subject necessitates that the masculine subject suffers an 'ungrievable loss' when turning back on itself and towards the law of masculinity (Butler, 1997): the loss of emotionality and vulnerability associated with feminine subjectivities. This loss is 'ungrievable' given that the desire or need was prohibited in the first place within gender binaries of inclusion and exclusion, and as such even the experience of the grief of this loss is forbidden and 'lost' to the subject. Butler (1997) argues, however, that despite the ungrievability of the loss, it still remains as part of the subject's psyche (or more specifically for Butler, the ego). The masculine subject is prohibited from femininity and experiences the ungrievable loss this prohibition brings, but, through the reiterative and repetitive practices of masculinity that attempt to thwart the threat of femininity through embodied experience, the loss remains part of him. In other words, the threat of femininity lingers within every act of strength, control and privilege, 'haunting' the unstable, contested and conflicted site of masculine subjectivity.

Unable to overcome the haunting threat and dread of femininity implicated in producing the masculine subject, the masculine subject may 'strike out' aggressively against all external threats to his masculinity, transforming vulnerability *of the self* to vulnerability *in an other*: a vulnerability that is possible to 'vanquish' (Butler, 1997). The shift from self-beratement to striking out against others in the face of subjective threat can be understood through Butler's (1997) discussion of the contrast between melancholia and narcissism. Melancholia describes processes of violence towards oneself imposed through self-reflective turning, where the 'mark of the object', in this case the threat of femininity and de-masculinisation, falls upon the subject itself, motivating self-reflexive beratement, regulation and discipline. Narcissism reverses the relationship between subject and object, where the 'mark of the subject' falls upon the object and any action against or toward an object (for instance, women's bodies) is a reflection of the masculine subject. Therefore, processes that enable the 'mark of the man' to fall upon

Becoming a Subject of Violence

the 'object/woman' produce women and women's bodies as a site of masculinity, as well as its potential undoing. Here, the feminine subject becomes not only a threat to masculinity, but also a technology of masculinity, wherein the dread of femininity enables and mobilises the continuation (and escalation) of masculine acts, producing and reproducing the masculine subject. Men must retain control over the objects that bear the 'mark' of their masculine privilege and authority, or risk losing their position and status as a respected masculine subject. In this sense, narcissism provides the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge, where escalating acts of violence and abuse work to strike out against any threats to men's control over women in order to secure their position of man. Indeed, the women often told stories of increased victimisation at sites where the masculine other lost control of the feminine figure:

"He [used to say] 'if I can't have you, no one can have you' and I thought 'I'm dead' ... The last time I saw him flip out real bad was the day I gave him the divorce papers." [Vicki]

"I ended it. He didn't want it to end, but I ended the relationship. And at first he did all the 'I don't want you to leave' and all that sort of thing. And then he turned a bit nasty and started threatening things like 'I'll slit your throat'." [Belinda]

Loss of control and domination over women as a threat to the masculine subject is embedded within hierarchies of masculinity, where other men may 'do' masculinity better and therefore erase the subject's mark with their own. The threat of infidelity works as a threat to the masculine subject, where more 'manly men' supplant control over women's bodies and the threat to masculinity is produced as one of heterosexual activity and conquest. In response, men can strike out against the threat, increasing their practices of authority and control through violence to retain and ensure domination over the feminine subject. Both the men and women told stories of violence as a response to infidelity (either real or imagined), where men used violence as a tactic to produce and reproduce their position as the authoritative masculine subject in relation to both women's bodies and other men that may pose a challenge to that authority:

"I never used to really get violent towards women until my last relationship, when my girlfriend started messing around on me. It sort of stuffed me up mentally."
[Gareth]

“He was all shut down and making sure I wasn’t doing the same thing [as his ex-partner who cheated on him] and anything that I did portray that [his ex-partner] would do, you know, like talking to other people or talking to guys that I’ve worked with for 10 years, triggered it all the time.” [Louise]

Gareth and Louise’s accounts suggest the threat that femininity presents to the masculine subject is both ‘internal’ and ‘external’; a performance of feminine vulnerability that works to destabilise masculine practices and an object of control that bears the mark of masculinity and can be ‘lost’ or ‘taken away’. Both sources of threat require practices of control, subordination and domination in order to prevent the dissolution of the masculine subject, and through the shift from melancholy to narcissism, the feminine body emerges as a proxy for such control and a technology of masculinity (Butler, 2012). Therefore, becoming a gendered subject is a process that is embodied, enacted, contested and enforced: it is both torturous subordination and a space of productive power. In patriarchal societies that privilege hegemonic masculinity, assumptions of masculine authority, control and domination provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence in the service of producing and reproducing the masculine subject within social, ethical and gendered power relations and exchanges. Feminine and/or non-masculine figures become technologies for masculinity, offered up as objects that bear the mark of the man and that can be controlled, discarded and broken: a threat to overcome, or an accomplishment to be celebrated.

The Lord and the Bondsman – A Working Metaphor

Writing the chapter on becoming a subject of violence was an incredibly difficult process. My narrative of ideas and discussions was continually threatened by the need for expansion, diversion and interruption, much like giving an account of ourselves always must be. When following the threads of narrative, I would often find myself somewhere different from where I had first intended to go, unable to find a cohesive and consistent path to follow that would gather all the relevant arguments along the way to arrive at an appropriate denouement. I have attempted to produce what I hope is a sensible and rich discussion of how one might become a subject gendered through masculinity within a heterosexually normative binary and how this process of ‘becoming man’ conditions the possibility for domestic violence to emerge. However, I am also aware that many of the threads of thought have ‘come loose’ in the trajectory of the narrative.

For instance, I found Butler’s (1997) discussion of Hegel’s Lord and Bondsman system a useful metaphor to engage with the complex and interconnecting processes, influences and practices associated with the production of a subject, and the masculine subject in particular, and imagined how that metaphor might relate to the wicked problem of domestic violence in our communities. Through the metaphor of lordship and bondage, a working framework emerged for understanding how sociocultural norms, ideals, and practices intersect and interact with subjective experience, action and agency, enabling a more coherent narrative of the complicated relationship between processes of subjectivity and the conditions of violence. I offer here the story of the Lord and the Bondsman as an attempt to ‘re-weave’ a previously dropped thread into a narrative of how one becomes a gendered subject.

The Lord and the Bondsman are symbolic representations of processes of subjectivity that occur between unequal parties dependent on each other for recognition and survival (Butler, 1997). The Bondsman is a servant for the Lord, making products for the Lord in exchange for the Bondsman’s survival as a subject under the Lord. Through the Bondsman’s subordination and servitude, the authority and privilege of the Lord is established and maintained, and the products of servitude strengthen and expand the Lord’s wealth and domain. The social power relationship between the Lord and Bondsman is productive: within the relationship, recognisable subject positions are

The Lord and the Bondsman – A Working Metaphor

produced in relation to each other (i.e. Lord and Bondsman), and processes of subordination and servitude produce ‘objects’ that bear the markers of both the Lord and the Bondsman. The products produced through servitude bear the Bondsman’s direct physical mark as the one who created the objects, and also the symbolic mark of ownership of the Lord. If we imagine the Bondsman as the masculine subject, and the Lord as masculine norms and ideals, men are indentured into ‘service’ to the masculine ideal, producing objects (such as strength, control and domination over women and women’s bodies) that bear their own physical, subjective mark. At the same time, these objects belong to the ideal of masculinity that enabled the objects’ production in the first place. The material effects of the dependent and productive relationship between masculinity and the masculine subject is the production and reproduction of embodied masculine norms and practices: the ‘accomplishment’ of masculinity in practice. Butler (1997) argues that through his service, the Bondsman ‘becomes’ the body of the Lord, in this case the material, embodied manifestation of masculinity, and the Lord represents a “a disembodied desire for self-reflection” (p. 35): an external regulatory force of gender performativity. When men ‘do’ masculinity, producing and reproducing the norms, ideals and practices associated with masculinity, they reiterate and retain masculinity’s dominance as a regime of subjectivity, morality and regulation. Thus, the Lord and Bondsman are co-dependent, bounded by power relations of subordination and productivity. Within my taking up of the story of the Lord and Bondsman, men and masculinity dominate the narrative as central figures (both symbolically and materially), and yet the ‘objects’ produced in the service of the Lord are integral to the production and achievement of the masculine subject - a reminder of how gendered subjectivity is a site of dependence and contingency. And so, how can we understand the ‘objects’ that bear the mark of both the Lord and the Bondsman?

Through his service, the Bondsman produces ‘objects’ for the Lord, and although the activity of producing the object is commissioned by the Lord, and therefore both the activity and object is a reflection of the Lord, the object produced bears the traces (the mark or signature) of the Bondsman’s skills, acts and mastery. Therefore, although the object is not his, it is a symbolic reflection of the Bondsman, bearing the Bondsman’s signature as a marker for, or ‘proof’ of, the Bondsman’s existence as a subject. As Butler (1997) argues:

If we are to understand the forming of the object as the inscribing of the Bondsman's signature, the formative principle of the object to be the formation of his signature, then the Bondsman's signature designates a domain of contested ownership. This is his mark, which he can read (we shall let the Bondsman occupy the site of presumptive masculinity), and so the object appears to belong to him. (p. 38)

Control, strength and authority are the 'products' of men in servitude to masculinity: objects that exceed the site of the embodied masculine subject (i.e. his appearance and actions) to include the bodies of women, 'less masculine' men, and children. Domination over embodied feminine and non-masculine subjects become sites of productivity, where women are both a technology for, and object of, masculinity and the production of the masculine subject.

Because the Bondsman becomes the embodiment of the Lord, whatever men 'produce' through the practice of masculinity does not belong to the masculine subject, despite bearing the subject's 'signature'. The objects are made for, and in service of, the ideals of masculinity, and therefore represent a site of contested ownership and authority. As such, men are never able to claim complete 'ownership' of objects of masculinity: they are an accomplishment of an ideal that men can never materially possess. Furthermore, objects that bear the mark of the masculine subject (such as control and authority over women and their bodies) can be 'taken away' if another masculine subject embodies the ideals of masculinity better than they have or can. If the object is produced in service of the ideal, and another man more closely approximates this ideal, then the object is deferred to the man positioned higher in masculine hierarchy. Therefore, the masculine subject is tenuous and vulnerable, and the desire to 'be' a man is fraught with the inability to possess masculinity completely, opening spaces for other masculine subjects to occupy sites of masculine subjectivity with more authority and privilege.

Given that the product of the Bondsman's labour becomes a site of contested ownership, the activity of producing the object is motivated by the fear of having their status as a masculine subject 'taken' from them and no longer seeing their signature on their 'work'. This fear motivates reiterative practices of masculinity and hypervigilant self-reflection in order to maintain ownership over the objects of their labour, often escalating in intensity and strength in response to the level of the threat of de-

masculinisation present within hierarchical ethical encounters. At sites where masculinity is practised, men can respond to threats to their status as a masculine subject through calling into question the hierarchical position of other masculine subjects in comparison. If others are found lacking, then the masculine subject survives as a closer approximation to the ideal and retains ownership of his objects of masculinity. Butler (1997, p. 45) refers to this process as scepticism, whereby “the skeptic overrides his own contradictoriness in order to take pleasure in forcing others to witness their contradictions.”

Depending on positioning oneself higher within the masculine hierarchy to survive as a masculine subject is a double-edged sword: scepticism enables the de-masculinisation of others in the production of the masculine subject, but also lays bare the vulnerability that others in turn may do the same to him. As the masculine subject is compared favourably to others, others still might compare favourably to him; as he illuminates other’s failings, so may others illuminate his. The demand for the constant and reiterative reproduction of masculine norms and ideals within ethical encounters traps the masculine subject’s body perpetually within the regulatory and disciplinary processes of subjectivity and morality. In effect, masculinity becomes a ‘warzone’ whereby men seek victory through the assertion of superiority over others (other men, women and children) and masculine practices such as strength, aggression and control. Yet this victory is in continual contestation and defence: men must consistently ‘wage war’ on, and aggressively defend against, those who threaten their masculinity and masculine accomplishments.

As the Bondsman bears witness to others’ ‘failings’, hypervigilant to the threat his own failings pose to his status as a masculine subject, the production and reproduction of masculine norms and practices enables him to produce himself as a central, privileged figure: an independent, active and agentic subject who embodies masculinity and is subordinate to none other than himself. Through a focus on the embodied practice and achievements of the masculine subject and a denial of the dread of losing the objects that bear the Bondsman’s mark, the Lord (a previously disembodied regulatory force) becomes internalised as the consciousness of the Bondsman, or what Butler (1997) refers to as the ‘unhappy consciousness’. The unhappy consciousness provides an illusion of freedom from contestation and subordination through a splitting of the psyche, where the masculine subject is both the Lord (the ‘watcher’ and ‘regulator’ of

their own and others action) and the Bondsman (the physical manifestation that embodies masculinity). The Bondsman forms an imaginary alliance with the Lord to become a singular, cohesive independent subject responsible for its own regulation and position, disavowing the formative relationship between them in ways similar to the illusion of notions of personal responsibility and freedom produced through neoliberal discourse. The embodied masculine subject becomes both the symbolic moralised domain and the material practiced effects of masculinity, embedded within, and dependent on, processes of self-surveillance, regulation and discipline for survival as a masculine subject. Through the unhappy consciousness, the Bondsman regulates and disciplines his own embodied activity emergent from and through the fear of ‘becoming nothing’ if he loses his labour and effort.

The Bondsman’s internalisation of the Lord also serves as disavowal of a formative regulatory force and reduces the masculine subject to a physical, biological entity rather than the embodiment of an ‘immortal ideal’. As a biological entity, fear of death motivates the masculine subject to produce and reproduce relationships of control, domination, and authority in order to ‘cheat death’ through reiterative practices of masculine subjectivity embedded within social and gendered power relations. The fear of subjective death acts as both a vulnerability and a technology for the masculine subject. If a man admits fear and weakness, he risks his position as a man, and yet active responses to this fear (such as the production of gendered relationships that maintain his authority and domination) work as a mechanism through which he can flee from this fear, at least temporarily. The greater the perceived threat and resulting fear, the greater the practice of masculinity needs to be in order to overcome the threat, opening spaces for domestic violence to emerge as a mechanism to flee from fear through the intensified embodiment of the ideals and practices associated with masculinity. As more threats are detected, spaces and opportunities to ‘do’ masculinity and strengthen and sustain the ‘existence’ of the masculine subject proliferate. Therefore, whilst the man may ‘free’ himself from the Lord through the unhappy consciousness, he is still constrained and subordinated through internalised and embodied masculine ideals and norms, becoming both judge and judged, enforcer and enforced, through processes of self-reflection, self-beratement, and self-discipline. The Bondsman becomes preoccupied with the self, obsessed with his own privilege as a masculine subject, and fearful that his markers of masculinity will be taken or

The Lord and the Bondsman – A Working Metaphor

withdrawn. Empathy and compassion for others give way to self-promotion and the survival of the masculine subject. Domestic violence against women and children is justified and tolerated in the production of objects that bear his mark, and serve as his masculine accomplishments.

The metaphor of the Lord and Bondsman provides a cohesive narrative of how the masculine subject may come to be formed, and how that process of formation may provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. From the formative power of the Lord, to the turn towards the individual, agentic Bondsman, the ways in which men can ‘make their mark’ as a masculine subject embedded within norms and ideals of masculinity is through ‘waging war’ against themselves, other masculine subjects, and women and children. The self, other men, women and non-masculine subjects must all be brought under the subordination and control of masculinity, and illusions of individualism and freedom enable the masculine subject to experience a sense of mastery and accomplishment as an embodied approximation to the ideal. As long as the Bondsman can retain ownership of objects that ‘bear his mark’, he can read his existence in the signature of his work. Violence is tolerated when defending his status as a masculine subject and is even expected as a reproduction of masculine practice. In this sense, domestic violence is a condition for, and effect of, becoming a gendered subject of masculinity, a process through which all others in an account of oneself are produced as foils to, or manifestations of, the masculine subject. As Malabou (2011, p. vi) argues “that “woman” finds herself now in the age of postfeminism deprived of her “essence” only confirms, paradoxically, a very ancient state of affairs: “woman” has never been able to define herself other than through the violence done to her.” And so we could ask how it is possible for feminine and non-masculine figures to be produced as technologies and objects of masculinity. What ethical processes are involved and allowed? How do social, cultural and historical norms, ideals and practices produce and reproduce others as products of and for the masculine subject?

Chapter 6: Powers of Recognition

Dehumanisation, the Face and (Un)ethical Relationships of Violence

When we speak of ethics, we are often implying the material embodiment of regimes of morality to govern the relationships that can and should be developed between recognisable subjects in the context of social exchange and practice (Butler, 2005). Butler (2006) discusses Levinas' concept of the 'face' within ethical encounters, wherein the 'face of the Other' makes particular ethical demands of us that we are obligated to respond to in certain ways within our account. The ethical demand made by the 'face' at the site of an account can be understood as a type of persecution: an unwilling accusation ('you are immoral and violent' or 'you are not a man') that forces the "I" to account for themselves and to subordinate to the demands and will of the Other (Butler, 2005). While we might find ourselves desiring to strike out against the face forcing this persecution upon us, the ethical relations that bind us at the site of the account, for the most part, force us to deny aggressive and violent impulses. Not only would striking out be considered immoral and thus risk condemning the "I" to discipline and punishment, but it would also risk our survival as a recognisable subject produced within ethical encounters. Given the subject is produced in an account given to the Other, the subject is dependent on the Other's recognition for survival. To strike out against the Other would risk severing the ethical relationship within which we can be recognised as a particular moral subject. As Butler (2005) argues:

There are situations in which responding to the "face" of the Other feels horrible, impossible, and where the desire for murderous revenge feels overwhelming. But the primary and unwilling relation to the Other demands that we desist from both a voluntarism and an impulsive aggression grounded in the self-preservation aims of egotism. The "face" thus communicates an enormous prohibition against aggression directed toward the persecutor. (p. 92)

Given that regimes of morality and ethics forbid striking out against the face of the Other, how can we understand and explain violence and aggression towards women, children and other non-masculine subjects as an ethical practice? Why is violence socially prohibited within certain ethical relationships, and justified or tolerated within others? Butler (2005) argues that in order for the face to elicit an ethical prohibition

against acts of aggression and violence in response to persecution and threat, the face must be recognisably 'human'. Ethical relationships of accountability and responsibility are only formed if an Other is first identified as 'human': a concept produced through regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that humanise particular subjects and dehumanise others. Braidotti (2008, p. 27) argues that the figure of the 'ideal subject' in contemporary Western society is "male, white, heterosexual, educated, able-bodied, speaking a standard language, living in an urban centre and owning property." The multiple, intersecting power relations that produce the figure Braidotti describes also produce multiple possibilities for 'failing' to achieve the 'ideal'. When Western masculinity is culturally privileged as the ideal form of subjectivity, and gender is produced within hierarchical binary relationships, those occupying positions beyond the boundaries and parameters of the superior 'Western, middle-class, heterosexual, able masculine subject' are produced as 'inferior', 'lacking' and 'other'²² (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Bumiller, 2010; Oksala, 2013; Sokoloff & Dupont, 2005). The productivity of, and subordination to, Western norms of masculinity produce the other as a deficient subject in comparison to men: an incomplete and 'broken' copy of the 'ideal subject' whose rights as a legitimate, moral subject are questioned, or in some cases even actively denied (Butler, 2011, 2012). When non-masculine subjects are positioned outside the parameters of the ideal moral subjectivity, they fall beyond the boundaries of expectations for ethical connection and treatment, banished from ethical spaces where recognisable subjects 'meet', confined and contained to a metaphorical 'no-man's land'. Within the place and space of 'no-man's land', a location without citizenship and therefore lacking the rights and protections afforded to citizens, the ethical expectations, regulations and obligations between legitimate moral subjects no longer apply. In effect, the other becomes a 'non-subject' of ethical consequence (Butler, 2011): an *other*, not *Other*. The production of women as an ethical 'non-subject' due to positioning outside the masculine binary position and ideal provides the conditions of possibility for the feminine body to be understood as an 'object' of, or technology for, masculinity without ethical 'form', one that makes no ethical demands on the masculine subject: The feminine subject is:

²² It is important to note here that the 'other' may not only refer to women (who occupy the feminine position within the gender binary), but also any non-Western, non-masculine subject positions such as indigenous peoples, children, members of the LGBT community and 'feminine' men.

that which is necessary for the reproduction of the human, but which itself is not human, and which is in no way to be construed as the formative principle of the human form that is, as it were, produced through it. (Butler, 2011, p. 16)

The effect of positioning women as other (not Other) outside the productive norm of Western masculinity is dehumanisation, where not only are women considered inferior or lacking within gender hierarchies, but they also are considered ‘less human’ or perhaps not even considered as human at all (Butler, 2012). Dehumanisation denies women a face that requires or demands an ethical response, relegating women as an other in men’s accounts of themselves as a masculine subject, but not able to be considered a subject in their own right. In Mowat et al.’s (2016) research into sexual offending, for example, men’s narratives of feminine figures, such as their mothers, were only present and relevant as a narrative device to produce the masculine subject, only included to position the masculine subject as superior and dominant in comparison to the inferiority of women. Processes of dehumanisation embedded within gender hierarchies produce women as faceless others that neither require nor demand an ethical response of non-violence at sites of address. The other falls beyond the boundaries of the ethical domain and cannot make the same ethical demands that legitimate moral masculine subjects do. As Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 852) argue, “any strategy for the maintenance of power is likely to involve a dehumanizing of other groups and a corresponding withering of empathy and emotional relatedness within the self.” In other words, men do not feel compelled to respond to the demand for non-violence, accountability and responsibility when (non)ethically engaged with the feminine and non-masculine other, and the severing of ethical connections produces the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge and continue within our communities.

The dehumanisation of women and children as technologies for the production of the masculine subject may explain why men and women’s stories of violence and aggression were often confined to the domestic setting, where violence was not an issue in other social settings such as work or within homosocial peer groups:

“I think he feels...I wind him up, but if it was anybody else, he doesn’t react like that.” [Fiona]

Powers of Recognition

“You do portray an image, and people go ‘you? angry?’ and they couldn’t really-, And still people say ‘you’re not angry’ and I say ‘you don’t see me when I’m away from [work]’, you know, you portray an image on the job.” [Matthew]

Fiona and Matthew’s accounts suggest intimate relationships within the domestic setting do not seem to prohibit violence in the way that violence against the Other should be, and is, prohibited at sites of ethical encounters. Women’s faces do not demand non-violence and accountability in the same way the face of an Other does. If women have no face, or are dehumanised as technologies for masculinity, then there are no demands made for non-violence at the site of intimate relationships, no violation of ethical obligations in the presence of violence and aggression. The exclusion of ethical obligations for non-violence within social exchanges with the ‘non-subject’ of femininity provides the conditions of possibility for men to use violence against women without the fear of judgement by his own ‘unhappy consciousness’, reducing the threat of condemnation and punishment that would usually prohibit his use of violence against the ‘human Other’.

Women’s lack of face extends beyond intimate (non)ethical encounters to social and institutional spaces, such as the criminal justice system, where women’s stories and presence are often relegated to the peripheries of men’s narratives or utilised to account for the moral, masculine subject. Within court processes and institutional responses men are the central figures of interest, and the ethical encounters working to produce accountability and responsibility are located between the masculine subject and ‘faces’ of the institution (such as court or stopping violence programme employees). The women and children victimised by domestic violence are rarely present within systemic processes of accountability to the court and institutional authorities, either by face or voice (Bumiller, 2010; Elizabeth et al., 2010, 2012a, 2012b; Kelly & Westmarland, 2016; Sack, 2004; Weissman, 2007, 2013; Westmarland & Kelly, 2016), and therefore feminine and non-masculine figures retreat from political and ethical spaces of accountability and non-violence. If women and children are ‘present’ within institutional responses, they are often presented as mediated representations, talked *about* or *referred to* by Others: Others (not others) who have faces and who make demands for accountability and responsibility. Often, evidence of women and children’s injuries are given by others, their stories told, but not by their own faces, not with their own voices, and therefore the faces of women and children make no ethical demands for

non-violence at ‘legitimate’ sites of address and exchange. Butler (2006) argues dehumanisation occurs not only through processes of exclusion, but also through technologies of silence. When men who have been violent are the privileged subject of domestic violence service and response, the interests, experiences and needs of the victims are located at the peripheries (if at all) of institutional and ethical engagement. Women’s faces are excluded from political, institutional and ethical sites of accounts, their ethical demands silenced, reproducing and reinforcing their position as a ‘non-subject’. As one man told me when reflecting on his experiences of the stopping violence programme:

“Alright, so you’re here because you’ve got a court order to come here, because you’ve put your missus in hospital, who cares? Alright, you’ve done wrong, but you’re here because your trying to better yourself...I am doing this for me. This is making *me* a better person.” [Peter]

Peter’s narrative demonstrates how processes of accountability in domestic violence services are restricted to the ethical relationship between the masculine subject and the face of institutional response, silencing or ignoring ethical obligations to, and relationships with, the victims of violence. Peter’s account locates himself as the central figure we should care about: the redeemed, moral, non-violent masculine subject. The women and children victims of violence are discarded to the peripheries of the story that narrates the central character’s moral transformation. As Peter tells us, we should not care about the women hospitalised as a result of violence, they do not matter in the account. What we should care about is about the narrative of redemption from immorality and violence to the redeemed, moral masculine subject. Here, the feminine subject is denied status as a legitimate moral subject who demands non-violence within ethical encounters and instead is a narrative device in the persuasion of the account.

Even when women were included as social actors at sites of ethical engagement and accountability in the men and women’s accounts, they were still located at the peripheries of the story: narrative devices for the production of the moral, masculine protagonist. For example, I listened to stories where women were physically present at review sessions for the men’s stopping violence programme or family support sessions with programme facilitators, but the narratives produced the women as an other in the service of men’s processes of accountability, rather than another subject within the

Powers of Recognition

account. This occurred even when women were giving an account of their own experiences, where their narratives positioned them beyond ethical interest and produced the feminine subject as a technology for the production of the accountable masculine subject:

“[The review session] was just like it was all about him sort of thing. You know, like what he had done, where he had come and stuff like that.” [Hayley]

“It wasn’t me getting use out of it. I think it was more them getting use out of me because they were asking me questions and writing it all down.” [Jenny]

“It was mostly based on him. It was information they were getting from me to help improve him. Yeah, it was mostly that, you know, patterns I noticed, just things that he’d say and do.” [Amber]

Processes of accountability and responsibility that remove the victims’ faces from sites of ethical exchange, even when they are physically present, privilege the interests of the masculine subject at the expense of the safety and well-being of the victims of men’s violence. When the victims of violence are produced and reproduced as ‘non-subjects’, or at least ‘subjects of no ethical concern and consequence’, they are unable to demand non-violence within processes of accountability in the ways the Other can. Furthermore, their dehumanised position as narrative devices can enable and justify acts of coercion, intimidation and manipulation in the service of meeting institutional obligations of accountability. For example, one man spoke about coercing his ex-partner to attend a review session in order to give an account of himself as a moral non-violent subject to the programme facilitators, despite this coercion causing his ex-partner considerable distress:

“I talked [my ex-partner] into doing it, but she didn’t want to come...She got into a big argument with me and she started crying and I was just ‘hurry up, we’ve got to get there’ and she was like ‘I don’t want to go’ and I was like ‘hurry up’ and then when we were there...[the facilitators] asked her something and she just started crying and I told them ‘she’s upset because she didn’t want to come, but I forced her to go because I wanted her to see the changes’.” [William]

William’s account of forcing his ex-partner to attend the review session for the purposes of producing himself as a non-violent subject suggests that institutional demands for

accountability and responsibility are abstracted from embodied experiences of violence and victimisation. While victims are symbolically represented at sites of accountability and responsibility, their faces become unrecognisable as ‘legitimate’ subjects or disappear altogether. Within processes of domestic violence service and response, the feminine and non-masculine other are the markers of men’s transformation from violence to non-violence: ‘accomplishments’ and plot devices within narratives of the accountable and responsible masculine subject. For instance, the men often spoke about the need to engage with domestic violence services in order to retain or ‘re-acquire’ their relationships (of control) with the women and children victims of their violence. Romantic and domestic relationships in this sense act as a manifestation of men’s pathways from immorality and violence to redemption and non-violence, where the ‘object’ of family serves as a marker of moral masculinity. Here, engagement with institutional understandings of accountability and responsibility combine with patriarchal ideals of men’s control and authority over family, enabling men to re-establish their role of ‘head of the house’ through reconciliation with the other. Both the men and women I spoke with often stated the main, and sometimes only, motivating force for men’s engagement with domestic violence services and ‘becoming accountable’ was to reunite with the victims of violence as a family:

“[I thought] I don’t know why I’m here. I can’t be bothered. Oh hang on, I’m trying to save my marriage. That’s right, I’ve got to come.” [Peter]

“My goal right from the start was to get back in with my wife and be back in the family home with my children and so that was always, always my goal.” [Gavin]

“He thought it would help us get our kids back and help him get back-, For us to be a family again.” [Amber]

When processes of accountability and responsibility serve as mechanisms for re-establishing the institution of family and reproducing patriarchal masculine control and domination over women and children, responsibility for violence and accountability to the victims of violence becomes a fictional device in the production of masculine privilege and power. In order for men to produce themselves once again as the masculine figurehead of the family, they must manifest accountability in socially and institutionally recognised ways that enable them to ‘re-possess’ the markers of family and masculinity. In this sense, accountability is an object to be acquired rather than an

Powers of Recognition

emotional connection with the victims of violence or a transformation towards non-violence. The women's accounts often spoke of their (ex)partners' engagement with domestic violence services as a manipulation in the service of the moral masculine subject's wants and desires without ethical commitment towards accountability to them and non-violence:

"I think he was...just going through the motions to get what he wanted." [Amber]

When institutional responses enable the production of the moral non-violent masculine subject through processes of accountability and responsibility that do not include the faces of women and children, the ethical conditions of possibility for domestic violence are left unaddressed, enabling abuse to emerge again once domestic violence service and response is withdrawn. Once the court system and service providers (the 'faces of accountability') have dis-engaged with the 'redeemed man', the faceless other remains as a technology of, and threat to, the production of masculinity, and as such is at continued risk of being manipulated, controlled and abused in response to the threat they pose to the survival of the moral masculine subject. Indeed, the women's accounts of victimisation post-service engagement narrated stories of the return of men's violence as a means of re-establishing authority and domination over the family, where the faces of women and children did not issue an ethical demand for non-violence, but instead served as objects, markers and technologies for hegemonic masculinity:

"I wanted us to get back together and so did he. And then he started going off course again towards the end when he realised 'Oh yeah, I might have my foot in the door now'." [Lucy]

"I moved back in to the house and then he started getting his old behaviours back again. And then one day he just flipped out and then I said to him 'right, that's it. I'm leaving. I'm packing up the kids'...and he wouldn't let me go...He was nutting off and then he attacked the car with the kids in it. So then I left in the car. He chased us down [the street] and then he spun the car around." [Hayley]

"When he realised we weren't going to get back together, then he had horrible court cases and fights over [our son] and he tried to run us off the road with [our son] in the car...And this was after he'd done [the stopping violence programme]." [Amy]

When women and children are produced as technologies and markers of masculine authority and control, and we do not challenge this production through processes of accountability that acknowledge and include the faces of victims of violence, the withdrawal of the institutional face of accountability opens spaces for the continued abuse of others in the service of masculine power and privilege. Women and children become faceless, dehumanised objects that bear the mark of the masculine subject, holding in place gendered power relations that provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence.

The Law of the Father and Sovereign Power

The dehumanisation of women and children may explain how feminine and non-masculine others become markers and technologies for masculine interests and desires, but does not enable an analysis of the social and gendered relationships and regulations that operate to produce women and children as ‘inferior *subjects*’ in comparison to the masculine subject. In this sense, if we understand women and children as ‘non-subjects’, then we cannot examine the social regulations and relationships that position women and children as subordinate *subjects* within gendered hierarchical binaries. Butler’s (2011) engagement with Lacan’s theory of the Law of the Father provides a psychosocial account of the social regulations that govern the ways in which various subjects are positioned in relation to each other, enabling an account of how violence against women and children is tolerated and/or justified in particular socio-temporal contexts as a subjective, ethical practice. Within patriarchal and neoliberal imaginations, the concept of the ‘responsible subject’ has become a subject dislocated from their social origins, where the historical movement from clan-based ties to the nuclear family unit established a contemporary social order positioning men as the symbolic figure of authority over the family: The Law of the Name of the Father (Verhaeghe, 2011). When women marry men, they often change their last name to that of their husband’s. When children are born, they are often given a surname that represents their father’s ancestry. In other words, through the institution of marriage and family, women and children take on the name of the father, a symbolic gesture that positions them as subjects under the direct protection and authority of the father. The father establishes and regulates social order within family relationships. Anything that threatens the authority of the father is a threat to social order, and must be brought within the father’s surveillance, regulation and discipline (Verhaeghe, 1999, 2000, 2011). Within traditionally patriarchal

Powers of Recognition

contemporary neoliberal cultures, such as Aotearoa New Zealand, the Law of the Name of the Father bestows rights of governance and authority over family relations to the masculine subject, justifying control through any means necessary over all those who fall under his guidance and protection. Therefore, masculinity is fundamentally linked to assumptions of provision and protection for the family unit (Bettinson & Bishop, 2015; Budgeon, 2014; Flood, 2011, 2014, 2015; Flood & Pease, 2009; Jewkes et al., 2015; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Schrock & Padavic, 2007; Weissman, 2007), locating the masculine subject in a position of power and privilege in relation to subordinate subjects such as women and children:

“[Men have] got to do this and that and we’ve got to be role models and the provider for the family.” [Thomas]

“If the man is the bread winner and the women’s at home, there are certain associations around that that can be seen as controlling, where it might just be the practical thing to do because he can earn more money than she can or she’s better at looking after the children than he is or whatever.” [Tony]

Thomas and Tony’s narratives of men as “role models”, “providers” and “bread winners” reproduce masculine authority and privilege as a rational regulatory norm that facilitates social order and the well-being of the family unit. When gendered social power relations position men as authoritative role models and leaders, masculine privilege is taken for granted as ‘the way things are’ or ‘should be’ (Hearn & McKie, 2008; Oksala, 2013), providing the conditions for hierarchical gender relationships to extend beyond the family into all facets of social life. In this sense, men are produced as *the* subject invested with the skills, characteristics and social standing necessary to govern social settings: the only legitimate authority within relationships of governance and subordination to ensure social order and well-being. In comparison, feminine and non-masculine subjects must, given their subordinate position within the Law of the Name of the Father, lack the skills and abilities needed to protect and provide for themselves, positioning them as inferior and unsuited to leadership or authoritative roles. For example, one man talked to me about how many men are resistant to women in leadership positions, and how this stems from rigidly defined gender roles within the family setting:

“I don’t have any issues if my boss is a female. Some people do. Many men do, but I don’t...I’ve never subscribed to those views of that the male’s the head of the house and the woman are there [in a subordinate position]...That was never my [belief]. I mean, the hierarchy was there. The father was the head of the house, but I never prescribed to that view, that men are superior to women...I think back to my own generation and...I think the roles were quite defined.” [Thomas]

Thomas’ narrative suggests that wider sociocultural assumptions and norms, whilst stemming from previous generations’ rigid gender roles within the institution of family, continue to position men as superior to women in a range of contemporary social settings. When patriarchal assumptions of gendered hierarchical family order produce the masculine subject as the respected authority of social order, and their skills, characteristics and abilities as superior to feminine and non-masculine subjects, there is the assumption that the needs and desires of men must be privileged in order to protect social harmony and well-being. In other words, men’s needs, interests and desires must be placed higher in importance than those of non-masculine subjects in order to ensure the masculine subject is kept comfortably and securely in roles where they can protect, govern and provide. Women and children’s desires and experiences are therefore subordinate, devalued as subservient to the masculine figure. Indeed, the women I spoke with narrated experiences where their concerns and the concerns of, and for, their children were disregarded in deference to the desires and interests of the masculine subject:

“Every night he would walk in the door tired and upset the kids and I was like ‘why do we live like this?’, because we all work. The kids work, they’re flat out at school, I’m working and he’s working, but he was the centre of attention...I think it’s a bit of arrogance in some men though, aye. Like, it’s their right to do what they want when they want.” [Amanda]

“When I was in the violent relationship with [my ex-partner], I had no time for the kids. I was just aware of whatever was going on in my head, you know? ‘Oh, is he coming home? What time is he coming home? Is he going to be late? How’s he going to be when he gets home?’ And you’re just walking on eggshells all the time, and didn’t have time, you know? The kids would be talking to me and it would be going in one ear and out the other. It was awful, awful.” [Lucy]

Powers of Recognition

“Every other time [school authorities and the police have] just spoken over the top of me, apart from that time [my ex-partner] was there and they spent all their time looking at him and talking to him. He didn’t know what was going on [regarding the sexual harassment of our daughter]. Even the cop. He told me I was being too overprotective.” [Vicki]

The Law of the Name of the Father produces the masculine subject as protector, charged with the responsibility to protect all those who materially and symbolically bear his name. Therefore, men are entrusted as the ‘holders’ of the knowledge, abilities and resources needed to fulfil their position as protector and defender, not only of women and children, but also of the family as a social institution, producing and reproducing gendered power relations of superiority and inferiority (Jewkes et al., 2015). The masculine subject possesses characteristics and abilities, such as rationality and strength, necessary to maintain and protect social order whereas feminine and non-masculine subjects lack such characteristics and therefore present a threat to order and safety if not subordinated and regulated within masculine control and governance. One man’s account produced the masculine subject as rational and calm in comparison to the emotionality and irrationality of the feminine subject, positioning women as the origin of conflict and disharmony within the domestic setting and the masculine subject as the one who possesses the knowledge, skills and resources to restore social order:

“We would be toe-to-toe over something, but I always found that I would quickly cool off. I would walk away from that and I would quickly cool off, quickly forgive and within hours things are back to normal for me, [but] for my wife they’re not...Guys don’t score points, we don’t accumulate points...Guys are like that. They can be sitting there having a beer together like nothing ever happened, you know? But for a wife, those points stay in the bank and the next time you do something wrong, it accumulates...When you don’t know that, you think ‘oh, she’s just like me, she’s forgotten about it’ and she hasn’t...Then you’ve got to go out and take her out to dinner or something and you get some positive points, or do the dishes for her or vacuum the floor.” [Tony]

Tony’s account of the dynamics of relationships between men and women offers a paternalistic and patronising narrative of hierarchical gender binaries, where men’s rational tolerance of women’s irrational emotionality serves to counter the potential

threat the inferior feminine subject poses to social harmony within the domestic setting. Whilst Tony offers a trivial and mundane narrative of the inferiority of the feminine subject, assumptions of masculine privilege and superiority in comparison to feminine inferiority provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge as a technology for maintaining social control and governance through masculine practice. When the masculine subject is the symbolic authority figure within the family unit, situations that call into question and potentially disrupt the gendered power relations established within the Law of the Name of the Father are a threat to the symbolic social order established within the institution of family. As such, ethical encounters where men's knowledge, expertise and privilege are challenged produce defensive responses geared towards negating the threat they pose and re-establishing masculine authority. For example, the women spoke of men's aggression and violence as defensive practices when their position and abilities as fathers were called into question or challenged, threatening their position of authority over the subordinate subjects under their governance:

“If you say one thing that he hasn't done right with the kids, he's suddenly the worst father in the world and you're like ‘no, it's just asking you to wipe a chair or put a nappy in the bin. It's not you're the worst father. You're not your dad just because you don't put a nappy in the bin’, but he's trying to be the best dad ever, the best husband ever and it's basically if I say something's wrong, it's the worst thing I could ever do.” [Fiona]

“It was fine until [my son's] father came back on the scene and wanted custody, well, not custody, but access...because those two were really close. They used to cuddle up in bed together and everything...[My ex-partner] wasn't allowed near the father so it was me and [my son] that got it. [He wasn't allowed near the father] because he was constantly threatening to punch him out.” [Vicki].

Fiona and Vicki's stories speak of exaggerated masculine aggression in defensive response to threats to the Law of the Name of the Father within the domestic setting. Whilst Fiona talks about heightened defensive engagement with potential threats to masculine expertise and authority, Vicki speaks of sublimated violence, where the threat manifest in the contested 'ownership' and control over feminine and non-masculine subjects is transformed into heightened practices of violence against those who fall

Powers of Recognition

under the governance and regulation of the 'man of the house'. The production and reproduction of the privilege and authority of the masculine subject within the institution of the family is essential, under the Law of the Name of the Father, in order to ensure the safety and protection of all those who fall under subordination to the Father's name. Given that women and other non-masculine subjects are 'inferior' and consequently a threat to social order, control and authority over women and children must be maintained by masculine subjects in order to protect these subordinate subjects from the threat their 'lack' and 'failings' pose not only to social order, but also to their own well-being (Butler, 2006). Regulation and discipline under the guise of protection and safety produces the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge as a moral practice to keep safe those who are a 'danger' to themselves and others through their lack of masculine knowledge, abilities and resources. As Bettinson and Bishop (2015, p. 196) state "perpetrators commonly tell victims that they are carrying out certain abusive behaviours 'for their own good' and this is a key element of coercive control." Both the women and men's accounts narrated practices of control and domination as acts of protection and security in response to the 'failings' of subordinate feminine subjects:

"He used to say that he just worries about me. And if he can't get [hold of me]...he goes off the handle or he turns up saying 'I can't get hold of you. You're being irresponsible. How am I supposed to know you're ok'...I wasn't able to go out on my own...He doesn't agree with me saying he was over-controlling...He says [if] I was more responsible and looked at my phone that wouldn't have happened." [Fiona]

"Your power and control can be in subtle ways that you might not realise as power and control, like control over the finances...Because you can think you're doing the right thing: 'I have to hold that money back because we're trying to stick to a budget'." [Tony]

Fiona and Tony's accounts produce practices of coercive control as paternalistic protection, where masculine control protects women and the wider household from the threat the feminine subject poses to social harmony and order. When assumptions of feminine inferiority and masculine superiority are supported within sociocultural contexts, the conditions of possibility for domestic violence they enable are difficult to

transform. For example, engagement with domestic violence services can reproduce patriarchal notions of masculine authority and protection when the move towards non-violence is mobilised by conceptualisations of paternalistic ‘real men’ who can take care of, protect and defend women and children (Flood, 2015; Jewkes et al., 2015; Schrock & Padavic, 2007). In this sense, the expanding education, knowledge base and abilities enabled through attending stopping violence programmes further supports the position of men as symbolic authority figures, strengthening the conditions that tolerate and justify the control, regulation and even discipline of women’s ‘failings’ as inferior subjects. The men and women spoke about how the stopping violence programme’s teachings were sometimes utilised to either ‘protect’ the women from the consequences of their ‘failings’ as a subject, or to defend the household from the threat those failings presented:

“There were times where he would bring up certain things in the [programme] booklet to me, because it was helping me at the same time, you know, the things that I’m doing is what’s making him get ticked off...I’ve got a lot of issues myself and I didn’t realise that some of the things that I was ticking him off about was my own personal stuff.” [Louise]

“She had head problems and once I’d done the course I could see that. I could see the patterns, everything...After I’d finished the course things actually got worse because I’d changed and she couldn’t get a rise out of me no matter what...I had the tools then to deal with it and I could see the cycle.” [John]

“I pushed him to the limit...and he was amazing and had nothing but support for me...I was using alcohol as a self-medication basically. I was trying to numb [the memory of the assault against me] out and it wasn’t working...He intervened and he wasn’t violent, he wasn’t angry, he just wanted me to get the help that he had had...You couldn’t have asked for a better way to do it really. Well, you know, apart from not [assaulting me] at all, but I needed the intervention and I’m so grateful for it.” [Bronwyn]

The paternalistic authority and privilege of the masculine subject to govern and regulate family relations and harmony enabled under the Law of the Name of the Father tolerates and justifies practices of control, intimidation and manipulation to restore and maintain social order, especially when such practices fall beyond the reach of domestic violence

Powers of Recognition

law and legislation. As such, the Law of the Name of the Father can be likened to the practice of sovereign power: a form of totalising, unquestionable power over subordinate subjects that emerges when the limits and boundaries of law and governance are met or withdrawn (Butler, 2006). Butler (2006) engages with Foucault's work on sovereign power, arguing that where law and legislation reach their limits, governmental power withdraws its protection and spaces open for socioculturally invested authorities to 'take up' the mantle of governance and discipline. In the context of domestic violence, men as the symbolic authority under the Law of the Name of the Father are enabled to utilise violence as a means to maintain control and domination as long as their actions do not fall within the boundaries of criminal law and legislation. For example, when formal police and court responses to psychological violence and coercive control are minimal and inadequate (Boshier, 2006; Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Morgan & Coombes, 2016; Robertson et al., 2007; Stewart et al., 2013), the law symbolically retreats its jurisdiction and authority over non-physical and 'minor' acts of domestic violence. As the women told me:

"They didn't give me the Protection Order at first. The stuff I [wrote] down wasn't enough." [Amy]

"Back in [the mid-2000s]...[the law] didn't start trying to stop violence. Like, even when we were apart, he could harass me and they didn't do anything about it because he didn't physically hurt me. So basically...you had to get a big hiding before they did anything about it." [Amber]

The withdrawal of state protection opens spaces for sovereign patriarchal power to emerge, where an independent entity (the masculine subject) holds authority of governance over others (women and children), invested with the ability to grant and/or deny the rights, protection, and punishment of those who fall under the power of the sovereign authority. When acts of domestic violence fall outside the parameters of legal and legislative understandings of criminal violence, masculine sovereign power emerges as the ultimate authority as to which actions, discipline and punishment are permitted within the patriarchal familial setting. As Butler (2006, p. 61) argues "...contemporary forms of sovereignty exist in a structurally inverse relation to the rule of law, emerging precisely at that moment when the rule of law is suspended and withdrawn." When the law 'retreats' and the 'ghost of the prison' no longer haunts domestic relationships, the

sovereign masculine subject emerges as the governing force to reside over how familial relationships should be structured, intervening and/or punishing when the ‘rules’ of those relationships (under the Law of the Name of the Father) have been violated. As such, men as head of the household are able to assume authority, governance and control through any means they deem necessary to maintain patriarchal social order outside the parameters of criminal justice response. At sites beyond the borders of criminal justice processes, sociocultural norms and practices ‘take over’ from legislative and legal proceedings. When men are located in positions of authority and privilege within sociocultural contexts, the retreat of the law enables hierarchical gender relationships of masculine domination and feminine subordination that are often taken for granted, yet vital for understanding domestic violence (Hearn & McKie, 2008). In the men’s accounts, for example, re-defining emotional and verbal abuse as ‘normal arguing’ between intimate partners removes the necessity for legal or criminal intervention:

“I didn’t get in trouble with the law as far as hurting anybody or-, Most of my stuff was verbal, was being angry with the kids and having arguments with my partner and things.” [Matthew]

“There have been times when the cops have been called, but that was...all arguing, the whole lot. It was all more at three o’clock in the morning, the neighbours ringing hearing her yelling at me or me yelling at her, that sort of thing, and the cops just put down on their report ‘Oh, these two are at it again’, and that’s been documented through the court papers and stuff. So, yes...just incidences: ‘You gave him a bullying, he gave you a bullying. You leave him alone and he’ll leave you alone’.” [Simon]

Matthew and Simon’s accounts minimise or deny the presence of domestic violence in their familial setting through appeals to normalised family practices such as “arguing” or “bullying” that do not meet legal thresholds for criminal justice intervention. Their narratives draw on assumptions of gender symmetry in domestic ‘conflict’, where both men and women are equally responsible for the conflict, ignoring or denying imbalances in gendered social power relations that position the masculine subject in locations of authority and domination, enabling practices of control, manipulation and intimidation that are difficult to address through legal frameworks. Relying on the reach

of legal and criminal authority in response to domestic violence is problematic when our laws and legislation are a product of those invested with power and authority, and thus represent, serve and protect the understandings and interests of the most powerful groups in society: the Western masculine subject (Goodmark, 2009; Harne & Radford, 2008; Hearn & McKie, 2008; Hunnicutt, 2009; Messerschmidt & Tomsen, 2018; Renzetti, 2012; Weissman, 2007, 2013). Within patriarchal cultures, both the parameters and boundaries of the criminal justice system and the spaces where sovereign power can emerge unquestioned and unchallenged reproduce the interests and privilege of the masculine subject, enabling technologies of masculine control to maintain authority and social order. As legislation relating to violence proliferates and expands, so do the sites at which sovereign power is enabled to emerge through omission, exclusion and silence (Butler, 2006). In other words, the more we define what a criminally violent act *is*, the more thoroughly we map out spaces for domestic violence practices that escape and evade criminal justice response and intervention. Through increasing knowledge of the criminal justice systems' parameters and limits, abusers can learn and adapt their actions to maintain control without criminal consequence (Bumiller, 2010; Stark, 2007). Recently in Aotearoa New Zealand, there has been a movement to increase legal action in response to coercive control²³ (Elizabeth, 2015a; Elizabeth et al., 2012b; New Zealand Law Society, 2017). Whilst this is a significant and promising initiative working towards engagement with underlying patterns of manipulation and intimidation and non-physical acts of domestic violence, it also requires a more detailed legislative definition as to what constitutes criminal coercive control. At the boundaries of detailed definitions of coercive control lie practices of domestic violence that, through omission and exclusion in legislation, become tolerated and permissible.

When we rely on changes in legislation to inform us what criminal domestic violence 'is' and 'is not', and when increased legislation results in increasingly rigid and detailed definitions of the boundaries and parameters of the law's reach, then law and legislation can provide the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence whilst decreasing protection offered by the state. In this sense, legislation and law written to protect women and children becomes a technology for manipulation and control, offering

²³ The Family Violence Act (2018), which comes into effect July 2019, explicitly acknowledges the coercive and controlling nature of domestic violence and the cumulative trauma of living in environments of coercive control.

opportunities for men to maintain their dominance and authority through violence that contravenes no legislated crime. The law, its establishment, and its withdrawal from family life provides the conditions for domestic violence, where subversive and unlegislated acts of violence can be employed through sovereign patriarchal power to enforce the Law of the Name of the Father in the domestic setting without fear of judgement and punishment. When women and children are dehumanised through processes of silence and exclusion, they are positioned beyond the borders of political life and under the subordination of the masculine subject. Concurrently, when women are produced as inferior non-masculine subjects, sovereign patriarchal power becomes a legitimated protective practice in the governance of those who fall under the Name of the Father and pose a threat to themselves and/or others through their lack and failings. When inferior non-masculine subjects “depart from the hegemonic norms of Western rationality” (Butler, 2006, p. 72), the patriarchal sovereign, as the superior subject, emerges as a figure of regulation and protection, tolerating and justifying violence as a technology of ‘benevolent’ paternalistic masculine governance. In this sense, governmentality and sovereignty are forms of power that work together in the service of hegemonic masculinity. Governmentality produces regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that privilege masculinity as an ideal and the masculine subject as a figure of power, and sovereignty works at the embodied level to ensure men’s immediate and physical social control and domination over women and children. Therefore, a dependence on institutional and criminal justice processes to protect victims and reduce and/or eliminate domestic violence is problematic when the limits of the law enable patriarchal sovereign power and the Law of the Name of the Father to produce conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge within families and communities.

Spaces for Resistance and Transformation against the Violence of Subjectivation

If the conditions of possibility for domestic violence emerge within and through reiterative ethical sites of masculine subjectivity, multiple spaces open up at these sites for practices of disruption, resistance and transformation (Butler, 2011). The site of an account and the production of the masculine subject is a site of productivity and opportunity. Regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that enable, tolerate and justify domestic violence can continue to be produced and reproduced at sites of ethical address, or we can resist and disrupt them through transforming the ways in which we can understand the self and account for our actions embedded in sociocultural context. Given that the agentic power of the subject is not simply the formative inaugurating power 'repositioned' internally, but instead is an exceedance and transformation of power at the site of subjectivity, sociocultural regulatory norms and regimes are themselves 'vulnerable' at such sites of reproduction. Multiple points of intervention and transformation open up within processes of giving an account of ourselves as particular moral, gendered subjects to challenge the reproduction of sociocultural regimes that provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge as a technology of the subject. As Butler (1997) argues:

As the willed effect of the subject, subjection is a subordination that the subject brings on itself; yet if subjection produces a subject and a subject is the precondition of agency, then subjection is the account by which a subject becomes the guarantor of its resistance and opposition. (p. 14)

Those working in the field of domestic violence research and response are situated at sites of potential resistance and disruption every time they hear stories of men and women's experiences of domestic violence. At sites of ethical address that make a demand for an account, they are poised at the very precipice of new understandings and pathways for transformation. Through critically questioning and challenging the rigidly structured and regulated regimes of 'knowing' and 'being', sites of self-reflection and subjectivation can be exploited, disrupted and exceeded in order to open up ways of thinking differently and creatively about the wicked problem of domestic violence. Such points of disruption open up spaces for articulating diversity and complexity in experience and understanding, enabling an exceedance of (gendered) subjectivities that

Spaces for Resistance and Transformation against the Violence of Subjectivation

‘speak back’ to the sociocultural regimes that produce conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge in our communities.

As earlier chapters have argued, critical resistance and the challenging of dominant sociocultural regulatory regimes is neither uncomplicated, nor a task that we can ‘accomplish’ through individual practice at isolated sites of ethical encounters. To challenge the ‘givenness’ of systems and structures through which we give an account of ourselves is to threaten our very sense of self with dissolution, and therefore any domestic violence response that relies on understanding and targeting the individual is thrown into question. Furthermore, challenging dominant regimes may be particularly problematic for those invested in the status quo (i.e. the privilege and authority of white, heterosexual, educated men). Any critical engagement with processes that privilege the Western masculine subject as an authoritative regulatory force in society disrupts assumptions of naturalised superiority and draws attention to how masculine power is a reiteration and reproduction of gendered social power relations that work to hold the effects of domination, control and violence in place. In effect, to critically question the ways in which we can understand ourselves and others in contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand society is to threaten established and entrenched gendered social power relations that govern our social order and benefit those in positions of power and privilege. Critical engagement is a risk to masculine power, control and domination likely met with escalated masculine practices of defence, suppression and violence.

Opening spaces for a critical examination of regulatory regimes and forces requires a willingness to ‘become undone’ as a recognisable subject (Butler, 1997): an openness to the risk of losing hold of the ways in which we can understand ourselves and/in relation to others. To ‘become undone’ not only threatens the authority and control of the most powerful groups in our society, but also the processes through which all of us can produce ourselves as recognisable subjects within a given socio-temporal context. However, critical engagement with regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality can also be an ethically uniting force, bringing us together through our shared vulnerability and subordination under regulatory sociocultural regimes and developing collaborative partnerships in the service of disrupting those regimes towards non-violence. In this sense, resistance does not threaten to ‘destroy’ us as subjects, but instead is an acknowledgement that we are all “...outside ourselves, constituted in cultural norms that precede and exceed us, given over to a set of cultural norms and a

field of power that condition us fundamentally” (Butler, 2006, p. 45). Critical engagement with how we can account for ourselves and produce ourselves as particular subjects at sites of ethical address may provide the conditions for transformative processes of understanding and re-negotiation, embracing experiences of diversity and complexity to open pathways for practising accountability without reproducing threat, fear and violence.

Part IV: Ethical Non-violence

What might it mean to undergo violation, to insist upon not resolving grief and staunching vulnerability too quickly through a turn to violence, and to practice, as an experiment in living otherwise, nonviolence in an emphatically nonreciprocal response? What would it mean, in the face of violence, to refuse to return it? (Butler, 2005, p. 100)

Chapter 7: Becoming Non-violent

The Wicked Problem of Domestic Violence

Since the 1970s, we have become increasingly interested in how best to respond to the wicked problem of domestic violence, continuing to push our efforts forward to understand more, explain more, and offer more promising solutions in the face of domestic violence statistics that appear to be impervious to our efforts. However, wicked problems, by definition, have no clear or singular origin, no definitive potential solution, they are difficult to understand and impossible to resolve (Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Muir & Parker, 2014; Rittel & Webber, 1974). We can increase and expand our understandings of domestic violence to open new pathways of response, but given that wicked problems shift and change, our expanding engagement with the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge will never be complete, holistic or 'fixed'. In the face of disparaging statistics, conceptualising domestic violence as a wicked problem motivates us to remain passionate in our continued commitment to asking more questions and seeking more understandings of the complex and multiple conditions that enable men's violence against women and children. To remain reflexively engaged with, and critically curious about, the complexity of forces that contribute to domestic violence will support our efforts for non-violence in an ever-changing, diverse and complex field of interest. The previous chapters have discussed processes of accountability, responsibility and subjectivity, how we as social actors embedded within sociocultural contexts produce particular gendered moral subjects, and the conditions of possibility for domestic violence that open up within such processes. These chapters themselves are accounts of a kind, embedded in a particular sociocultural and temporal space and place, partial and opaque, limited by the parameters and frameworks operating within their narratives, and unable to account for the dynamic complexity and diversity of how domestic violence emerges as an (non)ethical practice in ever-shifting social, cultural and historical contexts. Therefore, in order to keep expanding our engagement and examination of violence and non-violence within shifting and complex sociocultural spaces, it is important to critically reflect on how domestic violence research and response participates in the production, reproduction and/or resistance of regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that provide the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. Continuing to ask different questions and expanding spaces to listen critically to the

Becoming Non-violent

stories of those affected by domestic violence will enable us to engage responsively to the dynamic wicked problem of domestic violence in order to improve the safety and well-being of all community members.

If we conceptualise domestic violence research and response as sites of accounts that produce particular subjects of violence and morality, given in response to and relation with the Other, then those working in the field of domestic violence are an Other demanding an account from those who find themselves caught within the institutional gaze. Men and women living with the effects of domestic violence must give an account of themselves in order to initiate domestic violence response appropriate to the kind of subject produced in the account, and/or to support particular arguments, theories and 'solutions' that emerge through the process of research. The demand for an account in domestic violence research and response is both necessary and imposed: a 'persecution' necessary for advancing action towards non-violence, an unwilled process and product of institutional and structural regulation, constraint and oppression. As such, those working in the field of domestic violence, as an Other, produce and reproduce social power relations of subordination and oppression through their demand for an account, whether that be at the 'face' of domestic violence response (for example, criminal justice processes or stopping violence programmes) or through research practices that gather accounts for analysis. Given that we are positioned at, and actively participate in, sites of address that produce conditions of possibility for both accountability and violence, our practices themselves can be considered sites for intervention and transformation for non-violence. Opening spaces for a critical examination of our institutional responses and practices – how we do what we do, what the consequences are and for whom – could dynamically extend our engagement with issues of violence beyond individual offenders and victims to include a consideration of the sociocultural and ethical spaces we produce and negotiate together when responding to domestic violence. Critical reflexivity enables us to question whether there are opportunities to do things differently in order to support, sustain and exceed practices that reduce all forms of violence: structural, institutional and intimate.

The Ethical Violence of an Account

The coherent, sequential, and consistent narrative of an account is a (necessary) fiction, imposed upon fragmented, partial and opaque experiences and understandings of the "I"

who is giving an account of oneself. The imposition of this necessary fiction can also be considered a kind of violence inflicted upon embedded and embodied experiences of domestic violence that are contradictory and complex: an unwilling demand that the “I”, in service of recognition, contorts and severs ‘pieces’ of their life history under the domination and oppression of regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality (Butler, 2001, 2005). As such, when we demand that men account for themselves as gendered subjects of (im)morality and (non)violence, we are participating in and reproducing acts of ethical violence where men must brutalise their contradictory, incoherent and complex stories into a conforming shape we can recognise and respond to within structures and systems of accountability and responsibility. Men often have limited choices within subjective binaries of good and bad, moral and immoral, violent and non-violent that dominate institutional responses to domestic violence. For example, they can employ narratives of provocation, rationalisation and tolerance to produce a coherent non-violent subject, or they can give narratives of self-beratement, individual responsibility and immorality to produce the offending violent subject. Both these pathways to subjectivity reduce the complexity of the stories that could be told, sacrificing knowledge and experiences that may prove important and meaningful for opening pathways to non-violence in our communities. Both pathways produce and reproduce an ethical violence that structurally carves ‘pieces’ of experience and ‘being’ from the nonsubstitutional subject to leave a brutalised, yet institutionally amendable, ‘shape’ of a recognisable (substitutional) subject. In other words, we often ask from men and women affected by domestic violence something that is not possible: complete coherence in their narrative, a diminutive fiction that simplifies their complexity and contradiction to satisfy a desire for recognition and initiate a response targeted to the recognisable subject.

Whilst the coherent fiction of an account enables us to identify and target specific sites²⁴ for domestic violence intervention, narratives based on weaving ‘pieces’ of experience together to produce recognisable subjects of an account limit our engagement with the complex diversity of the conditions of possibility that enable both domestic violence and transformation towards non-violence. For instance, when the men and women I spoke with told stories of the intergenerational transmission of violence, they wove ‘pieces’ of

²⁴ Such sites may be considered individual ‘factors’, whether in the psychological terms of attitudes, cognitions, affects and behaviours or the more socio-economic terms of social isolation/dislocation, unemployment or poverty.

Becoming Non-violent

their life history together to conceptualise domestic violence as the result of experiencing normalised practices of gendered violence as a child that then became internalised to form the violent subject in adulthood. This is a logical narrative offering causal explanations and identifying specific sites for intervention (i.e. children's experiences of domestic violence). However, such a cause and effect association does not explain how many children exposed to domestic violence *do not* practice violence themselves in later life, nor does it reflexively engage with how a complex network of intersecting forces and experiences combine and work together to produce the conditions of possibility that enable violence against women and children. Causal pathways produced through the need for coherent and consistent accounts can be problematic when attempting to address the multiple dynamic conditions that contribute to men's violence and non-violence. Indeed, as domestic violence service providers reported in a recent Aotearoa New Zealand survey (Ministry of Social Development, 2018a), one of the pressing problematics of service response in contemporary society is the presence of complex and multiple needs that emerge from both diverse and specific accounts. Such a multiplicity of needs require targeting when working towards the reduction and elimination of domestic violence in communities. As one woman told me:

“He's a tricky case because he's uneducated, he's had his bad upbringing and I think he might be a bit mentally unwell. So, with all those things, it would be hard for anybody to benefit from just [one stopping violence programme]. They need a lot more help.” [Amber]

Amber's account of her ex-partner's difficulties in receiving the help he needed to become non-violent is a manifestation of how the complex network of conditions of men's violence and processes of transformation and change are made individually intelligible, and the limitations of responses that cannot account for, or accommodate, the multiple intersecting conditions of (non)violence. We could question what “a lot more help” might look like in relation to wicked problems such as domestic violence. Would more help mean more services offered that target the numerous individualised sites of intervention, such as those identified in Amber's account, or would this reproduce the narrative rendering of causal relationships that struggle to accommodate the complex diversity of lived experience? How might we begin to understand the problematics and conditions of ‘tricky cases’ in ways that do not seek to simplify or reduce stories of domestic violence into complete, coherent narrative fictions? How can we open spaces to

listen to stories that speak of the multiple intersecting conditions of violence and transformation?

The coherence of narratively logical accounts of violence and transformation compromises our ability to learn about and understand how a gendered subject of (non)violence is produced, both at the site of the account and prior to the account (i.e. the nonsubstitutional ‘pre-subject’ who engages in acts of violence and is ‘presented’ for intervention). While a recognisable subject is produced through the parameters of an account, without room to acknowledge issues of contradiction, diversity and fragmented complexity, the account will struggle to manifest the embedded, embodied meanings of experiences in the contexts and intersecting gendered social power relations in which the violence occurred. Indeed, the men I spoke with demonstrated great difficulty with producing the coherence of narratives articulating the intentions, experiences and understandings of the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence within the constraints of available regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality in the service of producing a recognisable substitutional self. Their stories would often vacillate between narratives of love and narratives of abuse, attempting to weave contradictory positions into a cohesive story to produce a recognisable subject for the Other at the site of address, but acknowledging the problematics involved with doing so. For instance, when one man told me his story of the conditions and context of his violence against his son, he said:

“I’d been brought up a certain way. It’s never been condoned, but the way me and my brothers were brought up was quite hard. And I always said to him ‘I don’t want you to grow up like we did’. But, he wasn’t sorting himself out and it just kept on happening and then the punishments started coming in. I always knew that I had that in me as a person. You know, growing up I had seen it and experienced it, but I never, ever thought I would ever do that with my own child. And it wasn’t because I don’t love my son, it was because of the opposite and I know it may be hard to understand that. And so I was physical with my son. It was more to scare him, rather than-, If I wanted to take him out, I’d take him out, but that wasn’t the point or the aim of it.” [Mark]

Mark’s story draws on discourses of intergenerational transmission of violence and parental discipline to contextualise his violence, but also produces himself as a moral subject who does not tolerate or desire violence under any circumstances. He identifies

himself as both a victim and perpetrator of violence, and acknowledges how this complicates his story and the ways in which he can narrate his love for his son. His account acknowledges the uncomfortable tension between love and violence that is intelligible to him, and re-writes violence *as* love under certain conditions in order for us to recognise him as a loving father. Working under the threat of being recognised as an immoral violent man, Mark attempts the difficult process of weaving together contradictory narrative threads to produce a coherent and consistent account that is recognisable to him (and myself as the Other) as the account of a moral non-violent man.

When the subject positions of (im)morality and (non)violence that can be produced in an account are fixed and inflexible, it is difficult to accommodate notions of love and compassion within narratives of violence. For example, in Wilson and Webber (2014) and Herbert and MacKenzie's (2014) reports, the demand for subjective coherence and consistency encourages narratives of kindness and caring to be conceptualised as practices of deceptive manipulation for malicious purposes: a façade in service of coercive control and violence. Narratives of malicious intent and choice embedded within structural demands for consistency and coherence totalise a denial of the possibility of love and romance within accounts of domestic violence, making it difficult, if not impossible, to speak about love in the context of violent acts. Problematising experiences of love and romance is integral to a critical analysis of how practices of masculine coercive control discourage women from leaving abusive relationships (Boonzaier, 2008; Stark, 2007; Towns & Adams, 2000), but can make it difficult for men and women to articulate experiences that are incoherent, inconsistent and contradictory. We could question how our regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality have constrained the story Mark could have told if he had been given room to unravel the contradictory narrative threads in ways that did not submit to the pressure to produce a coherent, consistent, moral subject. How might resisting the structural violence of the regimes that govern and constrain our accounts open spaces to engage with the complex multiplicity of narratives of violence as they are lived and embodied by those tasked with making sense of, and making recognisable, their (non)violence? How might we articulate love and violence as incompatible without evoking the possibility that when the loved one 'goes

too far', they must be contained and controlled through violence perpetrated against them²⁵?

Enabling processes of accounting for oneself where tension and contradiction can occupy narrative space may identify and problematise regimes of intelligibility involved in the narrative's articulation, but does not resolve the partiality and opacity of an account. Butler (2001, 2005) argues that we are unable to comprehend and attend to the multiple and complex meanings, histories and implications of the terms narratively employed in our accounts and therefore accounts that manifest complete self-knowledge of the conditions that produce us as particular embedded and embodied subjects are a fiction. This is problematic for domestic violence research and response, where we often assume and/or demand that the "I" giving an account can give us a detailed account of why they acted violently, the origins of their violence and how they understand the implications of their violence in social context. The individual giving an account of themselves must narrate experiences that they do not fully know, cannot fully understand, through terms they are forced to reproduce and in ways that obscure diversity, complexity and contradiction in order to produce a gendered moral subject who risks the threat of judgement, condemnation and punishment. This seems a daunting task indeed. The women's narratives of how they can understand their (ex)partners as particular subjects of violence often spoke of the problematics introduced when we assume a sense of a self-aware, coherent subject:

“They don't actually realising that they're doing it. They're not actually abusing you to psychologically stuff you up, but he was, it was actually happening in that way, and it was-, I was letting it happen a bit, but it's just the way they are I

²⁵ It was difficult for me to talk about Mark's storying of being 'provoked' by a child because a less elaborate account of his narrative did not 'do justice' to how I felt when listening to him articulate his experiences. From reading Mark's story in this writing, we might conclude that he was justifying his violence through discourses of provocation and parental discipline, but at the site of the interview I felt that the telling of his story was painful, distressing and difficult for him. Within the context of our ethical encounter, I recognised that he was struggling to understand how he could love his child and also abuse him, and how he could experience the trauma of child abuse himself and then inflict that trauma on his own child as an adult. When he accounted for violence as a product of 'love', I felt he was resistant to producing cohering narratives of parental love and discipline with violence against his child. I did not understand him to be minimising or justifying his violence, but instead recognised the struggle to weave together the threads of nonsubstitutional experiences that exceeded a coherent narrative of morality and violence. My response to listening to Mark was an embodied feeling that cannot be captured within, or supported by, text and quotes, and yet how I felt at the site of the interview changes how I read and understand Mark's story in ways that exceed his words and my writing.

Becoming Non-violent

suppose. And they don't actually realise that they're doing it to you and they don't actually realise the impact of it. They've got no idea what they're doing." [Amanda]

"[He] can be a really nice guy. He is a really nice guy. He can be fun to be with...He has got a kind heart...but I don't trust him around my son...he's had a go at my oldest daughter, he hasn't done it for a while, he hasn't done anything violent for a while, but...I'm scared." [Kate]

The women's narratives of making sense of men's inconsistent, incoherent and contradictory acts of violence and non-violence speak differently to the constraints of coherently storying domestic violence as an embodied and embedded experience, implicating what is left 'unsaid' beyond those constraints. Amanda narrates her ex-partner as an other who 'unknowingly' abused her, and so she 'let it happen' because she accepted he cannot change what he does not know, producing herself as an 'understanding woman'. Kate accounts for her own mistrust and fear of a man who in other ways is a "really nice guy". Understanding experiences of violence at the hands of men who are otherwise conceptualised as moral, loving and/or non-violent is a contentious and fraught task that has consequences for the ways in which victims can also account for themselves as particular kinds of moral subjects. When discourses of morality, violence and love both conflict and 'cohere', it is difficult, if not impossible, to narrate experiences of abuse that demand a disavowal of contradictory experiences in ways that also work towards safety and non-violence. Asking men and women living with abuse to produce an account of their own experiences in a complete, consistent, coherent and logical narrative is an almost impossible demand, and one that is worryingly constrictive.

Despite the difficulty of imposing coherence and consistency on experiences that are complex, contradictory, partial and opaque, dominant approaches to domestic violence research and response reproduce such structural demands for and in an account of the subject: an act of institutional and structural violence at the site of address. When the account produced is then employed as a product for judgement, condemnation and punishment, the process of accounting for oneself then becomes an act of ethical violence (Butler, 2001, 2005). Such processes of accountability and responsibility demand the subject to turn back on itself through self-beratement and shame, an act of persecution that violently severs ethical relationships between subjects of (im)morality. Here, binary

relationships of moral/immoral, violent/non-violent produce processes of condemnation that ‘purge’ the immoral violent subject from the ‘moral community’ (Butler, 2005). Those who act as ‘moralists’, which can include those working in the field of domestic violence research and response, become the persecutors who demand the severing of subjective multiplicity and complexity through processes of accounting for oneself and the subsequent judgement and condemnation. Therefore, those working in the field of domestic violence may not recognise themselves in relation to the faces of others from whom they expect accounts. Lack of recognition damages ethical relationships and connections that can bring our communities together through emphasising difference and dislocation, closing down spaces for sustained dialogue about the sociocultural conditions we share that produce the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge. As Butler (2005) argues:

If we forget that we are related to those we condemn, even those we must condemn, then we lose the chance to be ethically educated or “addressed” by a consideration of who they are and what their personhood says about the range of human possibility that exists, even to prepare ourselves for or against such possibilities. (p. 45)

The othering of immoral violent subjects, and the severing of ethical relationships through social power relations unrecognisably separating identity categories of difference from the ‘norm’, constrain the ability to consider the sociocultural regimes and processes that contribute to domestic violence. Trapped within neoliberal imaginations, the demand for an account of a responsible subject produces and reproduces notions of the decontextualised violent other, severing relationships and connections that can unite communities together towards non-violence, and discouraging engagement to resist and transform broader structural and systemic regulatory processes through which domestic violence emerges. Despite recent attempts to locate domestic violence within sociocultural processes and conditions, discourses of individualism and ‘othering’ continued to structure and constrain the ways in which we can account for violence, producing recognisable subjects of violence, difference and dis-ease separated from the wider sociocultural conditions they are embedded within (e.g., Herbert & MacKenzie, 2014; Roguski & Gregory, 2014; Wilson & Webber, 2014). When dominant institutional responses depend on the production of responsible violent others severed from contexts of intelligibility and ethical connections, those working within (and under subordination to)

institutional constraints produce (non)ethical boundaries that condemn recognisable identity categories and communities of difference, denying, ignoring or excluding critical self-reflection and potential social transformation.

Resisting the Violence of Satisfaction, Judgement and Condemnation: The Practice of Ethical Non-violence

How do we resist the structural and ethical violence imposed through regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality to expand the boundaries of humanising subjectivities and open spaces for diversity, complexity, resistance and transformation? How do we forge shared pathways for non-violence when the ways we practice accountability and responsibility often force us to turn against one another and ourselves? Butler (2005) argues that practices of patience in the telling of and listening to accounts of oneself might open spaces where the “I” can articulate their experiences in ways that embrace inconsistency, incoherence and contradiction. Patience enables us to accept the limits of ‘knowing thyself’ and acknowledges the impossibility of telling a coherent and consistent story of the “I” that produces a complete and fixed subject. Resisting illusions of narratively constituted origins of violence that are easily identifiable and definable, and understanding that the story of the “I” can only ever be partial and opaque, acknowledges the vulnerability of the overwhelming complexity of wicked problems without closing down ethical relationships and enquiry. Although we may initially find ourselves more ‘lost’ in terms of how to reduce and/or eliminate domestic violence, we will ultimately be opening up a dialogue that pushes our understandings further and deeper to produce more detailed, complex and diverse pathways of response that we may not have previously imagined or anticipated. As Butler (2005) argues:

If, in the name of ethics, we (violently) require that another do a certain violence to herself, and do it in front of us by offering a narrative account or issuing a confession, then, conversely, if we permit, sustain, and accommodate the interruption, a certain practice of nonviolence may follow. If violence is the act by which a subject seeks to reinstall its mastery and unity, then nonviolence may well follow from living the persistent challenge to egoic mastery that our obligations to others induce and require. (p. 64)

Practising patience works to disrupt the violent severing of ethical relationships that occurs once recognition of a particular moral subject of (non)violence is ‘satisfied’ through acts of judgement, condemnation and punishment. Although satisfaction is productive, enabling specific moral subjects to emerge and initiating response and ‘solutions’ to recognisable problems, it is also a form of ethical violence, where sites of judgement and condemnation violently sever relationships that enable listening, learning, self-reflection and potential openings to new forms of recognition. When the satisfaction of judgement dominates domestic violence response, the site of judgement instigates an ethical disconnection between the “I” and the Other. For instance, within criminal justice responses, the “I” can be found ‘not guilty’ or ‘non-violent’, absolved of the accusation that initiated the demand for an account and released from the institutional gaze. Alternatively, they can be condemned as ‘immoral’, ‘guilty’ and ‘violent’ and expelled from a particular moral community through regulatory forces of discipline and punishment. Once the violent subject has fulfilled their legal and disciplinary obligations and produced themselves as a responsible subject of an account, they emerge as a redeemed subject who has satisfied the conditions of their subjection to institutional requirements. At the point that accountability has been institutionally achieved, there is a violent cut between temporal subjectivities (before/after intervention). All outcomes are the product of satisfaction, where the ‘desire to know’ and ‘recognise’ is ‘achieved’, resulting in the dissolution of the ethical relationship between the “I” and the Other.

Practising patience resists reaching a point where we are satisfied that we ‘know’ and/or ‘recognise’ the subject, extending ethical spaces of dialogue and articulation to acknowledge the complex, contradictory, partial and opaque experiences of violence. Patience enables the development of continued relational practices of recognition and transformation, where narratives of the self are given the time and space to expand into sustained articulations (Butler, 2001, 2005), exceeding, not confirming or concluding, our knowledge of the complexity of conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence and change towards non-violence. Patience is a practice of ethical non-violence where relationships and connections at the site of an account are acknowledged, developed and sustained in ways that moralising subjectivities do not allow (Butler, 2005). Ethical non-violence enables us to embrace the vulnerability of the “I” in subordination to the Other and directly challenge relationships of power that work to subjugate and subordinate the subject’s embodied, embedded experiences.

Becoming Non-violent

The men and women I spoke with discussed the significance of ethical sites that suspended condemnation and sustained articulation of contradictory and complex understandings and experiences of the self. They talked about how developing spaces where men could ‘be themselves’ and say what they wanted or needed to say without fear of judgement, condemnation and punishment was ‘liberating’, opening spaces to be comfortable with the vulnerability of sharing their stories and feelings:

“The only way someone’s going to learn and share their inner souls is when they’re relaxed...The first thing is not doubt somebody, you’ve got to believe what they’re saying...whether it’s the truth or not, because it’s not for you to-, And let the process start. Let the guys feel at ease, that’s the main thing. First, let them feel at ease.” [Ethan]

“Everyone was given the opportunity to speak their mind and in your own words. If you wanted to swear like a trooper, you went for it. If you wanted to bawl your eyes out, you bawled your eyes out.” [Peter]

“[He could] just get it all out and not feel judged, you know? Or they’re going through the same sort of things and stuff, or have been there and seen this and seen that. So, he felt really comfortable towards the end with them. I think it took him a little while to open up, but when he did, he did, and there was just a change in him.” [Bronwyn]

Ethan, Peter and Bronwyn’s narratives suggest that resisting judgement and condemnation opens spaces of articulation and connection that allow transformation towards non-violence to begin. Ethical spaces of suspended judgement enable men to ‘authentically’ embody their experiences at sites of address, and, as Peter notes, also imperceptibly offer opportunities to exceed masculine regimes of subjectivity that regulate men’s emotionality and vulnerability. Jennings and Murphy (2000, p. 24) argue that “emotional reconnection with other men seems to be the most powerful and desired aspect of treatment”, challenging the constraints of normative homosocial bonding where men are encouraged to embody masculine attributes such as strength and aggression and are discouraged from sharing their emotions and vulnerability (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014). Indeed, many of the men talked about the loosening of constraints associated with being able to express emotion and vulnerability in the stopping violence group environment without fear of social sanction or judgement:

“It’s quite hard I reckon because it’s not easy talking in front of a whole lot of people you don’t know, and even if you do know them, you’re talking about personal stuff, but I think that’s what helped me, aye.” [Gareth]

“Leaving [the programme] was really, really emotional...Hell, I was quite upset to leave because I’d built a lot of quite good bonds with all the facilitators and it was almost like this was my time for an outlet...and I used to look forward to it. It was crazy. And let it out and catch up with the boys and it was just a really good time.” [Brian]

Gareth and Brian’s accounts of their embodied experiences within spaces of non-judgement²⁶ where men can articulate their emotions and feelings without fear of condemnation and sanction suggests that within the stopping violence group environment men do not feel the regulatory need to turn back on themselves in self-beratement and self-discipline when experiencing the vulnerability of emotionality and social dependence. Within spaces of suspended judgement and sustained articulation, regulatory regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity, morality and gender are relaxed, enabling an embodiment of gendered identities that does not force the “I” to engage in self-harming practices (such as emotional withdrawal and denial of vulnerability) in order to survive as a masculine subject. Therefore, processes of patience can help us not only expand and deepen our understandings of experiences of violence, but also resist and transform processes of psychosocial violence that force men to turn against their bodies in fear of de-masculinisation and social sanction (Butler, 1997, 2011). The disruption of prohibition and repression through processes of turning back and turning against oneself that enable men to be vulnerable and emotional may relate to how the men often described the stopping violence programme as a place they could be ‘real’:

“It is scary...This is real. And I think that’s the biggest thing on the courses is being able to be real and allow yourself to be real.” [Brian]

There is the sense that when the structural, regulatory demands of the moral masculine subject are suspended, or at least relaxed enough to enable articulation and the suspension

²⁶ It is important to note here that non-judgement is not the same as suspended judgement. Non-judgement implies that no judgement will be made at the site of ethical address. The men often spoke of the stopping violence programme as a place of non-judgement, where there would be no moral judgement of their articulation of feelings and experiences within the group setting. In contrast, the suspension of judgement is an ethical process that produces and sustains dialogue and social relationships in order to listen to the complexity of stories and experiences at the site of an account.

Becoming Non-violent

of judgement, men can be who they want or need to be without censure and punishment: they can be ‘real’ for themselves. To ‘be real’ in particular spaces of suspended judgement emphasises the importance of enabling articulation without condemnation in order to develop richer, deeper understandings of the complexity of experiences of violence not accessible when accounts are rigidly structured through regulatory regimes. Brian notes that this is a ‘scary’ space to inhabit, acknowledging that ‘being real’ manifests as a threat to the survival of the moral masculine subject at social sites of ethical address outside the programme environment. However, within encounters governed by ethical non-violence, ‘being real’ may offer possibilities in the service of change, transformation and non-violence.

Despite the men speaking about the importance of developing non-judgemental sites of articulation within the stopping violence group environment, the threat of structural and ethical violence against immoral violent subjects still ‘haunted’ the men I spoke with. They told me how they often remained reluctant to be ‘completely real’, and articulate all the stories of (non)violence they acknowledged could be told, within institutionally regulated settings and spaces. The men talked about how it was easier for them to ‘be real’ and speak of their experiences without fear of condemnation when they were able to share and connect with each other without the presence of the institutional Other at the site of address:

“They had a little break there for coffee and that’s where the bond thing got really interesting with the boys because we’d talk and yack about men’s stuff away from the staff, and the cup of tea time was very beneficial... That time was great because away from the people running it, boys can just talk about stuff... I can’t put my finger on that, but it was, for me, quite strong to be having a cup of coffee with those guys and... not to have the [staff] there and just be guys.” [Matthew]

“[Talking with other men on the stopping violence programme] was the best thing about going. I’m not saying listening to the teachers was bad, but that was the best thing for me because you just know that there’s people who want to help you, people who were going through the same situation... The best thing about the course was just the group really. It’s always the group.” [William]

The desirability of connecting beyond the gaze and sites of institutional response suggests domestic violence service providers remain symbolic of the structural constraints of

regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that continue to threaten the men's position as moral masculine subjects, even when services attempt to develop environments that suspend judgement. As such, despite the desire to create a non-judgemental environment within stopping violence programmes, the threat of judgement remained for the men. Furthermore, the solidarity and unification provided through masculine bonding and homosocial practices often works to tolerate, justify, and even encourage the reproduction of hierarchical gender relationships and hegemonic masculinity (Flood, 2008; Schrock & Padavic, 2007; Towns & Terry, 2014). The desire to connect socially outside the institutional gaze might result from an awareness that sites of domestic violence service and response would produce a challenge to narratives that justify feminine subordination and masculine privilege, but such narratives can be articulated and tolerated within private spaces of social bonding.

Suspending judgement, therefore, can problematically enable the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge, where erasing and excluding sites of resistance to stories of masculine dominance works to reproduce a tolerance of, and justification for, violence against women, even within the context of domestic violence service and response.

Towns and Terry (2014) discuss how homosocial bonding can have a silencing effect, where loyalty and mateship discourage men from challenging men's violence in order to maintain and strengthen homosocial bonds and mutual recognition within masculine relationships. To challenge narratives of hegemonic masculinity in men's accounts of (non)violence would be to destroy the safety emerging from suspension of judgement and condemnation, and thus would run counter to practising patience in order to open spaces for articulation. However, when embedded within discourses of hegemonic masculinity, practices of silence can be understood as condoning or tolerating violence against women through the exclusion or omission of judgement, confrontation and condemnation. As one man told me:

“[The facilitator] was excellent, you know, gets you talking, makes you feel comfortable. There's no guilt thing, there's no finger pointing...He actually agreed with some of my ideology [in] moments of silence because he actually agreed with what I was saying.” [John]

John's account suggests that when judgement is suspended, it can be interpreted as an acceptance of violence. Another example of the tension between suspending judgement

Becoming Non-violent

and the reproduction of conditions of possibility for domestic violence through silence and exclusion was manifest in the men's accounts through the concept of anger management. Many of the men I spoke with discussed how, despite the teachings of the stopping violence programme enabling them to gain control over their expressions of anger, the anger was still 'there', still an issue in the men's lives threatening to emerge if the men 'lost control' of themselves in the future:

"I think the first time that I did it, I thought there'd be a magical thing that would go 'hey, I'll never be violent again', but it doesn't work like that, and I know that it's still inside of me, and it's ok to be angry, but it's dealing with it, you know? There's a difference between anger and violence." [Brian]

"I still get angry and I still-, And on Saturday I got angry at the pub...and I went home afterwards and I said to [my partner] 'I'm so angry' and she said 'what are you angry about?' and I said 'I'm angry that he made me angry'. I said 'I didn't want him to do that to me'. So, yeah, I still get angry and that's all part of it, is acknowledging that we all get angry." [Matthew]

Brian and Matthew state that it is "ok to be angry" and that "we all get angry", producing the concept of anger as an acceptable and natural human emotion, something that we all share and that is part of our normalised social experience. The men talked about how while anger was a normal, acceptable, and tolerated human feeling, what was not acceptable was to act on that anger through violence:

"It's a normal feeling, isn't it, being angry. We all do it, it's just how we process that anger [that matters]...[My grandson] said 'I'm angry' and I said 'why are you angry?' and we talked about it and he says it quite often now to me...He'll tell me the reason why he's angry and I talk to him and say 'it's ok for you to be angry'." [Matthew]

"You can imagine getting angry or violent, but once you start going beyond that that's when you have a problem." [Mark]

Accounts that produce anger as an acceptable, normal human experience constrain the ability to also consider anger as a condition of possibility for domestic violence, where entitlement to anger informs and supports discourses such as provocation and loss of control as justifications for violence against women and children. Despite the educational

content of the stopping violence programme offered at Te Manawa Services challenging other conditions of domestic violence, such as masculine privilege and sociocultural acceptance of physically abusing a child as discipline, anger as a condition was either normalised as a natural human emotion or tolerated and left unaddressed. When anger management components of domestic violence response do not link anger to gendered social power relations and practices of hegemonic masculinity, spaces open for men to engage with ‘managing anger’ as another form of authority and control, albeit over their self-disciplinary affective expression. For instance, one man spoke to me about how conceptualising his anger as entity that can be brought under his authoritative control was key to learning how to manage his anger. His advice to those who felt like they could not control their anger towards woman was:

“We’re like puppets and the words of people who are trying to control us and talk bad to us, those are the strings. The words are the strings and if we act or react to those, then we’re nothing but puppets. So yeah, don’t be a puppet.” [Gareth]

While notions of authoritative control over anger worked towards non-violence in Gareth’s account, the underlying assumptions of authority, privilege and domination remain unchallenged, maintaining and re-producing the conditions of possibility for practices of coercive control to emerge as a technology for masculinity. One man spoke about how control over his anger enabled him to reproduce his position of authority and domination in ethical encounters, manipulating and abusing those around him through processes of ‘self-control’:

“People can call me all sorts of abuse now and it just goes through one ear and out the other and I just laugh at them and I’ve found that laughing at them does a lot better job. It rarks them up.” [Hector]

Perhaps, given that narratives of anger were so common in the men’s stories, to challenge feelings of anger would be to threaten the non-judgemental environment and social bonds developed within the group and programme. To speak against the normalisation of anger may destroy the mateship of the group, shutting down spaces for articulation of experiences and critical self-reflection. However, silence in the face of normalising anger tolerates and condones anger as an acceptable affective response in the context of particular circumstances, leaving anger unchallenged and un-transformed as a condition of possibility that enables domestic violence to emerge within intimate relationships.

Becoming Non-violent

Listening to stories that explain or justify anger, or articulate desires for violence that emerge from anger, can also be uncomfortable and distressing. For instance, when one man told me he was so angry with a woman programme facilitator that he wanted to “pick her up by her head and shake her like a ragdoll” [Hector], I felt shocked listening to such violent images. It was unusual for me to hear graphic details of the desire for violence that emerges from anger within interviews, where I suspect the need to be recognised as a moral non-violent subject was salient for the men. While men might narrate their experiences more graphically through homosocial bonds of crew culture and mateship (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014), to speak in such graphic terms about the violent desires of anger at the site of domestic violence response is a dangerous subjective practice for men. If articulated elsewhere at the time, Hector’s account of his anger and desire for graphic violence that emerged from his anger would most likely have been met with judgement and condemnation. If justifications and descriptions of violent anger are unable to be articulated easily and without consequence within institutional settings, we will not be able to open spaces where articulation enables and supports critical examination and understanding of entitlement to anger. When the underlying assumptions and desires of anger are silenced in the service of suspending judgement, developing social bonds and avoiding the discomfort of hearing stories such as Hector’s, our analysis of the ways normalising anger produces the conditions of possibility for domestic violence to emerge in everyday life is constrained.

The discomfort of listening to stories that are morally challenging is a difficult space to occupy, one that challenges us to reflect on our own participation in the tolerance and justification of domestic violence within our own practices. In Chapter 1, I wrote of the experience of interviewing a man who brought his partner with him to the interview setting, forcing her to sit and listen to his account of the violence he had enacted upon her, producing her as an inferior feminine other responsible for her own victimisation. I shared with you the shame I felt for deciding not to challenge his narrative in an effort to keep open a space of sustained dialogue where I could listen to his story and deepen my awareness of the ways men justify their violence against women. I spoke of how my silence when listening to the man’s narratives of hegemonic masculinity felt like a tolerance of domestic violence that risked justifying and/or condoning the abuse he had inflicted, and was continuing to inflict within the site of the interview, on his partner. Despite my commitment toward suspending judgement in the service of being able to

listen to his story, I felt like I had participated in practices of violence against his partner at the site of the (non)ethical encounter. Flood (2008, 2013) discusses his own discomfort of silencing disapproval when listening to stories of masculine violence and privilege in order to develop rapport and trust with his participants in the research setting. He speaks of the fear that his silence will be understood as tolerating or justifying masculine violence, and addresses this discomfort through attending to the ways in which listening to uncomfortable and distressing stories can inform and support political and social transformation to critically challenge hegemonic masculinity as a condition for violence against women. The commitment to opening spaces where judgement and condemnation are suspended, while also occupying a position of non-tolerance towards violence, can be an uncomfortable and difficult endeavour when listening to narratives that reproduce gendered power relations of subordination and domination. It is a space of contradiction and distress, but perhaps one that is important if we wish engage with the complicated network of conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge in our communities.

Critically questioning how the act of listening to men's stories of violence produces such discomfort and distress may help us navigate the tension between opening spaces for articulation and the reproduction of conditions of possibility for domestic violence. Given that the Other who demands the account is also the "I" of their own account, the act of listening to stories that justify or tolerate violence may be feared to reflect upon the Other's own account as an "I". In other words, the act of listening without resistance may be recognised as tolerating or condoning violence, threatening to destroy the moral position of the listener subject if that subject is then asked to account for their own experiences of remaining silent. As such, the Other receiving the account may be produced as an immoral subject in their own account through narratives of listening to stories of violence without judgement and condemnation. My own sense of shame of listening without resistance speaks to this possibility very clearly. Resistance towards hearing stories that we find morally reprehensible may be an act of survival for the Other's account of themselves as an "I". Butler (2006) discusses how those who listen to stories that defy our regimes of morality and ethics from a position of critical engagement and curiosity, rather than condemnation and punishment, often find themselves facing social outrage and sanction. Within subjective binaries of moral/immoral, where you can only be one or the other, curious listeners are accused of colluding with, and participating

Becoming Non-violent

in, forces of violence. To listen or attempt to understand that which is deemed socially unacceptable is sanctioned. The inability to listen to such stories then reinforces the inability to speak of experiences of violence understood to be socially abhorrent and unacceptable, limiting spaces for articulation and constraining our understandings of the complex and diverse conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge.

Processes of silence and exclusion work together to constrain our ability to listen to stories of violence, shutting down pathways for understanding, resistance and transformation. Although we may find violence abhorrent and against our moral values, turning away from stories of violence will not make the violence 'go away' or remove it as a wicked problem that needs attention (Butler, 2006). At the same time, listening without judgement risks reproducing and tolerating conditions of possibility for domestic violence available within sociocultural contexts. Therefore, Butler (2006) argues for a troubling of binary positioning that works to conflate listening with accepting and condoning violence through suspended judgement, challenging the assumption that you either stand with violence through the act of listening or against it by refusing to listen. As Corvo and Johnson (2003, p. 260) argue within a different epistemological context:

To determine what is effective and what is not in terms of interrupting and preventing abusive behavior within the context of family - we must be willing to disentangle issues of blame, stigma, and censure from issues of etiology, intervention, and outcome. Furthermore, we must be willing to challenge some related notions: that vilification of perpetrators is a necessary component of advocating for those who are victimized by violence, and that a willingness to vilify is a valid indicator of one's legitimacy, expertise, and commitment to social justice where issues of domestic violence are concerned.

Resisting satisfaction at the site of an account and opening spaces to listen to stories previously silenced does not mean that the listener accepts and tolerates violence against women and children. Indeed, listening to men's stories with the goal of accepting their violence as unproblematic is in direct conflict with ethical processes of accountability, responsibility and non-violence. Rather, the suspension of judgement and satisfaction through condemnation resists the structural and ethical violence of the demand for an account, enabling us to learn and develop new, creative pathways towards more effective domestic violence service and response. For example, listening to stories of how men

produce themselves as non-violent subjects through discourses of gender inequality and provocation opens spaces to critically examine the relationship between practices of accountability and responsibility and regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality. Through such critical questioning, we can identify, analyse and challenge sociocultural assumptions and practices that produce and reproduce hegemonic masculinity and the discourse of provocation as conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge in our communities.

Opening up spaces where the suspension of judgement enables us to hear stories that acknowledge the complex and diverse sociocultural conditions of possibility for violence is problematic, however, under neoliberal imaginations of the decontextualised responsible individual. The demand for an account is the demand for the production of particular responsible subjects of (im)morality and (non)violence, where subsequent processes of judgement and condemnation in response to the subject who is produced work to ignore, exclude or deny the complexity, partialness and opacity of our conscious embodied experience embedded within sociocultural and temporal contexts. Examining the ways in which our communities and society might also be ‘called to account’ for violence against women and children challenges domestic violence responses that rely on the production of a complete, consistent and responsible moral subject who is then subject to processes of accountability. Attempts to ethically and transformatively engage with subjects of violence in ways that embed their violent acts within wider sociocultural contexts risk accusations of not only constraining processes of individual responsibility and accountability, but also of *contributing* to a social and cultural tolerance of violence (Arias et al., 2013; Butler, 2006). When neoliberal assumptions of the responsible individual are privileged, attempts to engage with sociocultural conditions for individual choices and actions are understood as tolerating unacceptable and immoral acts rather than challenging problematic sociocultural conditions. As Esposito and Perez (2014, pp. 421-422) argue in relation to mental health:

because the prevailing market order is assumed to be fundamentally sound, blaming any behavioural deviations or adverse conditions/circumstances on social, political, or economic forces is typically regarded as little more than an excuse for problems that lie within the individual.

Becoming Non-violent

To enable a consideration of sociocultural conditions of violence whilst still holding individuals responsible and accountable for their acts of violence requires what Butler (2006) describes as processes of ‘dual thinking’, where notions of individual responsibility are embedded within, and emergent from, collective regimes of ‘knowing’ and ‘being’. A dual thinking approach can analyse how sociocultural conditions enable domestic violence to emerge as a technology of subjectivity, domination and control, resisting the reduction of conditions of possibility to narratives of inherent and/or ‘fixed’ characteristics and ‘traits’ located within nonsubstitutional subjects. At the same time, dual thinking can accommodate notions of agency and responsibility in relation to how men’s violence is a subjective and agentic practice of, and for, control and domination over women and children. Dual thinking can support the identification and analysis of the production and reproduction of hegemonic masculinity within processes of subjectivation in order to challenge, shift or subvert the conditions of possibility that enable the nonsubstitutional self’s acts of violence against women and children embedded within sociocultural contexts. Such an approach would work collaboratively with men to problematise the gendered social power relations produced within processes of subjectivity, examining how the masculine subject is subordinated through regimes of subjectivity and discipline, and how this in turn requires the subjugation, subordination and control of women and children.

Engaging with processes of formative and agentic power at the site of subject formation and embodied practice resists privileging the coherent, complete subject produced in the account to embrace notions of ‘becoming’. ‘Becoming’ implies that we are always, forever, engaged in processes of subjectivity: when we give an account of ourselves, when we self-reflect, when we engage in embodied practices and responses to subjective threat, through new experiences and expanding ethical encounters, we are at all times, constantly and repetitively ‘becoming’ a subject (Butler, 2012). The subject produced at one site of ethical address is not the subject that emerges from different accounts within shifting contexts, and therefore the process of subjectivity is a continuous, fluid and transformative practice. ‘Becoming’ can be both a source of violence (when how we ‘become’ is a product of subordination, regulated and repressive), but it is also a space of productivity and transformation. If the embodied “I” is not a fixed moral subject, but instead is a site of subjectivity in flux, spaces open up to accommodate incoherence, contradiction, resistance and change within an account. ‘Becoming’ can engage with

diversity in narrative, and the complexity of articulating our embedded and embodied experiences, because it does not demand the satisfaction of consistency, coherence and completeness. It does not require the identification of fixed origins of domestic violence, or their logical solutions, but instead remains responsive to the complexity and incoherence of experience embedded in shifting socio-temporal contexts. In this sense, the notion of becoming is well suited as a standpoint for addressing wicked problems such as domestic violence.

However, processes of becoming do pose challenges for the evaluation of domestic violence service and response, subsequently presenting issues for persuading governments and funders to invest and sustain in practices that suspend judgement and satisfaction. In the current knowledge economy, domestic violence service and response is evaluated according to the ability to meet certain outcomes as effectiveness criteria, most commonly recidivism data or self-report measures that demonstrate a reduction or cessation of violence post-service engagement (Akoensi, Koehler, Lösel, & Humphreys, 2012; Arias et al., 2013; Bennett & Williams, 2001; Eckhardt et al., 2013; Lilley-Walker, Hester, & Turner, 2016; Westmarland et al., 2010). Therefore, evaluation of responses relies on the production of complete and fixed subject positions (e.g. violent/non-violent) to be measured and compared before and after institutional response. Embracing notions of becoming reconceptualises subjectivities as processes of fluidity, opportunity and transformation rather than a representation of symbolic markers of violence/non-violence, making evaluative measurement of outcome-based response success impossible. If processes of becoming cannot provide empirical evidence of their utility in domestic violence research and response, then it is more difficult to advocate for making spaces within contemporary approaches to allow the time and resources needed to suspend judgement and exhibit patience.

Embracing processes of becoming might also prove problematic for the contracting and funding of intervention services in relation to the duration of engagement needed or required. Research into stopping violence programme duration indicates programme length can range from 16 to 52 weeks (McMaster, Maxwell, & Anderson, 2000; Vlasis et al., 2017). In Aotearoa New Zealand, The Department of Corrections and Ministry of Justice suggest, in a joint proposal to align stopping violence programme provision, that programmes offered should be 40 hours in length, and no more (Nicholson, 2018). Nicholson (2018) reports the duration length of 40 hours is a reduction from previous

Becoming Non-violent

guidelines that recommended programmes should be under 50 hours, and is a response to criticisms of the difficulties in accessibility, implementation and completion of lengthier programmes previously offered (such the standardised Department of Corrections non-violence programme which had a duration of 52 hours). Institutional guidelines that decrease suggested durations for stopping violence programmes and constrain flexibility in service provision problematise advocating for processes of ‘becoming’ within domestic violence service and response. Embracing processes of becoming complicates the notion of setting guidelines for intervention duration: at what point in time do we disengage from service provision when becoming is valued as a process for non-violence? If we seek to resist satisfaction, and privilege processes of becoming, it would appear that service provision would be indefinite and ongoing, and indeed the men I spoke with advocated for such sustained intervention:

“They definitely need that on-going support because it’s such an ingrained habit or behaviour and you can’t just change it in 12 weeks, because when we’re doing the course, we’re out of the environment that’s actually where the behaviour’s happening. I was going to say causing it, but it’s not really. You take them out of that and you give them ideology, but they need practice. They’re going to go home again and walk in through that door and someone’s going to hit them with abuse, put downs and they’re going to get crushed and they’re going to defend themselves or whatever, and that’s when they need the help and support.” [Tony]

As Tony’s account suggests, the path towards non-violence is an on-going journey, one that does not reach ‘satisfaction’ at the conclusion of limited term, specifically focused programmes. A recent increase in funding for domestic violence services, with a specific interest in ensuring longer-term recovery processes (Ministry of Social Development, 2018b), provides promise for the ability to sustain engagement with those affected by domestic violence, but at some point there will need to be a necessary dis-engagement from intervention services. Even with more funding for sustaining services, engaging with processes of becoming within a service-oriented response can only be part of the larger vision of domestic violence response and prevention. Despite the problematics of evaluating processes of becoming, and the issues of funding and support this raises, it is important that we continue to imagine different pathways of response, even if they are fraught with tension and difficulty. As Westmarland et al. (2010) argue “opening up a field through research exploration of what counts as success has the potential to move the

field on” (p. 3). Although beyond the scope of the current research, an examination of what ‘becoming’ might look like in terms of the interface between service provision, service evaluation, community engagement and prevention is needed. How could we understand processes of transformation in the intelligibility and recognisable faces of domestic violence over time? How could we assess whether men were ‘moving towards’ a life of non-violence? How might processes of becoming resist and challenge institutional and structural practices of ethical violence, developing relationships of non-violence within and across communities?

Ethical Non-violence through Shared Vulnerability

While processes of patience and suspending judgement and satisfaction open up pathways for new and diverse thought, the implication that those working in the field of domestic violence research and response do not yet have adequate knowledge to enact solutions to wicked problems such as domestic violence produces a tense interface with moral assumptions that our responses should be knowledgeable. The status of institutions is founded on the intimate relationship between knowledge and power, producing and reproducing social power relations where researchers and professionals are figures gifted with privileges to ‘know’, where the object of study (the ‘researched’) are social actors who ‘can be known about’, but who are not afforded their own terms of understanding (Karnieli-Miller, Strier, & Pessach, 2009; Malpert et al., 2017; Stainton-Rogers & Willig, 2017). When regimes of intellectual and regulatory control, embedded within a capitalist knowledge economy and market, situate institutional figures and collectives as ‘experts’ on the human condition, adopting a position of critical curiousness and advocating for patience and acceptance of what we ‘do not know’ is to risk professional censure and threatens the power of institutional authority (Warner, Settles, & Shields, 2016).

However, if we do not push to exceed our understandings through critical curiosity and humility, we risk reproducing an élite knowledge base invested in the interests of the privileged, limiting our ability to identify and engage with the multiple networks of institutional and sociocultural forces that produce wicked problems such as domestic violence. Frameworks of understanding and regimes of intelligibility in a given socio-temporal context are morally, institutionally, politically and economically motivated, enabling and constraining what and how we can ‘know’ in the service of benefitting those positioned higher in social hierarchies (Butler, 2006). Currently, our knowledge economy

and market are guided by neoliberal imaginations of individual difference and personal responsibility, producing capitalistic interventions and responses that target individuals and ignore avenues for social transformation. When difference is reified, people are stripped of context and reduced to identity categories of difference, deficit and dis-ease, enabling particular institutions (such as psychology and the criminal justice system) to benefit from the marginalisation and subjugation of identified subjectivities (Coombes et al., 2016). The relationship between knowledge and power, produced and reproduced through institutions and ideology, can lock us into reductionist individualistic measurements and responses to domestic violence, constraining our ability to critically question and challenge how our regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality operate within sociocultural contexts to produce the conditions of possibility for domestic violence.

Where we do raise challenges, as critical academics, to the ties that bind knowledge production and contemporary neoliberalism or more locally speak back to the Eurocentric dominance within academic research, we are positioned at the margins (if indeed we are ‘allowed’ to be included at all). In the contemporary knowledge economy we are “more likely seen as political activists than legitimate contributors to authorised knowledge production” (Coombes & Morgan, 2015, p. 446). Feminist research has contributed greatly to the critical questioning and problematisation of underlying assumptions, processes and consequences of violence against women, but remains marginalised and subjugated by systems of meaning making that are politically, socially and culturally entrenched, and resistant to transformation (Butler, 2006). As Warner et al. (2016, p. 171) argue:

Research undertaken outside the dominant epistemological perspective, such as intersectionality and other feminist scholarship, is dismissed as “bad science” because dominant assumptions about knowledge— how to know, who is the knower, and so on—place nondominant epistemological perspectives in the margin.

Locating critical academic work at the margins of knowledge production runs the risk of reproducing categorical and binary subjectivities that work to dislocate and separate individuals (including academics) from their communities, emphasising distance and distinction in experiences, and inhibiting social transformations in the field of domestic violence research and response (Bumiller, 2010). However, the shared vulnerability of

forced subordination to regulatory regimes that we did not choose, and are not fully aware of, connects us wherever we are located within positions of subjectivity, morality and power. Rather than a limitation to be resisted or denied, this shared vulnerability brings us together ethically, urging us to acknowledge our ‘unknowingness’ in ways that promote ethical non-violence in the service of learning and transforming together (Butler, 2001, 2005). This bond of shared vulnerability invites us to resist talking *about* the “I” who is accounting for themselves, instead promoting processes of *talking with*, opening spaces for critical examination of the collaborative process of subject formation at sites of address and account. A sense of openness and humility from those working in the field of domestic violence research and response supports processes of learning *from*, and *with*, rather than holding authority *about* and *over* those we are attempting to support, where we risk ‘becoming undone’ through acknowledging shared limits of understanding and embracing our dependency on collaborative ethical relationships. Through patience and humility, we can connect ethically as subjects (the “I”s of our own account) and Others (those who demand an account), subordinated under shared regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, all of us vulnerable to moralising subjectivities and disciplinary practices. Such relational accord emerges from practices of ethical non-violence, where ethical engagement is privileged and sustained through collaborative partnerships with those affected by domestic violence, opening spaces to examine together the complex and multiple sociocultural and regulatory forces that could offer potential pathways *not yet imagined* towards the reduction and elimination of violence against women and children.

In our efforts towards opening up new pathways for knowing and understanding, Butler (2011) urges us to remain reflexively engaged with the problematics of identifying and promoting new regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality that might ‘better capture’ the contemporary human experience and conditions of violent subjectivities. Such an endeavour risks the production of new ways to include and exclude subjects through expanding regulatory forces of subjective subordination, reproducing and justifying ongoing relationships of ethical violence. As Butler (2011) argues:

None of us can fully answer to the demand to “get over yourself!” The demand to overcome radically the constitutive constraints by which cultural viability is achieved would be its own form of violence. But when that very viability is itself the consequence of repudiation, a subordination, or an exploitative relation, the negotiation becomes increasingly complex...An economy of difference is in order

in which the matrices, the crossroads at which various identifications are formed and displaced, force a reworking of that logic of non-contradiction by which one identification is always and only purchased at the expense of another. Given the complex vectors of power that constitute the constituency of any identity-based political group, a coalitional politics that requires one identification at the expense of another thereby inevitably produces a violent rift, a dissension that will come to tear apart the identity wrought through the violence of exclusion. (p. 79)

In the context of Butler's arguments, encouraging new gendered subjectivities runs the risk of reproducing social power relations of domination and subordination, albeit in different forms. Rather, Butler (2011) advocates for opening spaces where diversity and complexity in subjective experience can be acknowledged and analysed in order to disrupt the rigidity of uncompromising sociocultural regulatory regimes: an embracing of exceedance rather than succession. Exceedance can work to weaken the conditions of possibility for domestic violence that emerge from contemporary regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, challenging and 'speaking back' to processes of subjectivity and accounting for oneself that tolerate and justify violence against women and children. For instance, the articulation of flexibility and heterogeneity in gendered experiences, where masculinity and femininity do not form an opposition in conflict but are conceptualised as shared embodied practices, can work to challenge and transform hierarchical gendered power relations that tolerate, justify and encourage violence as a technology to defend against subjective threat. If our accounts of oneself as a gendered subject are enabled to narrate a process of becoming that is complex, contradictory and fluid, we can resist the rigidity of regulatory demands for embodied practices that produce and reproduce masculine privilege and feminine subordination. If the subject position of man transforms to a fluid and flexible process that accommodates diverse experiences, including femininity, then maintaining a coherent, complete subject position as a 'masculine man' would not be necessary to the survival of the masculine subject. There would be no need to 'prove' one's masculinity through the de-masculinisation of other men or the subordination and control of feminine objects. It would become possible for feminine subjects to embrace notions of strength and leadership without 'breaching' femininity and thus symbolically representing a threat to the masculine subject. The contradiction and complexity of expansive and flexible subjectivities could enable subjects to forge ethical connections (including the connection between the "I" and the

Other) not governed by fear and threat, disrupting conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge as a technology of subject formation, maintenance and survival. Such expansions in how we can understand gendered identities would promote ethical spaces for empathy, connectedness and belonging, re-humanising the face of femininity, discouraging violent masculinity, and making domestic violence ‘unthinkable’ as a relational practice in our communities.

Sharing the vulnerability of subordination and embracing processes of becoming opens spaces for valuing articulation over satisfaction, enabling us to acknowledge and embrace the constant, reiterative and fluid processes of articulating understandings and experiences that can only ever be partial and opaque (Butler, 2005). Valuing articulation encourages patience in the face of incoherent, inconsistent accounts, enabling us to hear stories about the complex and multiple conditions of possibility for domestic violence in our sociocultural locations, transforming our responses in ways that speak to the complexity of wicked problems. As Braidotti (2008) argues:

We need cartographies of subjectivity, which adequately reflect the processes of flows, fragmentation, mutual interdependence, and mutations that mark our era. In ethics, as in social and political theory, we need to learn to think differently about ourselves and our systems of values, starting with the accounts of our embodied and embedded subjectivity. (p. 27)

Practising ethical non-violence at institutional sites of address within research and response will sustain ethical relationships in order to suspend satisfaction and practice patience, privileging processes of articulation and becoming that work to unravel and resist the conditions of possibility for domestic violence. Connected through shared vulnerability of subordination to regimes of intelligibility, subjectivity and morality, the “I” and the Other can work collaboratively to resist the torturous production of gendered moral subjectivity and critically engage with the complexity and diversity of the multiple intersecting systems, structures and processes that tolerate and/or justify violence against women and children. Opening spaces where we can tell, and listen to, stories of violence without satisfying the desire to ‘know’, but instead to ‘recognise becoming’ re-humanises the subjects and objects produced within narratives of violence, connecting us in ways that enhance ethical responsivity and obligations of non-violence. Processes of articulation and exceedance locate subjective experiences within sociocultural contexts,

Becoming Non-violent

offering potential interruptions where we can begin to tell our stories differently in ways that disrupt violent subjectivities and the violence against others they encourage. As a wicked problem, domestic violence has no clear cause and no definitive solution: a dynamic, complex and diverse issue that requires an ethically sustained and responsive approach. Domestic violence research and response is a site of becoming, a continual, reiterative process that responds to the questions of ‘who are you?’ and ‘how can you help?’ Interconnecting the fields of knowing, recognising and responding through a sense of humility and vulnerability, drawing critical work in from the academic margins, and protecting spaces where patience, suspension of judgement and articulation are privileged, become promising pathways forward for domestic violence intervention and prevention. Practising ethical non-violence in the face of violence can not only help us respond to experiences of domestic violence in our communities, but also work to identify, challenge and disrupt the conditions of possibility that enable domestic violence to emerge in our contemporary sociocultural locations.

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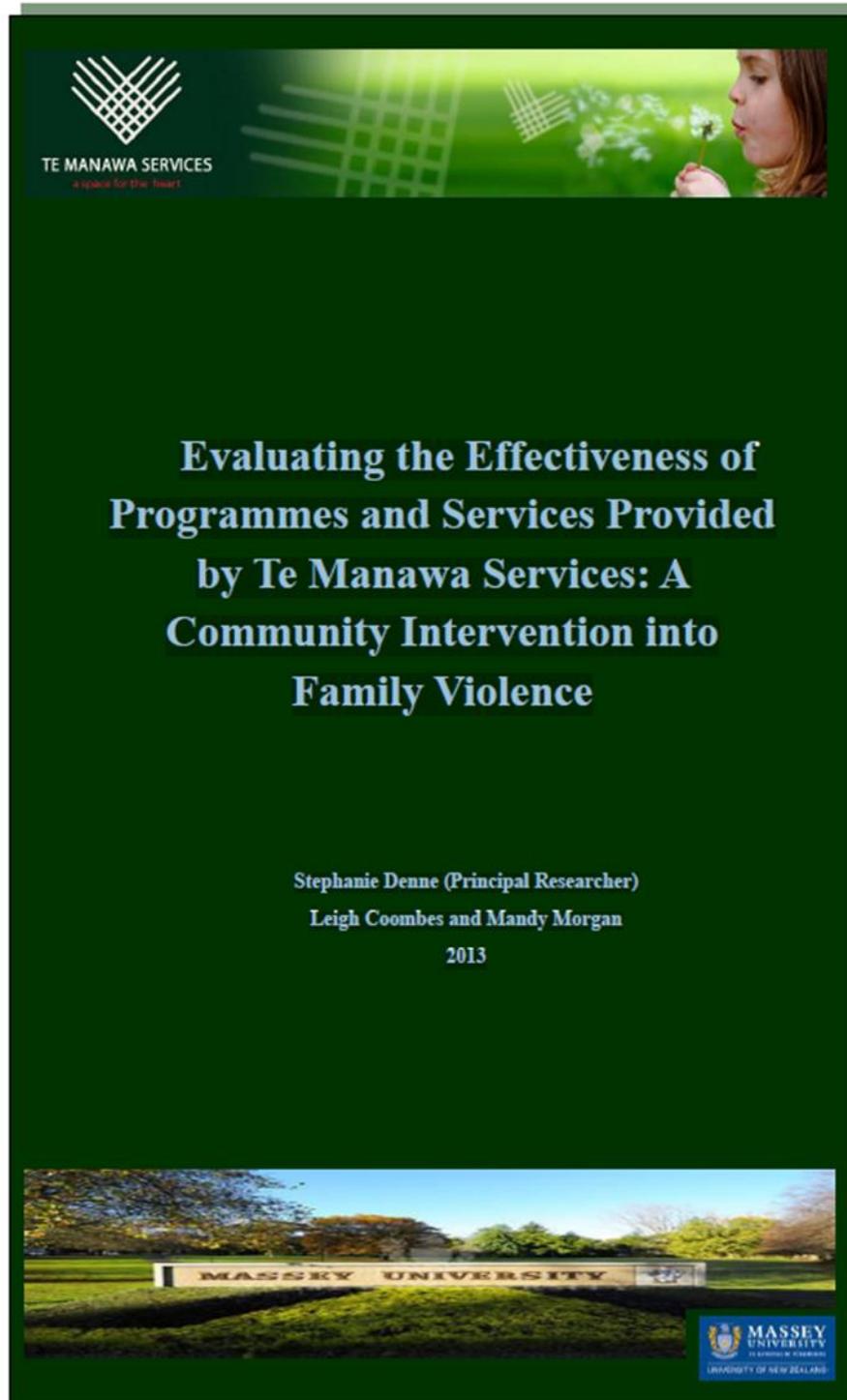
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Appendices

Appendix A: Evaluating the effectiveness of Programmes and Services Provided by Te Manawa Services: A Community Intervention into Family Violence



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All enquiries about the content of *Evaluating the Effectiveness of Programmes and Services Provided by Te Manawa Services: A Community Intervention into Family Violence* should be made to the authors at School of Psychology, Massey University, Palmerston North, Aotearoa/New Zealand

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Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
List of Illustrations	vi
Executive Summary	vii
E.1 Background and Current Study	vii
E.2 Qualitative Analysis	ix
E.3 Men's Analysis	ix
E.3.1 Areas of Change	ix
E.3.2 Accountability and Responsibility	x
E.3.3 Processes of Group Learning	x
E.3.4 Processes of Engagement	xii
E.3.5 Presentation of Curriculum	xiii
E.3.6 (Ex) Partner/Family Involvement	xv
E.4 Women's Analysis	xv
E.4.1 Areas of Change	xv
E.4.2 Group Learning Environment	xvii
E.4.3 Patterns of Abuse	xvii
E.4.4 Accountability and responsibility	xviii
E.4.5 Presentation of Curriculum	xix
E.4.6 Partner/Family Services	xx
E.4.7 Expanding Services	xxii
E.5 Statistical Analysis	xxiii
E.5.1-5.4 Recidivism and Severity of Offences Analyses	xxiii
E.5.5 Discussion of Statistical Findings	xxiv
1 Introduction	1
1.1 Domestic Violence in New Zealand	1
1.2 Living Without Violence Programmes	3
1.3 Previous Evaluation Research	5
1.4 Te Manawa Services	8
1.5 Rationale and Objectives of Current Evaluation Research	12
2 Qualitative Analyses Methodology	17
2.1 Objectives	17
2.2 Method	18
2.2.1 Sampling and Recruitment	18
2.2.2 Data Collection and Analysis	19
3 Men's Analysis	23
3.1 Areas of Change	23
3.1.1 Development of Social Networks	23
3.1.2 Anger Management	26
3.1.3 Understandings of Abuse	31
3.1.4 Feeling Changed	36
3.1.5 Developing a Community Conscience	36
3.2 Accountability and Responsibility	38
3.2.1 Provocation	38
3.2.2 Consequences	40
3.3 Processes of Group Learning	41

3.3.1 Non-Judgemental Environment	41
3.3.2 Vulnerability/Emotionality	43
3.3.3 Situated Perspectives	45
3.3.4 Time Away From Staff	48
3.3.5 Mentoring/Role Modelling	49
3.3.6 Dispelling Stereotypes	50
3.3.7 Minimisation	50
3.4 Processes of Engagement	52
3.4.1 Relating to Self	52
3.4.2 Awareness of Problem	53
3.4.3 'Click' Moment	54
3.4.4 Motivation	55
3.4.5 Gradual Engagement	57
3.5 Presentation of Curriculum	58
3.5.1 Booklets	58
3.5.2 Multiple Engagement Methods	59
3.5.3 Length	61
3.5.4 Open Door Policy	62
3.5.5 Graduated Services	64
3.5.6 Staff Relationships	65
3.5.7 Co-Gendered Facilitation	68
3.5.8 Meeting the Needs of Māori Clients	69
3.6 (Ex) Partner/Family Involvement	69
3.6.1 Reviews	69
3.6.2 Wrap-Around Services	71
4 Women's Analysis	75
4.1 Areas of Change	75
4.1.1 Communication	75
4.1.2 Anger Management	76
4.1.3 Parenting	79
4.1.4 Reconnected Sense of Family	81
4.1.5 No Change	81
4.2 Group Learning Environment	82
4.2.1 Development of Social Support Networks	82
4.2.2 Vulnerability and Acceptance	84
4.2.3 Minimisation	85
4.3 Patterns of Abuse	86
4.3.1 Physical Violence	86
4.3.2 Psychological/Emotional Abuse	88
4.3.3 Control	89
4.4 Accountability and Responsibility	91
4.4.1 Motivation	91
4.4.2 Provocation	94
4.4.3 Consequences	95
4.5 Presentation of Curriculum	98
4.5.1 Responsive to all Levels of Ability and Need	98
4.5.2 Booklets	99
4.5.3 Reviews	100

4.5.4 Length	104
4.5.5 Open Door Policy.....	106
4.5.6 Need for Continued Services	108
4.6 Partner/Family Services	109
4.6.1 Family Support Services	109
4.6.2 Women Living Free from Violence Programme.....	115
4.6.3 Youth and Parenting Programme	120
4.6.4 Partner Support as a Measure of Effectiveness.....	121
4.7 Expanding Services.....	122
4.7.1 Living Free from Violence Programmes in the Wider Community.....	122
4.7.2 Youth and Family Counselling	123
5 Statistical Analysis.....	125
5.1 Objectives.....	125
5.2 Sampling and Data Collection	125
5.2.1 Te Manawa Services Client Data	125
5.2.2 New Zealand Family Violence Record Data - Recidivism Analysis	126
5.2.3 Severity Analysis	130
5.3 Data Analysis and Discussion.....	132
5.3.1 Re-Offending Analysis.....	132
5.4 Severity Analysis	137
5.5 Summary of Data Analysis	143
6 Overall Summary	145
6.1 Cognitive Behavioural Efforts to Reduce Anger and Violence	145
6.2 Strengthening Families	146
6.3 Community Development	146
6.4 Family Support.....	147
6.5 Meeting the Needs of Māori Clients	148
6.6 Underlying Assumptions and Patterns of Abuse.....	148
6.7. Responsibility.....	150
6.8 Accountability.....	150
6.9 Motivation.....	151
6.10 Flexibility of Service Provision	152
6.11 Supporting Sustainable Change	153
6.12 Increasing Safety for Women and Children.....	154
6.13 Extension and External Support.....	154
7 References.....	157

List of Illustrations

Table 1: *Super-ordinate and Sub-ordinate Themes for the Men’s Analysis* 20

Table 2: *Super-ordinate and Sub-ordinate Themes for the Women’s Analysis* 21

Table 3: *Data Fields and Codes Recorded From Te Manawa Services Client Files* 126

Table 4: *Client Characteristics* 128

Table 5: *Time-frame Categories for Occurrence Data* 129

Table 6: *Severity Occurrence Type Categories* 131

Table 7: *Total Occurrences Pre- and Post-Course Completion* 132

Figure 1. *Frequency of occurrences pre- and post-course completion* 132

Figure 2. *Total occurrences across the pre- and post-programme time-frame in months* 133

Table 8: *Frequency of Incidents, Offences and Arrests Pre- and Post-Course Completion* 134

Figure 3. *Percentage of men offending by occurrence category* 135

Figure 4. *Total number of occurrences for client variables* 136

Table 9: *Size of Occurrence Reduction (%) and Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test P Values for Client Variables* 136

Table 10: *Reduction in Total Severity (Years) Pre- and Post-Programme Completion* 137

Figure 5. *Total severity (years) of occurrences across the time-frame* 138

Figure 6. *Total severity of offences for client variables pre- and post-course completion* ... 139

Figure 7. *‘Type’ of most severe occurrence pre- and post-programme* 140

Figure 8. *Distribution (%) of most severe occurrences by police code group* 141

Figure 9. *Percentage of most severe occurrences accounted for by domestic violence offence markers* 142

Figure 10. *Distribution of most severe occurrences in the violence offence group pre- and post-programme* 143

Executive Summary

E.1 Background and Current Study

Despite New Zealand being credited with some of the most progressive policies and campaigns for addressing the issue of domestic violence in our communities, reported incidents of domestic violence in New Zealand have been steadily increasing, with a 54% increase in family violence offences reported by police between 2000 and 2006. Studies examining women's help-seeking behaviours have found that they will often only seek help as a last resort when they can no longer endure the abuse, or when the fear for their own, or their children's, safety escalates.

Approaches concerning how best to respond to domestic violence have variously developed overtime. The Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Program framework emerged in the 1980s. This approach promoted a group formatted, highly structured programme that incorporates family systems therapy and concepts of gendered power and control alongside the cognitive behavioural elements of programme provision, with the focus on addressing the social, contextual and cultural elements of abuse. In 2006, the New Zealand Government, under the Domestic Violence Act (1995), offered funded placements in living without violence programmes for approximately 2,930 men, with the Family Court referring 2,715.

There is a lack of research concerning the effectiveness of living without violence programmes, and what has been conducted has produced mixed results. The mixed and confusing results regarding the effectiveness of living without violence programmes may, in part, be a product of the inherently complex nature of domestic violence. Research has noted that psychological and verbal forms of abuse are more frequent than physical acts of domestic violence, and yet much of the recidivism data relies heavily on reported incidences of physical violence, in particular acts serious enough to attract the attention of police and other professional organisations. Furthermore, there appears to be little consensus as to what 'effectiveness' means in relation to living without violence programmes. There are solid arguments for various measures of 'effectiveness': a reduction in criminal offending shows us empirical measures of violence and lethality; men's accounts of change give us insight into the processes of change and subjective understandings of the course content; and women's accounts of their (ex) partners' engagement with programmes provides us with the lived experiences of safety and change for those most affected by domestic violence. This suggests that evaluations could strengthen findings on effectiveness by combining qualitative and quantitative methods, enabling a more complete and comprehensive, albeit at times conflicted, picture of success or limitations.

The present study is an evaluation of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme developed and provided by Te Manawa Services, a domestic violence service provider in the Manawatu, New Zealand. At the heart of Te Manawa Services is the desire not only to reduce all forms of violence and abuse, but to support new ways of developing positive relationships, self-respect, kindness and caring. Te Manawa Services adopt a systemic approach to the issue of domestic violence and service provision, and operate in a manner that is inclusive of whānau and supportive of community systems. They are guided by the principles of accountability, equality and respect. The six key strategies to achieving their objectives are:

1. To continue to provide high quality programmes and support services in response to the identified needs of the community.
2. To ensure that quality programmes and services on offer are known and accessible to the community.
3. To initiate and engage in effective collaboration that enables the best responses and outcomes for clients.
4. To build organisational capability and capacity in targeted areas (strengthening families) and maintain organisational capacity in others.
5. To ensure the financial sustainability of Te Manawa Services.
6. To grow an increasingly effective and pro-active governance team.

In keeping with Te Manawa Services' whānau model of service provision, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme does not operate in isolation. The Women Living Free from Violence Programme is a group-based programme offered to women who have experienced violence, or have used violence themselves, and is similar in content and structure to the men's Programme. The Youth and Parenting Programme is a 15 week, individual programme for youth and their parents or caregivers to help build safe and healthy families. Family Support Services are offered to those connected to Te Manawa Services Programmes (for instance, the (ex) partners of those on the men's Programme) and involves regular at-home, on site or telephone meetings that offer support and guidance.

In order to evaluate how effectively Te Manawa Services are achieving their objective of reducing and eliminating domestic violence in the community, the focus was on how the Men Living Free from Violence Programme does, or does not, improve women and children's safety during and after programme completion. With the complexities and problematics of evaluation research in mind, the current study sought to evaluate the 'effectiveness' of Te Manawa Services Men Living Free from Violence Programme utilising all 3 effectiveness measures (recidivism data, men's accounts and women's accounts) in the hopes that a comprehensive and complex picture of effectiveness may be developed to deepen our understandings of if, and how, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme works to reduce and eliminate domestic violence in the local community.

This study adopted a mixed method approach to evaluation, utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and interpretation. The quantitative examination of police records detailing domestic violence recidivism enabled a discussion of re-offending patterns before, during and after course completion. The inclusion of a statistical analysis allows the study to be situated within the context of previous evaluation research that uses re-offence data, enabling a comparison between recidivism rates of Te Manawa Services clients and previous research findings in order to assess 'effectiveness' in relation to recidivism. Qualitative methods were used to enable an in-depth analysis of the processes of, and services associated with, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Men's accounts were examined for processes and understandings of change, non-violence and safety, with an eye for the demonstration of responsibility and accountability. In keeping with the principle of prioritising victim safety, women's accounts of safety for themselves and their children following their (ex) partners' involvement in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme were explored.

E.2 Qualitative Analysis

The objective of the qualitative analysis was to understand the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services from the perspective of both the men who took part in the Programme, and their (ex) partners who were victims of their violent and abusive behaviour. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used because it allows a focus on the meaning that participants' ascribe to the events they experience; to broadly explore areas of concern and be guided by participants' interests; and to represent interactions, experiences, points and patterns of meanings that thematically emerge from our analysis of participants' accounts. IPA is also sensitive to diversity in participants' accounts, allowing us to consider cultural and social differences as well as the complexity of specific experiences, including Māori clients. 17 men who had completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme and 20 women whose (ex) partners had completed the course took part in the current study. Participants were recruited with assistance from Te Manawa Services and interviews were conducted confidentially, within an ethic protocol reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee (Southern A, Application 11/25). Interviews were transcribed and analysed to produce super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes representing the participants' perspectives.

E.3 Men's Analysis

The themes that emerged from analysis of the men's interviews covered: areas of change; accountability and responsibility; processes of group learning; presentation of curriculum; and (ex) partner involvement.

E.3.1 Areas of Change

In relation to areas of change we found that:

- Prior to engagement with the Te Manawa Services Men Living Free from Violence Programme, the men felt isolated from social support. The group environment helped decrease the men's isolation by providing them the opportunity to talk with others about their thoughts and feelings. The men said they would like post-course support sessions to be included as part of the Men Living Free from Violence programme service provision.
- The men understood their violent and abusive behaviour as stemming from poor anger management skills. One of the most commonly stated positive changes the men experienced as a result of the course was learning how to deal with, and control, their anger. A focus on anger management helped the men address the antecedents and responses to their anger, but did not necessarily require them to unpack the belief systems and processes of meaning making that informed their anger response. If the underlying assumptions leading to anger responses are not challenged, the anger management skills taught can be reinterpreted and used as a form of abuse against their (ex) partner.
- When the men first entered the Programme their understandings of 'domestic violence' consisted of physical 'beatings' and they were unaware that there were other non-physical forms of abuse. Te Manawa Services devoted time to educating the men about the different forms that 'violence' can take other than the stereotype of physical assault. This enabled some of the men to challenge their previous conceptions of domestic violence and develop an awareness that other forms of abuse, such as verbal, psychological and control were also forms of violence. This,

however, remained an area of change that the men continued to struggle with post-course completion. Despite what they had been encouraged to learn on the Programme, many men continued to draw on stereotypes of domestic violence as physical beatings, therefore distancing themselves from the label of 'abuser' and minimising the effects of their use of psychological and emotional abuse.

- As a result of the men's time and learning at Te Manawa Services, many had undergone a significant and permanent positive change. Most men said that they no longer used violence in any form in their lives as a result of their engagement with the Programme. Non-violent reactions and behaviours to stimuli in the environment were now the natural way the 'changed men' interacted with the world, instead of a forced effort to redirect previous tendencies towards being abusive.
- Many men have suggested the course or referred their friends, family members and acquaintances to the Programme. They appreciated how much the course helped them to challenge their abusive behaviour and to educate them about violence and abuse, and they wanted others to share those changes. Some of the men discussed how they have adopted a mentoring role in the community, becoming actively involved in the lives of others who are exhibiting issues with abuse or violence. By modelling no shame or embarrassment in admitting they had previously struggled with abuse and violence, or that they had attended a programme in order to address these issues, the men believed it might help motivate others to do the same. As a result of the course, some of the men were able to engage with the broader issue of violence in wider society.

E.3.2 Accountability and Responsibility

In the theme of accountability and responsibility we found that:

- The men who challenged their understandings of provocation and began to question their entitlement to violence were able to address their own personal responsibility for their actions and behaviour. However, many men continued to struggle with issues of provocation, and continued to blame others for their use of violence. Abusive behaviour was rationalised as an appropriate response to provocative situations, and in these instances the men felt they were not responsible for their own behaviour, and should not be held accountable. This suggests that violence remains a legitimate response if it can be justified.
- Accepting, and coping with, the consequences of their abusive behaviour necessitates that men take active responsibility for the harm they have caused and hold themselves accountable to those they have abused. The power of actively engaging with, and addressing, consequences was identified as an area that motivated change. However, some men preferred to avoid thinking about the consequences of their actions. The avoidance of consequences enabled the denial or minimisation of abuse because the men were able to concentrate on their positive behaviours (such as Programme attendance and changes) and ignore the negative effects of past abusive behaviour. Avoiding consequences may leave men unprepared to deal with the reality of the effects of their abuse outside the Programme.

E.3.3 Processes of Group Learning

In relation to the theme of processes of group learning we found that:

- A non-judgmental environment was vital for facilitating engagement with the Programme content and the process of group learning. The acceptance and sense of equality promoted by the group facilitators enabled the development of a 'team' approach, where the men felt part of a wider 'family' of positive change. However, accepting without judgement the men's previous behaviours, and not actively confronting individuals about their abuse, has the potential to ignore or divert attention away from addressing how to deal and cope with consequences and criticism in the wider community, and can unintentionally reinforce collusion.
- Accessing and practicing vulnerability and emotionality was another extremely powerful process for the men in the group learning environment. Many men felt it was not socially acceptable for them to openly express emotions or vulnerability with others. Therefore, they wished there were more opportunities and avenues for them to be emotional and show vulnerability. Through the development of social support networks and a non-judgemental environment, the group became a safe place for the men to express their emotions and allow themselves to be vulnerable. Additionally, the emotionality of the group experience enabled the men to develop empathy and caring skills through helping and comforting others in the group when emotions ran high.
- 'Situated perspectives' (group members sharing their real-life experiences and stories with each other) gave the men the space and opportunity to talk with one another about their histories of abuse, both as victim and offender, situating their concerns and course learning in the context of their real lives and everyday experiences. Through the connections facilitated by shared meanings and experiences, the men were exposed to a variety of different ways to think about and respond to difficult life situations. This is important because it is something that cannot be offered by the facilitators on the Programme – real stories of struggles, successes, worries, concerns and triumphs of men attempting to eliminate domestic violence in their own lives.
- Time spent with peer group members was as important, and in some cases more important, than the men's interactions with the facilitators of the Programme. The process of engaging with other group members was often more powerful than solely being 'taught' by experts because it enabled a direct and understandable translation between theory/ideology and real-life behaviour and experiences. The men felt that during their 'coffee break', the advice or direction they could give each other was more direct and honest than in the formal Programme environment. They felt they could react to other men's stories in a more 'authentic' way during break times, creating relationships and interactions that reflected how they would respond to such stories or issues with friends in their situated lives.
- The open door policy at Te Manawa Services (men enter and graduate from the Programme at various points) enabled those who had been in the group longer to become role models or mentors for new members of the group. This enhanced new members' engagement, whilst also cementing and reinforcing the senior group members' learning and change process. The open door policy produces organic opportunities for group members to experience feelings of accomplishment and pride relating to what they were learning and the changes

they were making as a result of the course. The newer members were inspired by the older members' attitudes and accomplishments, and over time were given the opportunity to 'be' that inspiration for others.

- Many men could not initially relate to the label of 'abusive' because of preconceptions and stereotypes of what 'domestic violence' is and what an 'abuser' looks like. Through interactions with a range of men in the group, some similar to themselves, others very different, the men began to see that the stereotype of domestic violence and 'who' commits domestic violence does not relate to the reality of men who abuse - 'ordinary' men also abuse. The men began to reduce their resistance towards relating to the Programme content due to the dispelling of stereotypes concerning 'what kind of man' is abusive. They no longer needed to distance themselves from that label, and therefore their own abusive or violent behaviour.
- Unfortunately, seeing the range of diversity in the group environment also enabled the men to compare themselves to the use of violence by others in a way that minimised their own abusive behaviours. The privileging of physical abuse in their definitions of domestic violence enabled the men to rationalise that their behaviour was 'not as bad' as others (if 'bad' at all), because they did not use physical forms of violence against women and children. Court referred men were considered 'bad' based on the assumption that it is severe physical violence that comes to the attention of the police. Therefore, comparison of referral pathways enabled a minimisation of abuse for those who self-referred.

E.3.4 Processes of Engagement

In relation to processes of engagement we found that:

- The key to meaningful engagement for all men interviewed was to be able to personally relate to the Programme content. Those men who could not personally relate to the Programme content found it difficult to engage with the course and therefore change was minimal. The men spoke of feeling frustrated with the highly structured format of the course. They said the tight timetable the group sessions needed to follow did not allow them to respond to, and work with, the group members' specific issues and concerns. They felt there needed to be more flexibility in regards to working with the particular individuals in the group, rather than rigidly following the booklet and set curriculum.
- Often the most difficult process for the men in regards to engagement and relating to the course was to first admit they had a problem and needed to be on the Programme. Shame and embarrassment about their behaviour had previously prevented them from admitting they had a problem. 'Readiness' to admit a problem was considered as so vital to engagement that most men said change would never occur until readiness was achieved.
- When discussing the development, and processes, of engagement, the men were able to pinpoint a particular 'click moment': a moment when they began to start seeing themselves within the Programme content, became aware that they had a problem, and therefore began to engage and change. There were various 'click moments' that the men discussed, emphasising the diversity within the group and the importance of being able to personally relate to the course content.

- There were two motivational types identified in the men's accounts: internal and external motivation. Often the source of internal motivation was self-observation of the way the men treated their loved ones, predominantly how they interacted with their children, which facilitated a self-identified desire to change. External motivation refers to men attending the course because of external influences including court-mandated attendance, desire to avoid criminal proceedings or records, gaining access to, or custody of, children, and to save the relationship. Those who spoke of internal motivations for course attendance in the interviews displayed the highest level of changes and non-violent beliefs after course completion in comparison to those who were externally motivated. However, the source of motivation was not a fixed or static state and there were some instances where the men were able to shift their base of motivation throughout the course of the Programme.
- Engagement with the course was often a gradual process, building upon itself through increased participation with, and exposure to, the Programme. The men talked about how they did not pay attention to, or learn from, the first few sessions they attended. In these early sessions, they could not personally relate to the course, and had yet to develop readiness for change. If the men are not engaged in the early stages of the Programme, they cannot set meaningful goals, suggesting that goal setting might need to be reviewed after several sessions

E.3.5 Presentation of Curriculum

The presentation of curriculum emerged as a specific theme in the men's accounts. We found that:

- The men appreciated the ability to continue to work through the concepts introduced in each group session in their home environment through weekly booklets covering session content. Booklets were especially useful for the men who indicated they struggled with learning complex information and needed more time than given in the group sessions. The booklets were also helpful in times of crisis or conflict at home. If arguments occurred, the men could read the booklets to remind themselves of what they had learnt in group, supporting them to respond positively to the presenting issue or situation. If the men missed a group session, the provision of booklets allowed them to learn the ideas and concepts that were presented on those particular evenings at home. One area of concern regarding the booklets was that the men could use them to psychologically abuse their (ex) partners when they were employed to draw attention to their (ex) partners' 'problematic' behaviour and issues.
- The variety of curriculum presentation catered to the diversity in abilities, and styles, of learning for the men in the group. Through multiple presentation methods, opportunities for learning and engagement were maximised alongside maintaining the men's interest and attention. The group approach to learning exercises enabled the men to reflect on the diversity of strengths and weaknesses within the group. Each group member could help one another, offering their skills where needed, thereby maximising learning for all group members, regardless of struggles in particular educational areas. Not all men were comfortable with learning in a group format, and the inclusion of four-weekly one-on-one review sessions helped cater to the needs of those who preferred individualised programme presentation.

- More meaningful engagement with the ideas presented was enabled by having the course span several months, as opposed to a shorter or more condensed programme. The men said the length of the Programme gave them the opportunity to experience a variety of real-life achievements and challenges outside the course, while simultaneously retaining the safety net of the group to return to once a week to help them cope, further develop and thrive. The structure and breadth of curriculum was comprehensive enough to formulate a meaningful knowledge base and change without being an overwhelmingly lengthy and complex venture. However, the men also said they did not think the course was long enough for them to have achieved as much change and development as they would have liked.
- The ability to re-enroll and attend subsequent cycles, enabled by Te Manawa Services open door policy, was extremely valuable for the men, especially for those who felt one cycle of the Programme was not long enough to achieve what they wanted or expected from the course. Attending more than one cycle enabled greater confidence that the changes made, and lessons learnt, on the Programme were maintainable after course completion. Although the open door policy was predominately considered a strongly positive attribute of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, it did pose certain concerns and challenges in regards to group dynamics. Some of the men said that although that they felt like they needed to return, or would have benefitted from attending another cycle, they were often unable to afford the volunteers fee.
- Cost was not the only barrier to re-enrolling in subsequent cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Limited time or resources to commit further to the 16 week Programme in its full format was also an issue for some men. These men spoke of the need for a form of graduated services, where they could return to Te Manawa Services post-course completion to revisit and re-engage with the course content, but without having to commit to the full 16 week Programme.
- The Programme facilitators at Te Manawa Services were highly professional and focussed. This enabled the men to trust and have confidence in the facilitators' level of knowledge and expertise, responding positively to the directive and focussed approach to group session facilitation. The physical environment where the group was held reinforced this professional approach to working with the men. When staff members were well liked and respected, they became role models and inspiration for change to the men. The facilitators' responsiveness to individual men on the Programme was also important. The men's experience of the course was negatively affected if a staff member they had developed a rapport with, and had learnt to trust, left their position at Te Manawa Services.
- Co-gendered facilitation was viewed as a positive influence to the group dynamic. Te Manawa Services follow the Duluth framework that recommends both women and men facilitators lead the group sessions in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The men said they found it easier to talk about their thoughts and feelings with women and a woman facilitator in the group helped them open up more and talk more freely. The women's influence in the group prevented or 'shut down' avenues of discussion or thought that may not have been appropriate.
- Although few Māori clients participated in the qualitative component of this research, those that discussed the cultural aspects of the course expressed that they

enjoyed and connected with the inclusion of Māori belief systems in the set curriculum. Whilst the review sessions enabled a whānau support person to be involved with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, this support can be too peripheral, and there was a need for greater flexibility around whānau inclusion and participation within the weekly group sessions.

E.3.6 (Ex) Partner/Family Involvement

In relation to the theme of (ex) partner/family involvement we found that:

- The men appreciated the opportunity to include their (ex) partners in the review process; it enabled them to discuss the Programme with their (ex) partners and explore the course content and ideas with the people who were often the most affected by their violence and abuse. The reviews were a valuable learning tool for the men, with their (ex) partners' understandings of the lived effects of their behaviour guiding their learning and change process. (Ex) partner involvement in the review process often contributed to the development of a supportive 'team approach' towards positive change, strengthening family resources and sense of cohesiveness. Interviews with the men revealed some safety concerns through (ex) partner involvement in the review sessions. Reviews may provide a forum for men to abuse or intimidate their (ex) partners.
- If the men's (ex) partners attend the Women Living Free from Violence Programme offered at Te Manawa Services at the same time the men attend their Programme, there is potential for the comparison of curriculum content to result in conflict. The course content and materials of the Women's Programme have the potential to be used by the men to justify and reinforce understandings of provocation.
- Many of the men in the programme had custody of their children. The Youth and Parenting Programme offered at Te Manawa Services was frequently mentioned and its importance and significance must not be underestimated. The ability for the men and their children to receive help, support and guidance was invaluable for promoting the safety and wellbeing of the children. The men said the Youth and Parenting Programme taught them how to be strong, positive fathers and strengthened their interactions and relationships with their children.

E.4 Women's Analysis

The themes that emerged from analysis of the women's interviews covered: areas of change; group learning environment; patterns of abuse; accountability and responsibility; presentation of curriculum; partner/family services; and expanding services.

E.4.1 Areas of Change

In relation to areas of change, for the women, we found that:

- Communication was a significant problem in the home environment prior to the men's engagement with the course. The women felt their (ex) partners were 'closed off' – not willing to talk about, or listen to, thoughts, feelings and concerns. One of the meaningful changes the women saw in their (ex) partners as a result of attending the Programme was an improvement in communication. Their (ex) partners not only increased their amount of communication with the women, but also demonstrated the development of positive and healthy communication skills. Improvements in communication skills helped reduce the level of tension and

arguing in the relationship. However, if the increase in communication is not constructive, it can be overbearing and hurtful for the women.

- The women's (ex) partners had difficulty managing their anger prior to engaging with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The men's anger was often discussed as an 'explosion' of rage that would result in behavior such as yelling, throwing things and intimidating the women and children. After the Programme, the women said the men had developed control over their anger and were generally more relaxed and calm than they were before. The reduced tension levels were often described as 'better than' or 'not as bad' as before their (ex) partners attended the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. This suggests the men still struggled with issues of anger, despite being able to manage it more effectively and frequently than before the course.
- The women's (ex) partners had developed an increased self-awareness of their issues of abuse and anger through being taught various skills and strategies to actively manage their emotions and gain control over their anger. The women said increased reflexivity and communication enabled the men to make better choices in order to keep themselves safe and to avoid the situation escalating into violence.
- Whilst the cognitive behavioural 'language' taught on the Programme enabled the men to better conceptualise and understand their anger, this new vocabulary was sometimes used in a manipulative and abusive manner. The men would apply what they were learning to the identification of 'deficiency' in the women, ultimately blaming them for their own victimisation. In relation to the cognitive behavioural strategy of 'time-out', the withdrawal of attention and engagement can be experienced as hurtful and punishing for the women.
- Often the women's most important personal goal in relation to their (ex) partners' participation on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was to improve the men's interactions and relationships with their children, therefore increasing the children's safety and wellbeing. The women said their (ex) partners learnt, and used, positive parenting methods that increased the men's ability to engage with, and respond to, the demands of father-child relationships. The men developed skills to interact with their children in a positive and nurturing manner, without the use of violence and abuse. Through seeing the change in their (ex) partners' behaviour, and also the increased happiness and wellbeing of their children, the women felt more secure with the men's access to, or shared custody of, the children.
- Improved communication skills, anger management and parenting ability combined to produce a reconnected sense of family for the women. This reconnected sense of family was present even for those who had separated from their partner. The changes their (ex) partner demonstrated as a result of Programme attendance enabled the men and women to reconnect in a healthy manner and become a 'family unit' even if separated, interacting with each other positively, often for the first time in a long while.
- Despite almost all the women interviewed reporting they could see at least one area of change, regardless of extent or nature after their (ex) partner completed the course, several women still said that, overall, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was not effective at reducing or eliminating their (ex) partners' abusive and violent behaviour.

E.4.2 Group Learning Environment

In relation to the women's perspectives on the group learning environment we found that:

- The men's social isolation was a commonly discussed concern. The women said their (ex) partners had difficulties making and maintaining friendships, and had few, if any, social outlets or interests, resulting in little-to-no opportunities for the men to share their thoughts, feelings and concerns with friends. The Programme decreased the men's isolation through connecting them with others who had common experiences, and building bonds of support through shared experiences of issues relating to abuse and violence. The social cohesion within the group had the potential to facilitate a cumulative learning process. Concerns were raised that the social support networks developed over the course of the Programme were severed upon course completion. Whilst the women said they could see their (ex) partners enjoying, and benefitting from, the social component of the group environment, they were concerned that the social aspects of the group had the potential to disrupt the men's focus from what they should be achieving from the course.
- The women's (ex) partners struggled with feeling comfortable showing emotions or vulnerability prior to engaging in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The group environment provided the men a location where vulnerability and emotionality were actively explored. The women gained comfort from knowing that their (ex) partners were capable of both feeling vulnerable emotion and offering nurturing support to others. The ability to share and explore their experiences of, and struggles with, abuse and violence was related to an increased sense of worth and self-regard for their (ex) partners. However, the women worried that the development of a non-judgmental environment, and the dominant focus on positive behaviours and change, was silencing or ignoring the seriousness and unacceptability of the men's violent and abusive behaviour.
- The diversity of men enrolled in the Programme enabled the women's (ex) partners to minimise their abuse through drawing comparisons between themselves and others in the group. The women said their (ex) partners could rationalise that their stories of abuse were not as severe as other men's, therefore minimising their own use of violence. This minimisation through comparison enabled the men to deny they had a problem with domestic violence. Men who used more psychological or emotional forms of abuse could minimise their own behaviour by comparing themselves to men who used physical violence against women and children.

E.4.3 Patterns of Abuse

Within the theme of patterns of abuse we found:

- The women discounted experiences of violence when they were deemed to be 'minor' – that is, when they did not involve stereotypical physical violence. For the majority of women who did indicate they were physically abused by their (ex) partners, the occurrence of physical violence in the relationship had completely ceased as a result of the men attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services. However, the women often said that they continued to experience processes of intimidation after course completion. Despite the absence of physical violence, the threat of physical abuse was still present. Attention to intimidation is important as the women talked about an awareness that if their (ex) partners' thought their intimidating and threatening behaviour was no

longer adequate to control or manipulate them, then the abuse would eventually escalate to physical violence.

- The dominant form of abuse the women said they experienced prior to their (ex) partners' engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was psychological and emotional abuse. The women talked about how they believed psychological violence was just as 'bad' or as harmful as physical forms of violence, despite the stereotype that physical violence is the most 'severe' form of abuse. The reluctance to seek help for psychological violence often resulted in the women living with the experiences and effects of psychological and emotional abuse for long periods of time, threatening their mental safety and wellbeing. Unfortunately, psychological and emotional abuse was an area of domestic violence the women said their (ex) partners struggled to engage with and challenge, and they took responsibility for reducing it for their own safety.
- Control was a central theme in the women's relationships prior to their (ex) partners' attendance on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. With few exceptions, the women said their (ex) partners maintained high levels of control over them and their children. Control and domination often remained after Programme completion, despite many other positive changes taking place. However, engaging with issues of power and control can be a powerful and meaningful catalyst and motivator for positive change if the men are able to identify, challenge and address their controlling behaviour and maintenance of power over their family.

E.4.4 Accountability and responsibility

In relation to accountability and responsibility, from the perspective of the women, we found that:

- The women's (ex) partners who were internally motivated engaged well with the Programme because they recognised they had issues with violence and abuse, and wanted to change their behaviour. The women talked about how their internally motivated (ex) partner engaged with the concepts of responsibility and accountability for their violence, and were willing to address the effects and impact their abuse had on their family.
- Externally motivated (ex) partners were often described as attending the course for manipulative reasons. The women said these men engaged with the Programme as a way of obtaining what they wanted – a technology of control – rather than because of a genuine desire to change and reduce or eliminate their abusive and violent behaviour. The women of externally motivated (ex) partners talked about how after the external goal was met, the men often returned to previous patterns of abusive or violent behaviour. The women also talked about the potential for sources of motivation to shift over the course of the Programme, moving from external to internal motivation.
- Many of the women's (ex) partners continued, after Programme completion, to blame them or others for their acts of violence and abuse. The women suggested that when their (ex) partners were unable to challenge their understandings of provocation, the processes of taking responsibility and accountability for their abusive behaviour were limited.

- Although many of the women's (ex) partners were able to engage with the positive processes of change associated with the Programme, they still struggled with responding to, and dealing with, the consequences of their abusive behaviour. The women believed the men were more comfortable focussing on themselves and were reluctant to think about how other people were feeling and coping with the effects of abuse and violence. By avoiding acknowledgment that their behaviour had consequences and had hurt others, the men were able to deny or minimise their issues with abuse and violence. The avoidance of addressing and dealing with consequences may result in increased risks to safety for the (ex) partners and children of men attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Alternatively, the women's accounts suggested that dealing with the consequences of abusive behaviour may be a powerful tool for motivating change through enabling the men to 'feel' the effects of violence.

E.4.5 Presentation of Curriculum

In relation to the women's perspectives on the presentation of curriculum we found that:

- Some women felt their (ex) partners' difficulties with academic and educational ability may have prevented them from fully understanding, and benefitting from, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. These women said their (ex) partner struggled with understanding the course content and would have benefitted from individual assistance and support to overcome their learning difficulties in order to fully engage with the Programme. Some women indicated that their (ex) partners had 'complex needs' (such as mental health and substance abuse issues) and that an approach that only focuses on anger and violence may be limited in scope. In such instances, the women believed that any intervention effort to change or improve their (ex) partners' behaviour would be limited or unsustainable unless their multiple areas of need were also addressed.
- The booklets provided on the course enabled the women's (ex) partners to re-engage with the Programme's content in the home environment. Furthermore, the women found the booklets personally useful and enabled them to work through some of their own issues of abuse or violence they were personally struggling with, and learn techniques and tools for improving their own behaviour in the home environment. However, the women's accounts raised the concern that the booklets had the potential to reinforce understandings of provocation and to teach women how to become responsible for their own victimisation
- Many women who attended the monthly review sessions found the individual review environment to be safe, supportive and informative. The reviews gave the women an opportunity to contribute their knowledge and understandings of how they believed their (ex) partner was engaging with the Programme, and they were also able to learn ways they could personally help support the men and the changes they were making as a result of the course.
- The review environment could also feel unsafe for the women. Those who discussed safety issues in the review session said they did not feel comfortable, or able, to be as open, honest and detailed as they would have liked in their discussions of the men's behaviour for fear of how their (ex) partner would react. There is potential during the review session for women to feel coerced into re-establishing the relationship because it is deemed essential for the men's recovery

and accomplishment of his intake goals, regardless of whether the women wished to reconcile or not. There was also potential for the reviews to be experienced as a form of coercion. Despite not wanting to attend the reviews, some women felt obligated or coerced to attend when their (ex) partner asked them to come. In these instances, involvement in the review session was experienced as an intrusion on their independence and drew focus away from their own journey towards good health and wellbeing.

- Whilst the review sessions were a good opportunity to focus on the men's change journey – how well he is meeting his goals, the improvements in his behaviour and areas that he needs to further work on and address – the women who were trying to find ways to cope with their experiences of abuse and violence said they were upset with the amount of attention and focus that was given to their (ex) partner, when they were the ones who had been hurt and affected by his behaviour. In these instances, the review sessions had the potential to increase feelings of marginalisation and subjugation to the men's needs and concerns.
- Running the Men Living Free from Violence Programme over 16 weeks provided the women's (ex) partners with a substantial amount of time to ensure they developed an increasing engagement with, and education of, issues relating to their abuse and violence. It also provided a solid length of time to demonstrate whether or not significant changes were occurring in the men's behaviour. However, there were concerns that the course was not long enough to produce a genuine and sustainable change. The women believed that a longer and more intensive course would be needed to change a lifelong habit (and acceptance) of abuse and violence.
- Returning for subsequent cycles and continued engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme increased the men's confidence regarding their developing knowledge base and positive behavioural changes. The women said the first cycle attended introduced their (ex) partner to the ideas and skills needed for addressing their issues of violence and abuse, and subsequent cycles helped strengthen and solidify what the men had previously learnt.
- The women would have liked their (ex) partner to return for subsequent cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, but said they were unable to do so, either because the men did not want to return for another full cycle or were restricted by demands on their time and resources. Despite many positive changes taking place while their (ex) partners were engaged with the course, many women said these changes were not sustainable and gradually began to re-emerge over time. The women said there was a need for a form of 'refresher programme' available after the men had completed the Programme so they could re-engage with the course content and maintain the positive changes made during the course.

E.4.6 Partner/Family Services

Within the theme of partner/family services we found that:

- The women appreciated the inclusion of Family Support Services because it gave them the opportunity to feel recognised as being affected by, and involved in, issues of abuse and violence, and as such were extended support and help to work on ensuring their own needs were met. Family Support Services staff were focussed on supporting the women's strength, and developing resources to work through their experiences of abuse and engage in the process of healing.

- Family Support Services enabled the women who were unable, or not invited, to participate in the men's review sessions to discuss their (ex) partners' progress (or lack thereof) on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme with a Family Support worker. The women said it gave them the opportunity to inform Te Manawa Services of how their (ex) partner was engaging with the course in a safe and confidential forum.
- Family Support Services also enabled the women to gain an awareness and understanding of what the men were learning on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The women said this was useful, not only to increase their awareness of course content, but also to facilitate trust in Te Manawa Services. This was especially important for the women whose (ex) partners would not talk to them about the Programme.
- The women gained a sense of security and confidence from knowing the Family Support staff were familiar with their (ex) partners. However, they wished the information sharing processes in Family Support sessions were more open than the rules of confidentiality allowed because their (ex) partners were prone to deception and, as such, often presented a dishonest, favourable impression to others.
- Family Support Services worked with the women to develop and monitor goals they wished to achieve concerning their (ex) partners' behaviour and the relationship. This helped increase safety for women and children through built in processes of reflection as to whether the men were making positive gains (or not) during the course. Therefore, the women were better informed to make decisions regarding the safety of staying in, or returning to, the relationship.
- In the Family Support Sessions, the women were given the opportunity to talk about issues of abuse and violence, sharing their own experiences and having exposure to the support worker's knowledge of domestic violence. As a result of this process, the women said they were able to explore and learn about the different forms abuse and violence can take. This facilitated a changing understanding of abuse, increasing awareness and recognition of what is, and what is not, acceptable in relationships. The women said that acknowledging psychological and emotional forms of abuse was very powerful for them.
- The 'heart' of Family Support Services was the staff members. The interpersonal rapport and relationship building skills of the staff were critical, and the women talked about how the support staff devoted time and energy to developing genuine and strong relationships. This enabled the women to feel safe and to trust their support liaison, therefore enabling the women to take full advantage of the avenues of help and support Te Manawa Services could offer them. However, some women said they felt their interactions with the support workers seemed superficial. Furthermore, if the support worker appeared to distrust, or were not responsive to, the women's interpretations of their (ex) partners' behaviour, then trust and respect for the Family Support Services was reduced.
- Many of the women interviewed also attended the Women Living Free from Violence Programme. Prior to engagement with Te Manawa Services, the women were socially isolated and lacking in support networks. They often described this isolation as resulting from the effects of living with abuse. Attending the women's Programme helped the women reduce their sense of isolation. The self-confidence

and strength developed during the women's course enabled them to reach out to friends or family, sharing with them their experiences, some for the first time, and rebuilding strong support networks and caring relationships with those who were important to them.

- Engagement with the women's course gave the women a deeper understanding of what their (ex) partners were learning, as the content and curriculum of both Programmes were similar. They could see the underlying philosophies the men were being introduced to, as well as the skills and tools they were, or should be, developing. This was especially informative for those who no longer had contact or open relationships with their (ex) partners.
- The women's Programme helped the women protect the safety and wellbeing of their children, either through addressing their own abusive behaviour or by helping them to become a positive role model for their children. The women said the course enabled them to learn the effects anger and abuse have on children, facilitating an awareness of the issues and experiences their children may be dealing, or struggling, with.
- If the men and women were attending the Programmes at the same time, there was potential for conflict to occur when course curriculums were compared. As a result of this conflict, some women felt they could not fully embrace or engage with the understandings and skills they were learning for fear of repercussions. There were also concerns that provocation was unintentionally reinforced by the women's Programme, as the women talked about how the course helped them to take responsibility for the role their behaviour played in provoking their (ex) partners' violence.
- The women were concerned their children were beginning to exhibit abusive patterns of behaviour due to exposure to, and experiences of, their (ex) partners' abuse and violence. Therefore, the women said it was significant that Te Manawa Services also provide a Youth and Parenting Programme to support their children to work through any issues they may be experiencing as a consequence of their history of living with abuse and violence.
- The Family Support Services, Women Living Free from Violence Programme, and the Youth and Parenting Programme were predominant discussion topics in the women's accounts, with some women choosing to devote the majority of the interview talking about the services they were offered rather than changes in their (ex) partners' behaviour. The women who said their (ex) partner did not benefit from the men's Programme often still highly recommend Te Manawa Services due to the level of support and help they personally received. Perhaps one of the most significant findings from the women's analysis is that partner support could be considered a measure of effectiveness for the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, if 'effectiveness' is defined as increasing women and children's safety and wellbeing.

E.4.7 Expanding Services

In relation to the women's perspectives on expanding services:

- The women said that the Living Free from Violence Programmes were so effective at addressing issues of domestic violence that they should be provided in schools to

help young adults develop healthy and respectful understandings and beliefs in regards to relationships.

- They suggested the Programmes should be offered to offenders in the prison system. They talked about how engagement with the Living Free from Violence Programmes whilst in prison could give domestic violence offenders the opportunity to engage in rehabilitative efforts towards addressing and reducing their issues of abuse and violence.
- The women identified a potential gap in the services offered at Te Manawa Services in the form of youth and family counselling. They talked about how the Youth and Parenting Programme seemed to focus on addressing issues of anger and violence for youth, but they needed a service that could provide a counselling function for their children.
- The women talked about how the Youth and Parenting Programme can only accommodate one child at a time, but many women have more than one child in the household affected by issues of abuse. Due to demands on their time and resources, and the lengthy waiting list for the Youth and Parenting Programme, the women said that a family counselling service would be of great benefit and support.

E.5 Statistical Analysis

The objectives of the statistical analysis were to utilise New Zealand Police Family Violence Records data and Te Manawa Services' client file information to examine the Programme's effectiveness when defined as a reduction in occurrence of reported domestic violence and reduction in the severity of offences reported post-course completion. Te Manawa Services provided the researchers with a list of all male programme completers (n = 180) in the period 01.01.04 – 30.06.10. Programme completers data were chosen to analyse how effective the *complete* Programme is in reducing domestic violence and therefore the results of the current study should not be generalised to all Men Living Free from Violence Programme attendees. Te Manawa Services client files were manually accessed to match with Family Violence Records in the New Zealand Police Force National Intelligence Application (NIA) working database. A sample of the most recently completed 100 Te Manawa Services client files with police Family Violence Records comprised the final sample for analysis. In order to establish a baseline for offending behaviour, all Family Violence Records pre course completion date were recorded.

E.5.1-5.4 Recidivism and Severity of Offences Analyses

The findings of the statistical analysis showed:

- There was a 47% reduction in occurrences after course completion and the reduction was statistically significant ($p = .000$).
- After completing the course, 35% of the sample had no further reported occurrences, 15% had one further occurrence and 50% had more than one occurrence reported.
- 65% of the sample still had reported domestic violence related occurrences after completing the course.
- Occurrences were highest at more than 1 year prior to course completion and gradually decreased towards course completion. Occurrence rates remained low

until 6 months after course completion and began to gradually increase past the 6 month mark.

- 51% of the sample had no recorded offence after 1 year post-course completion. 49% of the sample was responsible for all the occurrences 1 year after Programme completion.
- Clients who were mandated to attend the Men Living Free from Violence Programme displayed a 41% reduction in occurrences post-course completion and those who self-referred reduced their occurrences by 57%. The difference between occurrence rates for mandated and self-referred clients was not significant before course completion ($p = .225$), but was significant post-course completion ($p = .017$).
- Having children was not related to frequency of re-offending.
- Clients who attended multiple cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme showed a reduction in occurrences of 43% and those who attended only one cycle reduced their offending by 52%. Multiple programme attendees had higher offending rates both pre- and post-course completion. Mann-Whitney U Tests indicated that the difference in occurrence rates between multiple and single programme clients was significant both pre-course ($p = .005$) and post-course ($p = .028$) completion.
- Overall, there was no statistically significant change in severity of offences as a result of Programme completion. However, examination of the severity data revealed that the 1 year post-completion mark contained some of the most serious offences recorded in the overall time-frame.
- Severity of offending between the subsets of clients sampled was also examined. Difference in severity of offences post-course completion was significant for referral type ($p = .018$).
- Physical offences reduced from 56% of most severe offences pre-course to 39% after Programme completion, whereas psychological offences showed an increase of 23%.
- Before course completion, the offence of Male Assaults Female accounted for 31% of most severe occurrences, Contravening a Protection Order accounted for 18% and Assault on a Child accounted for 2%. Therefore, overall Male Assaults Female, Breach of Protection Orders and Assault on a Child accounted for just over half (51%) of the most severe occurrences. After programme completion, Male Assaults Female reduced by almost half to 16% of most severe occurrences, but Contravening a Protection Order remained relatively stable at 17% and Assault on a Child increased by 1%.

E.5.5 Discussion of Statistical Findings

In all categories of occurrences, there was a reduction in abuse and violence after men had completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services. This suggests the men's Programme may effectively reduce levels of criminal offending in the area of domestic violence. However, the majority (65%) of men who completed the Programme still displayed criminal domestic violence behaviour, with 50% of the client sample coming to police attention on more than one occasion after course completion.

By examining occurrences across time, a pattern of re-offending reduced to minimal levels during and immediately after programme attendance, but gradually increased at 6 months after course completion emerged. Therefore, there may be a particular need to offer post-programme support services for men who have completed the course, alongside re-examining the safety of their (ex) partners and children over time.

Those who are mandated to attend the Programme and who attend multiple cycles appear to have higher rates of offending both before and after course completion than those who self-refer and attend only one cycle at Te Manawa Services. While still demonstrating a comparable reduction in offending to their counterparts, this does suggest that mandated and multiple attending clients may engage in more abusive and violent behaviours overall and may therefore benefit from more focussed and intensive attention from Te Manawa Services during their time engaged on the course.

Caution must be exercised when interpreting the occurrence data reported in the statistical analysis. It is well documented that the majority of domestic violence goes unreported to the police. Therefore the number of occurrences reported can not reflect an accurate count of domestic violence incidents that are perpetrated, and reductions in reported occurrences do not necessarily correspond with improvements to women and children's safety.

Whilst Programme attendance did not appear to be related to severity of offending, examination of severity data suggests that mandated clients may exhibit more severe offending post-course completion than self-referred clients. Furthermore, examination of severity by offence type/range suggests that whilst physical forms of violence are decreasing, psychological forms of abuse are increasing after the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, and that child abuse may increase post-course completion.

1 Introduction

1.1 Domestic Violence in New Zealand

Prevalence

Despite New Zealand being credited with some of the most progressive policies and campaigns for addressing the issue of domestic violence in our communities, we are still struggling under the weight of some of the worst reported outcomes internationally (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008). With an estimated 1 in 3 New Zealand women experiencing domestic violence in their lifetime (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Families Commission, 2009; Fanslow & Robinson, 2004), and 1 in 4 of our children witnessing acts of abuse in the home (Lievore, Mayhew, & Mossman, 2007), this is an area that demands our urgent attention.

The financial cost of domestic violence in New Zealand is conservatively estimated at 8 billion dollars per year (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008), but beyond the economic costs are the effects on the women and children living with issues of domestic violence. The impact of living with continued violence can have detrimental effects on women's mental and physical health (Ellsberg, Jansen, Heise, Watts, & Garcia-Moreno, 2008; Lacey, McPherson, Samuel, Sears, & Head, 2012). Domestic violence has been linked to a range of physical health issues such as physical injuries, Central Nervous System issues and gynecological illness (Campbell et al., 2002), and mental health issues such as PTSD, depression, anxiety, substance abuse issues and an increase risk of suicidality (Lacey et al., 2012).

Furthermore, domestic violence has been linked with other forms of violence such as child abuse, with an estimated co-occurrence of domestic violence and child abuse between 30-70% (Shea Hart, 2004; Sullivan, Juras, Bybee, Nguyen, & Allen, 2000; Tomison, 2000). For our children, domestic violence has been linked to a range of psychological, emotional, behavioural and social concerns (Wolfe, Crooks, Lee, McIntyre-Smith, & Jaffe, 2003; Zinzow et al., 2009), with links to youth suicide (Fantuzzo & Mohr, 1999; Lievore et al., 2007) and risks of repeating the cycle of violence themselves (Ministry of Social Development, 2002).

Looking beyond the issues of health, domestic violence can reduce educational, economic and employment opportunities and denies women and children the right to live without fear (UN Women, 2012). Therefore, domestic violence is increasingly becoming understood as a human rights issue, and one in which the state has an obligation to intervene (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh, & Lewis, 1999; UN Women, 2012).

Reported incidents of domestic violence in New Zealand have been steadily increasing, with a 54% increase in family violence offences reported by police between 2000 and 2006 (Families Commission, 2009). In 2010, there was a total of 85,617 Family Violence Incident Reports (FVIR) recorded (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse [NZFVC], 2012b). Of those, 39,993 were coded as a 'domestic incident' (1D) and 53,316 recorded family violence offences. 46,681 FVIRs reported children present, with a recorded 94,099 children present at the time of the family violence incident. From 2000 to 2006, over half of all family offences involved violent offences, one fifth were drug and antisocial offences (family offences, such as Contravening a Protection Order, are included in this category), and 1% of all family offences reported were sexual offences (Families Commission, 2009). In 2009, 53% of women hospitalised were admitted as a result of

domestic violence (NZFVC, 2012b) and in 2010, the percentage of deaths/homicides as a result of family violence ranged from 36% (Family Violence Death Review Committee data) to 54% (NZ Police Statistics) (NZFVC, 2012a).

Issues with Prevalence Statistics

Whilst statistics can provide us with an empirical picture of domestic violence, it is an incomplete picture at best considering the majority of family abuse is believed to go unreported. Fanslow and Robinson (2010) found as few as 12.8% of participants interviewed sought police intervention, and NZ police estimate only 15% of domestic violence occurrences are reported (Stringer, 2010). Sexual offences have been identified as the most likely offence to be underreported (NZFVC, 2012b), with suggestions that only 9% of sexual offences are reported to police (Ministry of Justice, 2009). Studies examining women's help-seeking behaviours have found that they will often only seek help as a last resort when they can no longer endure the abuse (Stubbs, 2002), or when the fear for their own, or their children's, safety escalates (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010). Alternatively, women may minimise their accounts of violence, believing their experiences as not 'serious enough' to warrant intervention or help. Further reasons identified are shame and embarrassment, or the fear of repercussions from reporting (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010).

Furthermore, police recidivism statistics are limited in how comprehensively they can capture the patterns and prevalence of psychological and emotional violence, therefore perpetuating confusion and misunderstanding as to what 'domestic violence' is, or can involve (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012). However, there are those that argue all criminal violent offences contain an element of psychological abuse, producing fear, control and manipulation, and therefore each act of physical violence can, on some level, be considered an act of psychological abuse as well (Coombes, Morgan, & McGray, 2007). It does appear that, in more recent times, psychological and emotional abuse is becoming more recognised as a form of domestic violence. Child Youth and Family Services (CYFS) have noted an increase in notifications regarding emotional abuse between 2004 and 2010 (NZFVC, 2012c), and the NZ Women's Refuge report that emotional abuse is the most common form of abuse experienced by women using their services (Families Commission, 2009).

Expanding Definitions of Abuse

This increased recognition may be due to the revision of our Domestic Violence Act (1995), which expanded definitions of domestic violence from acts of physical violence to incorporate psychological and emotional abuse (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008), enabling the ability to respond to acts of intimidation, threats and controlling behaviour without the presence of physical violence. This potentially allows the criminal justice system to respond to patterns of violent behaviour, rather than being restricted to react to discrete individual acts of violence that on their own may be considered 'minor', but placed within an ongoing pattern of abuse compromise the safety and wellbeing of women and children. Defining psychological and emotional abuse as 'domestic violence' draws our attention to the long-term mental health effects of domestic violence, looking beyond the privileging of physical violence and the immediate focus and response to discrete acts of physical aggression.

Unfortunately, legislation does not automatically result in a change of practice, and Contesse and Fenrich (2008) note that judges do not often grant protection orders for experiences of psychological abuse divorced from the presence of physical violence. Furthermore, Boshier (2006) notes that since the revision of the Domestic Violence Act (1995), the number of protection orders granted have decreased, despite no evidence

suggesting that there has been an actual decrease in domestic violence. This suggests we are still unsure of how to respond to these broadened definitions of 'domestic violence' that may not echo traditional conceptualisations of intimate partner abuse.

Boshier (2006) argues that there needs to be a shift in focus from understanding domestic violence as an individual problem to being an issue of social concern. The Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families sought to shift New Zealand community understandings through the highly publicised television campaign 'It's not OK' (Taskforce for Action on Violence Within Families, n.d.). This campaign spoke to community members about how we may understand and respond to abuse in the home. It was developed in response to the concern that there was a lack of awareness and understanding in the community regarding domestic violence, as well as a lack of research and evaluation (knowledge base) in this area. Instead of targeting those identified as 'victims' or 'abusers', the 'It's not OK' campaign seeks to shift cultural understandings and behaviours, supporting and developing positive community responses to domestic violence. It looks to increase concepts such as ownership and responsibility for all community members and encourages behaviours that every community member can take in order to address issues of violence and abuse in New Zealand homes. Furthermore, this campaign works beside the Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy (Ministry of Social Development, 2002) by establishing funds to encourage and develop localised community responses to domestic violence. The funding of community responses to domestic violence often supports local Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) to provide living without violence programmes: programmes that teach domestic violence offenders how to develop ways of thinking and living that do not include violence, abuse and harm.

1.2 Living Without Violence Programmes

Programme Models

Approaches concerning how best to respond to issues of domestic violence have variously developed overtime. Early forms of response (emerging in the 1970s) tended to be individualistic in nature, focussing on educating the male offender, predominantly in the form of cognitive behavioural interventions such as courses in anger management (Shepard & Pence, 1999). The cognitive behavioural approach examines the functionality of violence - what the violence achieves for the men - and emphasises that to reduce or eliminate the use of violence, men must learn new ways of thinking about, and dealing with, their anger and emotions (Gondolf, 2002). However, this approach, used in isolation, has been criticised for producing false expectations and assumptions of providing a 'cure' for domestic violence. There are also concerns it serves to shift responsibility for violence from the individual to the relationship, especially through claims to provocation. It fails to acknowledge that in many cases, the violence does not span across different contexts (e.g. workplace), but instead is often limited to intimate relationships. Therefore, a focus on functionality and management of behaviour may ignore the more insidious elements of domestic violence, such as control, emotional and psychological abuse, manipulation and disempowerment (Shepard & Pence, 1999).

In response to these criticisms, the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Program framework emerged in the 1980s. This approach promoted a group formatted, highly structured programme that incorporates family systems therapy and concepts of gendered power and control alongside the cognitive behavioural elements of programme provision, with the focus on addressing the social, contextual and cultural elements of abuse (Pence &

Paymar, 1993; Shepard & Pence, 1999). This represented a shift from focussing solely on the cessation of violence to attempts to elicit an awareness, education and unravelling of the underlying gendered culture of fear, intimidation and psychological abuse, locating domestic violence as a technology of coercion and control (Shepard & Pence, 1999). Therefore, domestic violence programmes became politicised, looking at issues of power relationships and belief systems surrounding what is and is not acceptable masculinity, power and privilege (Shepard & Pence, 1999). Indeed, it has been argued that “no form of interpersonal violence is devoid of structural violence – as in all places, such abuse is undermined by beliefs about the perpetrator’s right to harm another, based on societal notions of gender and rights” (Manjoo, 2011, p. 8). However, Gondolf (2002) argues that the Duluth approach may be too confrontational, with a tendency towards ‘blaming’ men, thereby limiting engagement and effectiveness. There are also concerns that if programmes are too tightly structured and inflexible, the programme may not be able to respond to the individual men’s specific needs and presenting problems (Hamilton, Koehler, & Lösel, 2012; Walters, 2010).

Robertson (1999) argues the most effective form of living without violence programmes incorporates *both* cognitive behavioural work and pro-feminist education. The cognitive-behavioural element raises awareness of why men use violence and how to manage their anger, emphasising personal responsibility for abusive behaviour. The pro-feminist component challenges men’s entitlement to wield power and control over women, thereby enhancing issues of accountability. Robertson (1999) further suggests eight factors for best practice in living without violence programme provision: including a specifically feminist analysis of violence as a technology for maintaining power and control over their partner; privileging women’s safety and autonomy over client’s confidentiality; employing an educational approach that addresses the cultural and social context of domestic violence; the inclusion of cognitive behavioural techniques to change violent behaviour; an emphasis on accountability and responsibility; monitoring client’s use of violence; developing networks and relationships with women’s protection organisations; and coordinating efforts with criminal justice system practices to emphasise the consequences of the use of violence. In terms of programme structure, group programmes are considered the ideal (Robertson, 1999). Providing services in a group format is economical and also facilitates the development of a supportive and nurturing environment for men in their journey of learning and change. In relation to length of programme, the Domestic Violence Act (1995) suggests living without violence programmes should run for 40-50 hours. Research into the effects of varying programme lengths has shown 16 weeks as the ideal length, with programmes that run longer demonstrating no additional gains from increased time spent on course (McMaster, Maxwell, & Anderson, 2000). Therefore, McMaster et al. (2000) suggest that instead of providing programmes longer than 16 weeks, resources would better spent offering follow-up and graduated services.

Living Without Violence Programmes in New Zealand

By the 1980s, McMaster and Swain (1998) note that in NZ, there appeared to be an increased inclusion of gendered issues of power and control in regards to domestic violence in programmes, but it was not until the late 80s/early 90s, with the rising popularity of the Duluth model internationally, that NZ began to more dominantly embrace the socio-political gendered approach to living without violence programmes. One such programme, influenced by the Duluth project and informed by Robertson’s (1999) best practice principles, was the Hamilton Abuse Intervention Pilot Project (HAIPP). HAIPP was

established in 1991 and adopted an integrated approach to service delivery, including organisations such as: women's refuge; the court system; police; probation services; and men's living without violence programmes. These organisations developed a coordinated network of service delivery so that responses were consistent and accountable (Busch & Robertson, 1993).

The Domestic Violence Act (1995) created a framework for providing access to living without violence programmes for those who commit a family violence offence, supporting men who are violent to receive help for their issues (Coombes et al., 2007). In 2006¹, the New Zealand Government, under the Domestic Violence Act (1995), offered funded placements in living without violence programmes for approximately 2,930 men, with the Family Court referring 2,715. The number of men who completed Living Without Violence programmes, however, was much lower, with only approximately 990 men (or 37% of those admitted) completing a programme in the same year (Families Commission, 2009). Often referral to a living without violence programme will enable men to receive discharged convictions or lighter sentencing in the justice system (Coombes et al., 2007). Therefore, there are concerns that mandated programme clients attend courses as a result of coercion from the state, not because the men recognise the seriousness of their actions and desire to change (Coombes et al., 2007; Zalmanowitz, Babins-Wagner, Rodger, Corbett, & Leschied, 2013). This may explain the high attrition rate and raises concerns as to whether court-mandated treatment is effective at reducing or eliminating domestic violence.

Therefore, the question needs to be asked: Do living without violence programmes work? Given that many men are referred to these programmes by the Family Court, and that women often decide to remain with their partner if they believe there is a high likelihood their partner will change their behaviour (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010), evaluation research into the effectiveness of these programmes is necessary to the aim of ensuring women and children's safety.

1.3 Previous Evaluation Research

Effectiveness Studies

There is a lack of research concerning the effectiveness of living without violence programmes, and what has been conducted has produced mixed results (Akoensi, Koehler, Lösel, & Humphreys, 2012). Early evaluation research showed promising effects, with one study reporting 4% of living without violence programme clients re-offended at 6 months post-course, compared to 16% for a non-treatment control group, and at the 2.5 year mark recidivism rates for programme attendees remained stable, whereas 40% of the control had re-offended (Dutton, 1986). However, subsequent studies have not been able to report such strong effect sizes (Walters, 2010). Evaluation research on the effectiveness of living without violence programmes often report small effect sizes (Akoensi et al., 2012; Babcock, Green, & Robie, 2004; Davis & Taylor, 1999), and a recent review of evaluation studies in Europe found that some reported improvements disappeared altogether when victim reports of safety and change were included in the analysis (Akoensi et al., 2012). Gondolf (2004) reported moderate programme effects, with half of programme attendees re-offending and the majority of re-offences taking place within 9 months of programme admission. Longer term follow-up showed more favourable results, with 80% of the sample recording no offences at the 2 year post-course admission mark, and 90% having not offended for a full

¹ The most recent year for which official figures are available at time of publication

year. However, Klein and Tobin (2008) found that recidivism rates increased long-term, with a small number of men re-offending within the first year and 60% having re-offended within the next 10 years. Therefore, there is some confusion whether the effects of living without violence programmes are sustainable over time.

In New Zealand, evaluations of HAIPP's service provision performed at 6, 9 and 24 months after establishment have all returned favourable results, with the conclusion that HAIPP's efforts have been successful (Busch & Robertson, 1993). However, there are studies that have produced mixed results concerning the HAIPP programme. Interviews with partners of men involved with HAIPP have reported that while the worst physical abuse has stopped, often the psychological abuse has continued (Furness, 1994). In some instances, experiences of abuse worsened as men learnt new tactics and strategies for abuse from the other men in the group, using the language of the course content as a technology for further manipulation. Similarly, Towsey (1996) interviewed partners of men attending a living without violence programme in New Zealand and found a pattern of reductions in physical violence, but increases in psychological abuse. Therefore, there are concerns that living without violence programmes can actually make conditions for victims of domestic violence worse than before programme engagement. Robertson (1999), reviewing both international and national literature, concluded that living without violence programmes do little to increase and protect the safety of women and children, echoing the concerns that such programmes may actually *increase* incidents of domestic violence.

Studies of the ManAlive living without violence programme, in conjunction with the Family Court in the Waitakere region, found that between 45% and 56% of programme attendees did not re-offend after programme admission (Coombes et al., 2007; Walters, 2010). Walters (2010) reported that, of the 55% of ManAlive clients that did re-offend post-course, 38% had at least one further arrest. Whilst the majority of the sample in the Coombes et al. (2007) study consisted of either programme completers (58.5%) or those continuing to engage in services (23%), those who withdrew from the programme (18.5%) showed much higher recidivism rates, with 65% re-offending post-course (compared to 38% for programme completers and 45% of those who were still attending programmes at the time of the study). Walters (2010) also found that programme completion reduced recidivism, with 48% of programme completers re-offending compared to 63% of non-completers. This suggests that programme attrition is associated with a higher rate of re-offending than programme completion. Limited motivation for change has been linked to higher recidivism rates, which may account for some of the more disparaging results regarding programme effectiveness, as well as the often reported high attrition rates (Zalmanowitz et al., 2013). Withdrawal from programmes is a well-documented concern for living without violence programmes, with attrition rates of 40-50% reported (Connors, Mills, & Gray, 2011).

Furthermore, motivational issues may account for the higher recidivism rates for mandated clients. Walters (2010) found differences in re-offense rates associated with referral method, with 68% of those mandated to attend a programme re-offending, compared to 48% of self-referrals. Mandated clients may be understood as being externally motivated – attendance on the course is motivated by court requirements. Self-referred clients, however, may be considered to be more internally motivated – volunteering on a living without violence programme because of a self-identified need, or desire, for change (Zalmanowitz et al., 2013). Research has shown that clients who hold greater internal motivation, or readiness for change, have shown more promising programme effects (Connors et al., 2011;

Zalmanowitz et al., 2013). In contrast, Miller, Gregory and Iovanni (2005) found that those who were externally motivated and were attending the programme to avoid going to prison, demonstrated little motivation for change and limited understanding of responsibility and accountability. Indeed, the addition of a motivational interviewing component in living without violence programmes (designed to heighten internal motivation) has shown promise for improving programme completion, reducing recidivism, and also demonstrating important processes of change such as challenging understandings of provocation and improving participation during programme attendance (Connors et al., 2011; Zalmanowitz et al., 2013).

Complexities in Evaluation Research

The mixed and confusing results regarding the effectiveness of living without violence programmes may, in part, be a product of the inherently complex nature of domestic violence. Research has noted that psychological and verbal forms of abuse are more frequent than physical acts of domestic violence (Lievore et al., 2007), and yet much of the recidivism data relies heavily on reported incidences of physical violence, in particular acts serious enough to attract the attention of police and other professional organisations (Shepard & Pence, 1999). As Gulliver and Fanslow (2012) note “there is a concern, however, that only counting severe cases would result in an impression that only ‘serious’ injuries are sufficiently important, when in fact the difference between a serious and non-serious case may only be the speed at which the victim could run from the perpetrator” (p. 20). Given the majority of domestic violence escapes the attention of the police (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010), reliance on police recidivism data may obscure the level of abuse still occurring, whilst privileging physical forms of violence, therefore silencing the patterned and insidious elements of domestic violence and the relational context in which it occurs (Lievore et al., 2007).

The concerns with reliance on recidivism data suggest that other methods may be required to increase our understandings and knowledge regarding the effectiveness of living without violence programmes. Morgan and O’Neill (2001) evaluated a New Zealand men’s living without violence programme using qualitative discursive methods, as opposed to the more popular method of statistical analysis of recidivism data. They found that accounts of violence shifted as a result of participation in, and exposure to, the programme’s curriculum, with men’s accounts demonstrating a movement towards ownership of behaviour, accountability and responsibility for their actions. However, studies which utilise men’s self-report measures as an indication of recidivism may also produce underestimations of the amount and nature of further violence (Gondolf, 1997; Lievore et al., 2007). Tutty et al. (2001) reported that men’s self-report measures indicated significant positive effects from the attendance of living without violence programmes, but other measures suggested abuse continued to occur. As mentioned earlier, sometimes when victims accounts are included for evaluation analysis, supposed ‘improvements’ reduce or disappear (Akoensi et al., 2012). This suggests that evaluations could strengthen their findings on effectiveness by combining qualitative and quantitative methods, enabling a more complete and comprehensive, albeit at times conflicted, picture of success or limitations.

Evaluation research may also show conflicted results due to sampling issues. Domestic violence research is notoriously plagued by low response rates (Gondolf, 1997). This may be a reflection of the complex social arrangements of those affected by domestic violence, with many of those previously involved with services having moved away and no longer

locatable (Ellsberg, Heise, Peña, Agurto, & Winkvist, 2001). Furthermore, often due to the sensitive and personal nature of domestic violence, it is not uncommon for those who are able to be contacted to decline to participate (Ellsberg et al., 2001). This may introduce sampling bias, with those who are able to be contacted, who pass safety and risk assessments, and who agree to participate representing certain 'types' or groups of offenders and victims. For example, Towsey's (1996) and Coombes, Morgan, Blake and McGray's (2009) studies on victims accounts of safety only included those women who had separated from their partners. This may either over-exaggerate programme effectiveness or under-report recurrence of abuse over time.

Follow-up periods are a frequent concern for evaluation research. Unfortunately, due to research constraints, it is common for follow-up periods to be relatively short (Dobash et al., 1999; Gondolf, 1997). It has been argued that shorter follow-up periods may over-estimate programme effectiveness (Feder & Wilson, 2005; Hamberger & Hastings, 1993; Klein & Tobins, 2008), with concerns that successes of programmes based on evaluations immediately after course completion may be a product of the 'honeymoon period' (Rosenbaum, 1988, p. 101), a period of time where offending is low due to established patterns in the cycle of violence. Other studies warn that reduced violence levels observed soon after programme completion may reflect temporary changes, and longer-term follow-up periods are better equipped to measure the programme's effectiveness in producing more long-lasting and sustainable changes (Klein & Tobin, 2008).

Furthermore, there appears to be little-to-no consensus, or documented evidence, of what mode of service delivery is most effective for living without violence programmes in evaluation research (Akoensi et al., 2012). Whilst programmes with a group structure appear to be more effective than individualised style courses (Robertson, 1999; Walters, 2010), the varying modes of service delivery, such as pro-feminist and cognitive behavioural treatment, show no strong advantages over one another (Akoensi et al., 2012). However, as Akoensi et al. (2012) note, most programmes incorporate components of all approaches as opposed to providing a pure form of any service modality, making it difficult to identify what processes and approaches are most effective.

Finally, there appears to be little consensus as to what 'effectiveness' means in relation to living without violence programmes (Akoensi et al., 2012). There are solid arguments for various measures of 'effectiveness': a reduction in criminal offending shows us empirical measures of violence and lethality; men's accounts of change give us insight into the processes of change and subjective understandings of the course content; and women's accounts of their (ex) partners engagement with programmes provides us with the lived experiences of safety and change for those most affected by domestic violence. With the complexities and problematics of evaluation research in mind, the current study sought to evaluate the 'effectiveness' of the Te Manawa Services Men Living Free from Violence Programme utilising all 3 measures cited above in the hopes that a comprehensive and complex picture of effectiveness may be developed in order to deepen our understandings of if, and how, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme works to reduce and eliminate domestic violence in the local community.

1.4 Te Manawa Services

Background

The present study is an evaluation of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme developed and provided by Te Manawa Services, a domestic violence service provider in

the Manawatu, New Zealand. Te Manawa Services was first established in 2000 as a response to community agencies working with domestic violence in the area identifying a need for a localised response to family violence in their community. With the support and encouragement of the National Network for Stopping Violence Services, Feilding Police, local Women's Refuges and Safer Manawatu, Te Manawa Services was formed.

Initially the focus was on providing a men's living without violence programme and an associated Family Support Service to the partners of men on the programme. With partner safety as a priority, Family Support Services were offered to women, providing information about the programme, advocacy services, and safety assessment and monitoring. In instances where there were no legal constraints (such as a protection order) or significant safety issues present, women's involvement with their (ex) partners' programme engagement was encouraged, with women often involved in intake procedures and review sessions, contributing to the establishment and monitoring of programme goals. To ensure the inclusion of partner and family services did not present additional risk to the families of men on the programme, practices such as talking to the men about these processes, asking them to sign an agreement ensuring that this would be a safe and respectful process for their partner and that they would respect her input and feedback were established.

The incorporation of Family Support Services and partner involvement was a significant point of difference for Te Manawa Services. The founders of the agency, having a background of providing domestic violence programmes in the community and at the Manawatu prison, believed that the dominant practice of excluding the input of partners enabled the men to become further empowered and excused from accountability to their partners and families. It also kept women uninformed and excluded from opportunities to access the learning, the goal setting and the evaluation of progress considered to be essential in supporting the development of a safe and healthy family life for them and their children.

Throughout the first year of operation, Te Manawa Services met with local community services, groups and referral agencies in order to discuss the services and support Te Manawa Services could offer their clients, and to establish interagency connections and relationships. Regular meetings were held with various community agents, national domestic violence organisations and government service providers.

In addition to the Men Living Free from Violence Programme and Family Support Services, Te Manawa Services introduced a Women Living Free from Violence Programme in 2001. The women's Programme was provided as an individual course until 2008, when it was developed further and delivered as a group programme. This programme is continuing at the time of this evaluation as a 16 week programme that is open to any women to join after an initial intake assessment with the programme facilitators.

In 2002, after extensive consultation with the local community, Te Manawa Services expanded the services they offered to also include an anger management programme for young people aged eight to eighteen. This programme was piloted in various forms, with those in the community working with young people making referrals and evaluating the youth programme. As a result, the Te Manawa Services Youth and Parenting Programme was developed and established. The Programme works with young people alongside a parent/caregiver to address anger problems for youth. As was seen with the inclusion of Family Support Services with the men's Programme, it became apparent that working with the wider family and not just the young person in isolation was the key to better

engagement and long-term positive outcomes. This programme is still running and receives referrals from all over the Manawatu.

Te Manawa Services also contributed to, and was the lead agency in, the formation of the Manawatu Abuse Intervention Network (MAIN), a network developed to enhance the collaboration, coordination and organisation between local agencies dealing with families affected by domestic violence in the community. To date, at least 40 agencies are now involved with MAIN in the local area, and in the Te Manawa Services 2005 – 2006 manager's report it was noted that CYFS and the Ministry of Social Development (MSD) considered MAIN to be one of the more successful collaborative initiatives in the country.

Approach to Reducing and Eliminating Domestic Violence

At the heart of Te Manawa Services is the desire not only to reduce all forms of violence and abuse, but also to support new ways of developing positive relationships, self-respect, kindness and caring. Te Manawa Services is a strengths-based initiative, and their vision statement is "Adults and children thriving through safe and healthy relationships".

Their Mission is

- To develop people's knowledge, understanding and commitment to healthy and respectful relationships by delivering a range of high quality programmes and support services.
- To collaborate with community agencies and groups to ensure the best responses for their consumers and outcomes for the community.
- To develop dynamic programmes to meet the changing needs of their community.

Te Manawa Services adopt a systemic approach to the issue of domestic violence and service provision, and operate in a manner that is inclusive of whānau and supportive of community systems. They are guided by the principles of accountability, equality and respect. Te Manawa's focus is on eliminating violence within the community, prioritising the safety of women and children, and working in a way that empowers health and respectful relationships for all community members. They are committed to promoting public awareness and understanding of the effects of domestic violence, developing strong working relationships with supporting organisations, and contributing to disseminate knowledge in a manner that is accountable to the wider community. Their six key strategies to achieving their objectives are:

7. To continue to provide high quality programmes and support services in response to the identified needs of the community.
8. To ensure that quality programmes and services on offer are known and accessible to the community.
9. To initiate and engage in effective collaboration that enables the best responses and outcomes for clients.
10. To build organisational capability and capacity in targeted areas (strengthening families) and maintain organisational capacity in others.
11. To ensure the financial sustainability of Te Manawa Services.
12. To grow an increasingly effective and pro-active governance team.

Provision of Services

Te Manawa Services solidified themselves in late 2000 as an approved provider of domestic violence programmes to the Family Court. That same year Te Manawa Services also gained provider approval with Child, Youth & Family and secured further funding and contracts with the Ministry of Social Development. By 2001 Te Manawa Services also had contracts with the Department of Corrections and Te Puni Kokiri. Numbers of clients grew sharply

with referrals from the New Zealand Defence Force, Department of Corrections, Child, Youth & Family Youth Justice Centre, other social service agencies, and self-referrals from the community.

The initial Men Living Free from Violence Programme was developed by Te Manawa Services' founders, Julie Miller and Phil Stanfield, along with Lawrie McConachy, a counsellor and psychotherapist, and was informed and guided by the National Network for Stopping Violence Services and Te Manawa Services Governance Board. Te Manawa Services are committed to ensuring their practice is built on cultural awareness and a commitment to providing an environment that is comfortable and respectful to all clients and their cultures. Monthly cultural supervision and regular training days are attended by all clinical staff.

The Men Living Free from Violence Programme

The Men Living Free from Violence Programme, in its current form, is a 16-week course with 4 review sessions built into the curriculum. These reviews sessions are an integral feature of the Programme, core to the Programme itself rather than conceptualised as an additional process. Family members and whānau of men engaged with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme are welcome, and encouraged, to attend the reviews where appropriate. The review sessions allow a constant assessment of service provision, as well as a tool to identify the specific needs of the clients and their family/whānau. The philosophy behind this process is that when working only with men, domestic violence services are 'working with just one eye open', whereas looking at the wider systems within which the client is embedded allows a more comprehensive, holistic and meaningful approach to goals for the future and responsiveness to issues of violence. While feedback in organisational documents suggests this process has generally been good, enabling discussions of what has and may not be working, there has been concern that attendance at the review sessions is primarily from those who were more self-motivated and committed to being a part of this process, not those who found it difficult to engage. This could mean that valuable information and understandings of issues and benefits of the Programme are not being identified.

The Programme follows an open group format, with existing members of the group inducting and supporting new members alongside the programme facilitators. The course is highly structured, and the modules incorporate cognitive behavioural approaches (such as anger management), with the psycho- and political-educational approach of the Duluth model of intervention, addressing issues of power, equality and control. Each week, the men receive a workbook, which provides them with a resource on the content covered and enables men (and their families) to work through the curriculum immediately at home. The underpinning concepts of all modules are accountability and responsibility that privilege the safety and interests of children.

Women and Children Services

In keeping with Te Manawa Services' whānau model of service provision, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme does not operate in isolation. The Women Living Free from Violence Programme is a group-based programme offered to women who have experienced violence, or have used violence themselves, and is similar in content and structure to the men's Programme. The Youth and Parenting Programme is a 15 week, individual programme for youth and their parents or caregivers to help build safe and healthy families. Family Support Services are offered to those connected to Te Manawa Services

Programmes (for instance, the (ex) partners of those on the men's Programme) and involves regular at-home, on site or telephone meetings that offer support and guidance. As discussed previously, Family Support Services are a unique feature of the service provision at Te Manawa Services, addressing the disempowerment some women experience as a result of their partner being involved in anger management programmes. Therefore, Te Manawa Services is committed to informing and involving the family in order to meet the families' needs. In addition, Family Support Services provide the opportunity for Te Manawa Services to assess and monitor safety and wellbeing of women and children, and to allow family and whānau an opportunity to express concerns or issues they may not feel safe discussing in other situations. This is in keeping with the Duluth approach, where support for victims is integral to responses, allowing for the monitoring of safety and the provision of interventions that are not reliant on the offender being 'rehabilitated' (Shepard & Pence, 1999).

1.5 Rationale and Objectives of Current Evaluation Research

Context

Because men's attendance at a living without violence programme, or at least the belief that the men can change their behaviour, is a strong factor for women returning to, or remaining with their partner (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Dobash et al., 1999; Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Gondolf, 1997; Walters, 2010), it is necessary to explore whether domestic violence interventions actually increase safety and wellbeing for women and children. Unfortunately, such evaluation research is lacking (Ministry of Social Development, 2002; New Zealand's Parliamentarians' Group on Population and Development [NZPGPD], 2005), and without a solid knowledge-base regarding the efficacy of living without violence programmes, we will be unable to deliver informed best practice for the elimination of domestic violence in the community (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; NZPGPD, 2005).

As discussed in section 1.3, the research on effectiveness of living without violence programmes has produced mixed results, with some programmes reporting positive outcomes, while others finding minimal to no benefits through attendance. Despite the mixed results, Dobash et al. (1999) report that involvement in living without violence programmes increases the likelihood of success over the use of state sanctions alone, therefore more research is needed to attend to the underlying debates and issues of whether, how and why programmes may or may not enhance women and children's safety.

Community Research

Because the effects and benefits of living without violence programmes are unclear, many community programme providers struggle to procure and maintain adequate funding and support from governmental organisations. The danger here is that community responses to domestic violence may become marginalised, returning the provision of services to the 'authorised professional', and ultimately the voice of protest and the call for respect and accountability in the community may be lost (Shepard & Pence, 1999). In order to create a culture of change and non-acceptance of domestic violence in the community, we need to maintain and support community initiatives at the local level (UN Women, 2012). This requires evaluating existing programme provision and feeding back to the community what is effective, how it is effective, and what areas for further improvement/development exist (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008; Ministry of Social Development, 2002; NZPGPD, 2005). This call for research is explicitly stated in the Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Strategy (Ministry of Social Development, 2002), with principle 9 of their vision and principles

statement noting that “family violence prevention initiatives should be continually enhanced as information and better ways of working are identified” (p.13).

Furthermore, we have a Treaty obligation to support and strengthen local community resources (Ministry of Social Development, 2002). In order to meet the Te Rito Family Violence Strategy objective of avoiding the duplication of services, and the resulting strain and competition for limited resources, a solid knowledge base of existing initiatives and interventions is needed to refine and solidify best practice concerning responses to domestic violence in the community. Contesse and Fenrich (2008) and NZPGPD (2005) argue that in order to support sustainable funding for services, we need to look at evaluating and supporting existing local programmes rather than channelling the majority of our funding into the development and establishment of new initiatives. This process, they argue, will be beneficial in the long-term because the support of localised responses will provide services catered to the specific needs of communities, alongside a reduction in the burden on state-based services.

Shepard and Pence (1999) discuss that there tends to be a lack of culturally relevant treatment modalities. They argue that unless there is an examination and analysis of how well programmes meet the needs of different ethnic groups, delivery of culturally appropriate services is left to individual staff members to implement, potentially threatening cultural best practice. The Te Rito Family Violence Strategy (Ministry of Social Development, 2002) emphasises the need for a focus on domestic violence responses that support the interests and beliefs of Māori. It argues we must actively seek to evaluate how well services meet the needs of Māori clients. Furthermore, it is crucial we examine and support whānau centred services because such services may also be of great benefit to non-Māori, especially since isolation is strongly related to domestic violence (Contesse & Fenrich, 2008).

New Zealand society urgently requires work to be undertaken in the area of domestic violence to examine why, despite some of the best policies, domestic violence is still affecting the lives of so many of our women and children. The only way we can build upon services that work, and change practices that are harmful, is to start building a solid knowledge base of community initiatives and how effectively they increase the safety and well-being of women and children. Evaluation research in this area is problematic, and so procedures need to be developed and implemented that are reflective of the limitations of evaluation research on domestic violence, and actively seek to address these issues as much as possible through research design and implementation. We need to know what works, what does not work, and what is missing in order to more confidently recommend these programmes and avoid the risk of overselling such initiatives to women, thereby ultimately increasing their risk of further victimisation.

Current Study

In order to evaluate how effectively Te Manawa Services are achieving their objectives, the focus was on how the Men Living Free from Violence Programme does, or does not, improve women and children’s safety during and after programme completion. The present research adopted a mixed method approach to evaluation, utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and interpretation. Qualitative methods were used to enable an in-depth analysis of the processes of, and services associated with, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Men’s accounts were examined for processes and understandings of change, non-violence and safety, with an eye for the demonstration of

responsibility and accountability. In keeping with the principle of prioritising victim safety, women's accounts of safety for themselves and their children following their (ex) partners' involvement in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme were explored.

Walters (2010) notes that programme compliance does not necessarily equate with engagement, and so hearing women's voices may provide a valuable understanding of the processes of change and effectiveness of intervention not accessible through recidivism and men's self-report measures alone. Furthermore, it has been suggested that, although not previously common, evaluations need to include women's accounts of violence and safety (Coombes, Morgan, McGray, & Te Hiwi, 2008; Dobash et al., 1999; Feder & Wilson, 2005). If we are to embrace the Duluth approach with an emphasis on supporting and managing the safety of victims within programmes (Shepard & Pence, 1999), it is imperative they are given the chance to share their experiences with us. As Towsey (1996) notes, it can be argued that women are the real clients of living without violence programmes due to programme objectives of protecting and increasing their safety. Indeed, if we are to return to the inception of the Duluth approach for intervention, programme delivery itself was developed and guided by the experiences of women affected by domestic violence (Shepard & Pence, 1999). Therefore, it is their voices that should strongly guide our understandings as to whether such programmes achieve their goals and aims of reducing and eliminating domestic violence in the community. In addition, through including and listening to the men's voices of experience, we can gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of the processes that facilitated change and safety, and where there may have been issues in achieving optimum effectiveness, the men's voices may tell us why (Towsey, 1996).

As previously discussed in section 1.3, much of the evidence gathered in evaluation research privileges physical violence, excluding and ignoring psychological abuse and the contextual elements of domestic violence. Utilising qualitative methods to include women and men's accounts of change and safety can take into account context (Lievore et al., 2007; Shepard & Pence, 1999) and the underlying processes of change (Gondolf, 1997), and including (ex) partners voices can prioritise women's understandings and definitions of violence and safety (Coombes et al., 2008). Furthermore, qualitative methods, such as semi-structured interviewing, can also address the previously mentioned issue of underreporting of abuse through producing multiple points of disclosure of violence, investing time in the interview process to allow participants to reflect on and remember incidents (Ellsberg & Heise, 2002; Lievore et al., 2007) which is not available in tightly structured or survey-style methods of data generation. In addition, the process of relationship building between researcher and participant allowed through this methodology can contribute to more open and detailed accounts of experiences of violence (Lievore et al., 2007). The addition of a qualitative component to the evaluation research can also help place violence within a context of lived experience, looking at the dynamic nature of understandings of safety, change and support. This can provide a description of how other Programmes offered at Te Manawa Services impact on experiences of safety and wellbeing, such as the Women Living Free from Violence Programme and Family Support Services.

In order to produce an empirical discussion regarding how the Men Living Free from Violence Programme increases the safety and wellbeing of women and children, the quantitative examination of police records detailing domestic violence recidivism will allow a discussion of re-offending patterns before, during and after course completion. The addition of a statistical analysis allows the current project to be situated within the context

of previous evaluation research that uses re-offence data, enabling a comparison between recidivism rates of Te Manawa Services clients and previous research findings in order to assess 'effectiveness' in relation to recidivism. An examination of complete offending history before engagement with the programme to the time of data collection will allow a more extensive follow-up period to be explored, identifying patterns of offending behaviour across varying lengths of time. A statistical description of offending will also allow an examination of patterns of abuse by exploring the well-defined police offence range-codes for frequencies and patterns of the type and 'severity' of abuse both pre- and post-course completion.

2 Qualitative Analyses Methodology

2.1 Objectives

The objective of the qualitative analysis was to understand the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services from the perspective of both the men who took part in the Programme, and their (ex) partners who were victims of their violent and abusive behaviour. Qualitative analysis allows us to identify men's and (ex) partners' experiences through the collection and interpretation of accounts of processes relating to change and safety. The men's accounts enable an exploration of how they engaged with the Programme, the aspects of the course that were meaningful to them, and how they experienced their processes of change as a result of having completed the Programme. The women's accounts allow us to hear the effects of the Programme from the victim's point of view, strengthening our understandings of how the men's engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme interacts with women's experiences of safety and well-being, and the aspects of the men's journey of change and personal development the women found most significant. Furthermore, Te Manawa Services were interested to know if they were adequately meeting the needs of their Māori clients and the qualitative component of this study allowed for Māori clients and their (ex) partners to provide accounts of their specific experiences.

Qualitative research techniques provide us with understandings of the community intervention processes and procedures from various points of view. Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) was used because it allows a focus on the meaning that participants ascribe to the events they experience; to broadly explore areas of concern and be guided by participants' interests; and to represent interactions, experiences, points and patterns of meanings that thematically emerge from our analysis of participants' accounts. IPA is also sensitive to diversity in participants' accounts, allowing us to consider cultural and social differences as well as the complexity of specific experiences (Eatough & Smith, 2008; Smith & Eatough, 2007).

Specifically, this study asks the men:

- How do they feel they have changed as a result of programme attendance?
- How have the various programme components and processes helped them reduce their use of abuse and violence?
- How could Te Manawa Services improve their Men Living Free from Violence Programme?
- How were the needs of Māori clients met?

And this study asks the women:

- How do they feel their (ex) partner has changed as a result of his engagement in the Programme?
- How have their experiences of safety changed?
- What are the processes and components of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme that were most significant to them?
- How could Te Manawa Services improve service provision for both them and their (ex) partners?

2.2 Method

2.2.1 Sampling and Recruitment

17 men who had completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme and 20 women whose (ex) partners had completed the course took part in the current study. 15-20 interviews for each gender allows for a diverse range of understandings and experiences to be included for analysis. Unlike statistical research methods, a small sample size is adequate in qualitative research because one participant's account can generate a large amount of rich data, and the aim is not to generalise to a broader population, but to understand in-depth the experiences of those who are most closely affected by the phenomenon of interest – in this case, the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Qualitative research usually aims to include enough participants for data saturation to occur. Data saturation refers to the point at which no new themes are emerging from the accounts provided by new participants. 30-40 participants (at least 15 for each gender) ensures that data saturation will be met. By limiting the sample to only men and (ex) partners of men who have completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, we are unable to include understandings of those who do not complete programmes within this study. However, by restricting the sample to only programme completers, we are able to gain an enriched sense of how the full 16 week course works to reduce or eliminate domestic violence.

Following the recommendations of the Duluth approach (Shepard & Pence, 1999), women and children's safety were prioritised in every facet of the research design and process. In order to ensure no women or children were placed at risk as a result of participation, risk assessments were conducted to identify the men and women who were 'safe' to participate. This process involved Te Manawa Services staff and their extensive knowledge of safety and risk assessment to assist with recruitment. Informed by research conducted by Coombes et al. (2009) an advocate system was established whereby an acting staff member adopted an advocate role in the recruitment process. This involved an initial safety check utilising Te Manawa Services client file information to identify any previous or current safety concerns so that appropriate participants could be identified.

For the women participants, recruitment did not proceed if client files revealed that women were still involved with men who posed a significant level of risk. If the files revealed no safety concerns, the advocate then made contact with women by phone to invite them to take part in the study. During this phone call, any potential current safety issues were explored and the invitation was not extended to any woman who expressed concerns about her safety at the time.

For recruiting the men participants, client files were reviewed to assess whether participation may result in risk for their (ex) partners. Reasons for not proceeding with recruitment at this point were if the men exhibited a high level of violence towards their partners while on the programme and/or assaulted staff members. If no safety risks were identified, the advocate made contact via a phone call and if no safety issues were raised during the call, the invitation to participate was offered.

In extending invitations to take part in the study, the advocate explained the purposes of the research to the potential participant and asked if the researcher could make contact them to discuss participation in the study more fully. If the potential participants declined, no further action was taken. If the men and women agreed to allow the researcher to contact them, their name and phone number was given to the researcher to make direct contact. The

researcher then rang the potential participants and if they were still willing to participate an interview time and setting was arranged.

Issues of confidentiality are vital to ensure safety processes in domestic violence research (Shepard & Pence, 1999). Women may be placed at risk of further harm if their (ex) partners discover they have been discussing issues of intimate partner abuse and violence (Ellsberg & Heise, 2002). Therefore, the current research sought to build mechanisms to ensure, as much as possible, confidentiality in the research design and process of recruitment. After initial contact by the staff advocate, the researcher became solely responsible for the recruitment process. Therefore, although the Te Manawa Services staff advocate was aware of the initial potential pool of participants, they were provided no information which could identify those men and women who accepted or declined to participate.

A number of women did decline to participate. Although the researcher did not ask for an explanation, the women provided reasons such as busy work schedules and not wanting to discuss their experiences of their (ex) partners violence or programme attendance. A number of men also declined to participate and offered reasons such as protecting their professional reputation and not wanting to discuss details surrounding their involvement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

2.2.2 Data Collection and Analysis

This project was reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 11/25. Information sheets that explained the research project and process were provided to potential participants at the time of the interview and all participants were required to sign consent forms based on the information provided before any interviews could take place. Consent included agreement for the interview to be digitally recorded. Only one participant declined to consent to the interview being recorded. In this instance, the interview proceeded, but no transcript could be generated. This interview provided the interviewer with further information that informed, but was not included in, the analysis. All participants were given the option to review their transcripts before they were used for analysis. Consent for release of transcripts so that extracts could be used in the report to illustrate the analysis was given either verbally directly after the interview or in written form if participants wished to read and edit their transcript before it was included in the analysis.

Interviews were initially conceptualised as 'semi-structured', with a set of interview prompts developed to ensure that the topics identified by the researcher as significant to the research question were covered. However in practice the interviews tended to flow more easily and comfortably in a conversational style led by the participant due to the sensitive nature of the topics discussed. Interviews lasted, on average, between 45 minutes and 2 hours. They were held in various locations: women participants' own homes; Te Manawa Services building; Massey University Psychology building; and local cafés. Only women were interviewed in their own homes, and men were interviewed in public spaces or workplaces to ensure researcher safety. All interviews were digitally recorded and transcribed word for word as accurately as possible, whilst allowing for clarity of reading. Individual transcripts were read through several times and preliminary themes and units of meaning were organised in to larger, related clusters. Through continued close reading, these clusters of meaning were then reduced and refined, organised in to super-ordinate

themes and the sub-ordinate themes² that reveal the larger theme's nature and significance. Finally, the interpretative analysis of the subordinate themes was presented in a narrative context to document the detailed progression of the men and their (ex) partners' experiences of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme from pre-referral to post-completion³.

Tables 1 and 2 present the super-ordinate and sub-ordinate themes for the men and women's analyses.

Table 1
Super-ordinate and Sub-ordinate Themes for the Men's Analysis

Super-ordinate Theme	Sub-ordinate Themes
Areas of Change	Development of Social Networks Anger Management Understandings of Abuse Feeling Changed Developing a Community Conscience
Accountability and Responsibility	Provocation Consequences
Processes of Group Learning	Non-Judgemental Environment Vulnerability/Emotionality Situated Perspectives Time Away From Staff Mentoring/Role Modelling Dispelling Stereotypes Minimisation
Processes of Engagement	Relating to Self Awareness of Problem 'Click' Moment Motivation Gradual Engagement
Presentation of Curriculum	Booklets Multiple Engagement Methods Length

² It must be noted that similar themes had different meanings for the men and women. For instance, in the following analyses, 'development of social support' is a theme that emerged in both the men and women's accounts, however they represent different content. The development of social support in the men's accounts related to a change the men said they experienced as a result of the Programme, whereas the women talked about it as a process of their (ex) partner's group learning process that helped them engage with the course.

³ In order to protect participants' identities, not all quotes relating to themes were included in the current report. The best quotes were chosen and quotes that were too specific to ensure anonymity of participation were excluded.

	Open Door Policy
	Graduated Services
	Staff Relationships
	Co-Gendered Facilitation
	Meeting the Needs of Māori Clients
(Ex) Partner/Family Involvement	Reviews
	Wrap-Around Services

Table 2

Super-ordinate and Sub-ordinate Themes for the Women's Analysis

Super-ordinate Theme	Sub-ordinate Themes
Areas of Change	Communication Anger Management Parenting Reconnected Sense of Family No Change
Group Learning Environment	Development of Social Support Networks Vulnerability and Acceptance Minimisation
Patterns of Abuse	Physical Violence Psychological/Emotional Abuse Control
Accountability and Responsibility	Motivation Provocation Consequences
Presentation of Curriculum	Responsive to all Levels of Ability and Need Booklets Reviews Length Open Door Policy Need for Continued Services
Partner/Family Services	Family Support Services Women Living Free from Violence Programme

Youth and Parenting Programme
Partner Support as a Measure of
Effectiveness

Expanding Services

Living Free from Violence Programmes in
the Wider Community
Youth and Family Counselling

3 Men's Analysis

3.1 Areas of Change

3.1.1 Development of Social Networks

It was often reported by the men that prior to engagement with the Te Manawa Services Men Living Free from Violence Programme, they felt isolated from social support. They said they had few friends, or few opportunities to spend time with others and talk about their thoughts and feelings.

I can still sort of be quite a loner at times - Richard

I didn't really have too many friends or bases that I could go and talk to, so when I came here it was brilliant - Peter

This social isolation was often related to constructions of masculinity, where there was an understanding that being a 'man' in New Zealand meant that you do not talk with others about your concerns or emotions.

I didn't really have anyone to talk to, you know, being a classic male - Peter

Girls seem to be able to talk about stuff. They have a mother or a sister that they can go and have a cup of coffee and talk about stuff and moan about men and get it off their chest and stuff, where guys just aren't very good at it at all - Derek

Typical kiwi blokes, we don't talk about feelings and that sort of stuff, aye - Simon

The men were not comfortable with the stereotype that 'men' do not talk with others. They were aware that limited social support was not helpful, and may have contributed to the reasons why they were admitted to the Programme. They talked about a lack of environments where men could go and share their experiences, concerns and thoughts with each other in a socially supportive forum.

Men sort of get sort of isolated or they sort of just work on things themselves, but I think we need to get out and be with other men too - Richard

I think maybe, it sounds like a real chauvinistic view, but I think that the whole concept of pubs was a good idea in the old days, especially back to 6 o'clock closing, that they can go to other guys and vent some stuff before they go home to their families - Derek

It would be good if you could get the concept of a place to go for guys to talk and I always wondered whether that was practical and how you did that and how it could still stay positive - Derek

Therefore, the group environment helped decrease the men's isolation by providing them the opportunity to talk with others about their thoughts and feelings. The men began to open up, sharing experiences with the group that they may not have felt comfortable doing so previously, and began to build social support networks that were often missing in their lives prior to the Programme.

There are certain things which bug me and I may not talk to her or I may not talk to anybody else, and I just came down to Te Manawa and they sort of bring out things there - Richard

We'd talk about how we think we're doing on the course, we'd talk about how we're doing with things at home and how we're doing things at work and how we now treat our bosses and stuff like that - Jason

The men formed relationships and bonds with the others in the group. They began to consider other group members as friends, despite them often being very different to one

another. The development of strong friendships within the group helped the men feel cared for and supported, whilst also giving them the opportunity to care for and support others.

One of the things about the course that I did like was the male talking, bonding thing that was going on with the group - Derek

You spend so much time with each other, it's like a family - Richard

In some instances, the friendships and social networks developed on the course were maintained by the men outside the group. The men were able to organise social nights between themselves where they could come together and relax, serving to maintain the positive momentum they had developed during the Programme sessions.

We all stayed in the same course and we got to know everyone and it got to the stage that every Tuesday night we turned up there and, after the course had finished, a few of the guys would turn up to our house, and we'd have a coffee or a beer or a bourbon or whatever.

We're not supposed to drink, but we did. But a lot of the guys would just turn up to our house on a Tuesday night because we felt like we had to be somewhere so we just carried on - Jason

The development of social support was then able to be translated beyond the group environment into the men's situated lives, helping them (re)connect with family, friends and workmates outside the Programme. They began to develop positive social networks that enabled them to draw strength and support from others in order to share and cope with their day-to-day experiences, developing a positive, communicative outlet for their emotions and anger when needed.

I think maybe I realised that us men weren't that great at talking about our problems. One of the things that the group thing made me do is look for other men to talk to when you've got things worrying you. Well, it doesn't need to always be men. I can now talk to one of the girls at work about stuff and usually it's a two-way conversation - Derek

It started from inside the course helping me realise if we can talk together as a group of strangers amongst men, then it's even easier talking amongst your family - Thomas

Not only did the development of social support networks help increase the men's feelings of connection and friendship, but it also helped the men maintain non-violence in their lives. The men said that after solid social support networks had been developed, situations that normally would have elicited a violent or abusive response were coped with in a supportive and positive fashion through talking with, and receiving help from, others. By being able to talk and discuss with others any problems or concerns they had, the men were no longer 'bottling up' their worries. In a sense, the development of social support networks created a safety net and ensured the teachings of the Programme were maintained in moments of crisis outside the course.

That kind of helped me realise I do have my family and don't always have to do everything myself. I can ask for help. Because I never used to ask for help. I used to always just try to do everything myself and when I failed, shit hit the fan, everything went sideways - Thomas

[I learnt] not to bottle things up and to talk - Derek

The social aspects of the course enabled the men to have 'fun' and enjoy attending the group sessions. This sense of 'fun' was important, as the men talked about how the ability to laugh and have fun facilitated the change process. They discussed how they had not laughed in a long time, and the feeling this 'fun' gave them helped them realise that they would like more enjoyment and happiness in their life, instead of being serious or angry for the majority of the time.

The more I laughed, the more I felt better and the more I realized that laughter was a good thing, and I think actually, in general today, one of the problems with society is that we don't have enough humour in our lives - Derek

A concern that arises from development of social support networks within the group is that this sense of social bonding may sometimes serve to reinforce understandings of provocation. Here, the men get together, talk and complain about all the things that annoy them, reinforcing the idea that their issues stem from reactions to other people's problems.

It was a couple of hours away with like minded guys thinking about stuff that was pissing them off - Simon

Furthermore, for some men the social aspects appeared to detract focus away from the underlying principles and purposes of the Programme. Some men talked a lot about how enjoyable the group was and how they had developed strong friendships, but spent little time discussing other benefits of the Programme such as changing abusive behaviour and beliefs. This suggests that, for some men, the focus on social support networks may override, or perhaps distract from, the examination of issues of abuse and violence.

The whole 2 hours was a smoko break, a comedy club - Jake

One frequently noted concern with the course was that the sense of companionship, bonding and connection the men developed in the group social support network was severed once they had completed the Programme. The men talked about how they missed their relationships and time spent with the facilitators and group members once the course was completed.

I was quite upset to leave because, you know, I'd built a lot of quite good bonds with all the facilitators and it was almost like this was my time for an outlet, you know, every Tuesday at 6 o'clock and I used to look forward to it. It was crazy. And let it out and catch up with the boys and it was just a really good time - Peter

I think it's that male interaction on a Tuesday night. Well, it could be on a Friday night for all I care. I think it's just that male interaction and that's why I love it when guys say 'I miss my Tuesdays' because 'Yeah, I miss my Tuesdays too' - Jake

The men said they would like the opportunity to catch up and spend time with the group members and/or facilitators regularly post-course completion. They talked about how post-course catch-ups would allow them to still feel part of a supportive network of men and give them the opportunity to share their thoughts and feelings with those they had developed open and honest relationships with.

It seems to be that you do the course and then if you choose to finish it and not go back and do it again, sort of thing, then there is no follow up, there is no support afterwards or anything else... it's certainly not a criticism of them, but it would be nice if there was some way of, once a month or every 6 weeks, bloody catch up where guys can just come along and if they feel like they just need to unload with a room full of guys that want to do the same thing one night, get some shit off your chest and have a chat to the facilitators and that and, you know, what they might suggest and that would be really cool - Simon

A catch up maybe every 2 weeks. A catch up every 2 weeks for the boys that are left that would like to go. There might be only like one or two guys turning up, but still, a catch up for the guys who have left that would like to go once every 1 or 2 weeks, it would be excellent - Jake

On a few occasions the men had attempted to organise catch-up sessions amongst themselves post-course completion, but unfortunately this initiative was not sustainable

over time and eventually ceased to occur. Therefore, the men said they would have liked post-course support sessions to be included as part of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme service provision.

We tried to keep in contact. A few of us, we kept our phone numbers and we met up a couple of times when the others had their children so that we would actually come together at a playground. The kids could all play together and the men could all stand there and talk and that did sort of come up a couple of times: 'Oh, how's it going for you?' and 'I remember you said this on the course, how's that now?' and so that was actually quite helpful, but because it's not structured, it's hard to organise. If you've got a set day and time when you know you're going to come together, you're going to be there - Paul

Time flies and before you know it it's 6 months blimin down the track and you haven't bumped in to any of the people that were there and you just sort of feel on your own again and it would be nice to be able to go there on a Tuesday night sometimes still and just go up to the board and mark where you're at and say 'Well, I'm not where I wanted to be. I've slipped up' and just flippin talk about it and have someone to say, 'Well', you know, 'Remember this?' - Simon

3.1.2 Anger Management

Prior to the Programme, the men experienced their violent and abusive behaviour as stemming from poor anger management skills.

I think also a lot of it is who I was and how I handled my anger and how I handled pressure with all sorts of things - Derek

I did this course because I thought that, basically, if I learnt to control my anger and control my voice it might fix things between us - Jason

Therefore, one of the most commonly stated positive changes the men experienced as a result of the course was learning how to deal with, and control, their anger. The cognitive behavioural techniques of anger management gave the men tools that enabled them to make better choices in response to their rising anger levels.

I learnt how to control my anger. I learnt what brings on my anger. I learnt how to control it, how to flip the switch and go outside and have a breather for five minutes and then come back inside and get back in to it without me yelling and being scary - Jason

Where you just start to get angry and then you can get to that real-. The only one I really remember strongly now is when you get to that stage where you're just ready to pop and that's one of the ones where I don't get to that stage now where I'm really, really bad. It's almost like... you have got the tools to deal with it - Derek

It was just having choices, you know. Before I didn't have choices. I just knew how to fight. You piss me off and she was all on, but I notice it's heaps different now - Peter

Two processes enabled the men to make better choices in relation to their anger. One was the development of self awareness, where the men began to build skills in order to identify when their anger was escalating and becoming an issue. The other process was the utilisation of cognitive behavioural techniques and skills to de-escalate that anger once it was identified.

The Programme introduced processes of reflection to develop self-awareness of emotions and anger. The men learnt to engage reflexively with their thoughts, feelings and reactions in order to identify when their anger was beginning to rise.

Just being more aware of your anger - Brian

Te Manawa Services utilises a traffic light metaphor to aid self-awareness, which the men found extremely useful. Within this metaphor, the green light, or zone, represents a calm or anger-free state. The orange zone indicates rising anger and the red zone indicates rage, or extreme anger. The men were encouraged to think about, and become aware of, which 'zone' they were in. For instance, they were encouraged to identify the bodily sensations, thoughts and feelings that indicated their anger was rising and they were at risk of entering the 'orange zone'. If they became aware they were in the 'orange zone', then they could apply the behavioural techniques or skills they learnt on the Programme to prevent themselves continuing on to the 'red zone', and therefore the resulting violence and abuse that often occurs in that zone.

Brian: That's a big help because you've got to realize when you're in the orange zone and that. Sometimes you could be in the orange zone by just being hungry or something, or tired. Someone says the wrong thing and you could be exhausted, your muscles could be exhausted or something and then it's easy for you to lose your cool. I used to have a lot of spats at work. Get angry at work and that, but now I don't. I haven't had an anger episode at work for half a year I suppose.

Interviewer: And so that's just being aware of being in the orange zone, of getting pissed off?

Brian: Yeah, just being aware of the signs

This was a powerful metaphor for the men to engage with. It assisted them to become self-aware in regards to their physical bodies and psychological processes, and enabled them to actively manage their anger. It was also a useful metaphor to help the men identify what 'triggers' their anger, so that they could monitor themselves more closely and be aware that the situations they are in have the potential to escalate anger. If aware of their triggers, the men could then actively seek to avoid those triggers, or make a conscious effort to address their anger if triggers are present.

I felt myself heating up, getting angry, I'd back off. We'd talked about triggers, that was what I was trying to say, if you feel your triggers coming on, back off, go and have a walk or do whatever, so that's what I did. I'd walk home - Matthew

This previous quote highlights the second key process in the development of successful anger management: employing behavioural techniques and skills to take positive action and de-escalate anger. The Programme's content offered suggestions or techniques the men could use, and other men in the group also offered helpful techniques they used themselves in their own lives. The men were encouraged to find an activity or tool that best suited them in order to reduce or eliminate the anger they were feeling.

I don't know how it came about, but when you feel yourself getting angry up, you either start flicking your fingers, tapping your leg or something like that and it sort of brings on the brain to tell you that you're getting to that stage. So, you just keep on tapping your leg and then you don't say anything to the person you're arguing with. You just walk out the door. Walk out there and have a break for about five minutes, stay out there for five minutes and think of something else - Jason

One behavioural technique the men found useful was to find their own personal 'off-ramp'. Here, once men were aware that they were in the 'orange zone', they would then look for, or create, an 'off-ramp' that prevented them from continuing on to the 'red zone'.

One of the lessons they had was on-. They call it traffic lights I think. I can't remember how that worked, but that led to off-ramps, so you've got to look for an off-ramp. So, when you're feeling that you're losing it, you look for an off-ramp - Paul

This 'off-ramp' predominantly took the form of 'time-out', where the men would physically remove themselves from the situation that was producing anger or distress.

If I came to the conclusion that it was just getting too much, leave it and come back to it. So, put down my toys, go do something else, come back later and pick them back up - Thomas

You've just got to step back, take time out - Richard

The underlying understanding of the use of 'time out' was the creation of 'space'. The men learnt to create space, or distance from the situation so that they could calm down and cognitively process what was producing the anger and distress. This 'space' allowed them to calmly and safely choose the right course of action towards the situation, a non-abusive response. This was important as the men talked about how, prior to the course, they tended to react immediately to the situation and that this immediate response was often abusive. The creation of 'space' helped the men avoid immediate 'knee-jerk' reactions, enabling them to approach the situation in a more positive, calm manner without being abusive or violent.

My mentality changed. I didn't just snap and be reckless. I kind of approached it more delicately. I just thought about it more before acting - Thomas

It makes you sit down and think before you react. If you come into a situation that's like 'hmm. Oh yeah, no': it's talking more than fists - Jake

In some instances, the men learnt to consolidate anger management with underlying issues of control, and therefore initiated a powerful process of accountability and responsibility. In these instances, the men shifted their focus from controlling other people's behaviour through violence and abuse to gaining control over their own behaviour.

Something I learnt off someone, he reckons we're like puppets and the words of people who are trying to control us and talk bad to us, those are the strings. The words are the strings and if we act or react to those, then we're nothing but puppets. So yeah, don't be a puppet. And yeah, I related to that and just heaps of things, aye, I was just trying to pull it all together - Brian

A cognitive behavioural technique taught in the Programme that men found useful in order to facilitate this sense of self-control was the use of 'I statements'. 'I statements' requires the men to shift their approach to rising conflict from a place of reactive anger, to ownership of their own emotions and feelings. The men are taught to say "I feel..." as opposed to "You make me feel...", therefore taking responsibility for their own feelings and anger.

Don't say 'you', say 'I' and just count to ten. Just simple things, you know - Cody

The concept of self-control was also a powerful process to address other issues the men faced such as substance abuse. This was significant as some men cited issues with drinking and drugs as a contributing factor to their violent and abusive behaviour.

A lot of the times that I did have dramas were when I was having a drink - Derek

Understandings of self-control enabled men to take responsibility for, and control over, their substance use. They began to shift their understandings from 'blaming' intoxication as the cause of their violence, to understanding it as a contributing factor and one in which they had control over. For instance, men who identified a relationship between their drinking and violence began to take control over their drinking behaviour in order to decrease the risk of abusive behaviour occurring.

Brian: I think it was just a build-up I suppose. Alcohol added a lot of problems to my violence, so I don't get drunk anymore. I might just have one or two or something like that.

Interviewer: Did you do that yourself or did you go to alcohol services for that?

Brian: Nah, I did it myself. I realised that I can't get drunk...as soon as I get drunk, anything could happen after that, even people I love can get hurt. So that's why I finally woke up and that's played a big factor to my violence. It's still there, but when I'm drunk I can't control it

The anger management component of the course resulted in a reduction of overall levels of tension in the men's lives.

I don't get wound up so easily anymore - Brian

I've managed to calm down a lot - Jason

At home it's been the same, not just flying off the handle and yelling at the daughter for just minor things. Having a bit more patience when they're getting ready or you've got to wait for them when they're out to pick them up. Yeah, it taught me some patience and probably learnt some manners - Sam

The overall reduction in tension levels served to produce a more positive cycle of behaviour, as opposed to the cycle of violence or abuse they previously experienced. This new positive cycle of behaviour was a self-regenerating process. Because there was a reduction in tension, the men felt happier and more positive, and because they felt happier and more positive, they no longer experienced increasing levels of tension and anger.

When you have had a huge thing like an anger thing in your life and then suddenly you haven't got that anymore, your whole life explodes in front of you and it's like you've got so much more to look forward to, you don't spend all this time blimin getting angry anymore, so your whole life just grows and there's so much more to do and work goes better, the kids are happier, everything just snowballs for you - Derek

Some men believed that as a result of the Programme, their anger had completely disappeared. They no longer had any issues with managing their anger.

It's hard to remember back to what it was like to have the [anger]. Yeah, because that's one of the things I was thinking. I was thinking 'I wish I could still remember', but I don't even feel that way anymore - Derek

However, it was more common for men to feel their levels of tension and anger had reduced, but the core issue of anger was 'still there'. In other words, there was management/control, but not elimination, of anger in the men's lives. While anger management serves to increase women and children's safety by reducing the risk of explosive 'rage', it still leaves an undercurrent of the threat of escalating anger in the relationship.

I don't get wound up so easily anymore - Brian

I still get angry and yell at the kids sometimes, but I don't think I...sometimes, I mean...um, I don't think I really lose the plot like I used to. That's been the biggest change - Richard

While the explosive rage was managed, anger as an acceptable response remained.

I talk to him and say 'it's ok for you to be angry' - Derek

Therefore, there remain some concerns regarding the men's engagement with some of the key underlying issues associated with anger as an acceptable response. Often anger was presented in a way that encouraged understandings of provocation. Men would say they were aware they still had the potential to become angry, but that it was outside factors (e.g. stress, family, arguments) that caused the anger to rise above acceptable levels. In this

sense, the anger was not *their* problem, but was a disassociated reaction to stimulus in their environment.

*There was a whole lot of things going on in my life that were causing me to be angry - Derek
It's pretty much stuck. I keep telling my kids at home, I've got a rule at home, I don't yell and
scream, and don't wind me up because I don't like to be that person and the couple of times I
have turned in to that person and I've told them-, I've stopped myself through it and I said
'look, you've made me this person. I don't want to be this person. This person does not exist'
and then I walk out - Jason*

By disassociating from the anger in this manner, the men could rationalise their abuse as a discrete 'explosive' event and therefore not indicative of an overall, fundamental or underlying problem of abuse or domestic violence.

*Something would just trigger me and I'd just yell or 'errrr', just lose the plot, you know -
Richard*

Often this 'explosion' of anger was a gradual result of stressors that had built up over time. In this sense, the men understood themselves to have quite good control over their anger generally, but once intensity of stimulus reached a certain, intolerable point, the anger and rage would 'explode'.

*Then I'd just boil it all up, boil it up and then I'd blow off my steam and yell at them and I
was always very uncomfortable with it because straight afterwards I'd feel yuck. 'Why did
you do that? Why did you let it come to that stage?' - Derek
I think there's been change. She may say 'Oh yeah, to a point'. Yeah, I think there has been a
lot of change. I don't sort of yell or try-, I mean, I do-, I can get a little confrontational with
the kids at times, when they just push it and push it and push it - Richard*

This suggests an underlying understanding that the men are not entirely responsible for their behaviour at this point because they had been made to 'lose control' of themselves and their responses. At the point at which the built-up anger 'exploded', they were no longer acting like themselves, the anger that had taken control. This served to diminish or minimise the men's responsibility for their abusive behaviour.

*So once that happened I just lost control of what I was doing and a loss of control is a
horrible feeling too. I remember thinking that I didn't like the fact that I had no control when
I got to that boiling point and then just did stuff, and then once you were in that state, it took
such a long time for you to actually calm yourself down - Derek*

This suggests that a focus on anger management is helpful for addressing the antecedents and responses to anger, but does not necessarily require the men to unpack the belief systems and processes of meaning-making that inform their anger response. Therefore, they are not challenging the legitimacy of anger as a response to stressors in the environment. If this 'legitimacy' is not challenged, often the core anger issue is left unaddressed and is still 'present' in the men's lives. The men liken their experience to a 'ticking time bomb', where the anger is still a fundamental element inside them and threatens to re-emerge and escalate to abusive levels if provoked or triggered.

*I still get angry and I still-, And on Saturday I got [into a fight]...and I went home afterwards
and I said to [her] 'I'm so angry' and she said 'What are you angry about?' and I said 'I'm
angry that he made me angry'. I said 'I didn't want him to do that to me'. So, yeah, I still get
angry - Derek*

If the underlying assumptions of the legitimacy of anger are not challenged, the anger management skills taught on course can be reinterpreted and used as a form of abuse against the (ex) partner. One participant discussed how he engaged with various teachings and then applied them to his (ex) partner in a manipulative way in order to hurt or distress her, whilst appearing to be the 'good guy'. Here, manipulation was still acceptable and legitimate, as long as his *behaviour* was not angry or 'abusive' (e.g. yelling or using violence).

I got the magical part of knowing how to control myself, how to control him, wind him and her up, without making them two argue. Instead of turning up there and going 'You fucking cunt. Fuck you and get the fuck out. This is my time. You know I turn up here [today], for my time with my kids, now fuck off cunt'. Instead I'll be like 'Hey mate, would you like a coffee?' So I'm not going there and the kids aren't seeing me as the bad guy. The kids are seeing me as the good guy again - Jason

It was more of a game, so I'd work out how to get under their nail instead of being on top of it - Jason

3.1.3 Understandings of Abuse

The men discussed that when they first entered the Programme their understandings of what 'domestic violence' consisted of physical 'beatings' and they were unaware that there were other non-physical forms of abuse.

I thought 'well, I'm not an angry person'. I don't beat anyone up, never have and never will. I've never hit a female in my life - Matthew

Some of the men rationalised the use of non-physical abuse towards their (ex) partner as a desirable alternative to physical violence. Here, they understood psychological and emotional abuse as a viable and preferable response to situations where they were tempted to use physical abuse.

She was just hammering at that and I was hammering her, which kind of led to verbal-, I was kind of, yeah, quite intense, because I didn't want to hit her, so I thought the next best thing is just to let it out - Peter

In order to address the effects of domestic violence and abuse, Te Manawa Services devote time with the men to educate them about the different forms that 'violence' can take other than the stereotype of physical assault. This enabled some of the men to challenge their previous conceptions of domestic violence, developing an awareness that other forms of abuse, such as verbal, psychological and control were also forms of violence. For many men, the inclusion of non-physical forms of violence was important and groundbreaking, shifting their understandings of the acceptable (or 'ok') norms in relationships. It enabled them to recognise many of their own behaviours as abusive, therefore motivating them to challenge their behaviour and begin to take responsibility for these acts of abuse.

I've never, ever hit my wife or children, but verbally abused them I suppose, which, even talking to the guys on the course, a lot of people don't sort of associate that with being abuse full stop. They think abuse is where you punch someone out or, you know, that sort of thing, but yeah, it was sort of finding out that is abuse - Thomas

I don't think they were too vocal about how they felt about that other than, as I did too, realise that there's areas on that wheel that we weren't aware of and emotional abuse was one. How you can hold somebody down by your feelings towards them - Paul

Matthew: *They run a video here and it must have been about the fifth or sixth week I was here. Heard a lot about this video: 'We're going to see this video' and I watched-. Within five minutes of watching this video I thought 'That's me. They're talking about me'.*

Interviewer: *What was the video of?*

Matthew: *Oh look, I've tried explaining it to the ladies here who haven't seen it and its just violence in the home. Not physical, but verbal and mental violence and just every type of violence you can think of is mentioned on this video. And I just sat back and I thought 'Whoah, that's me' and I felt so stink, I really did. Every male should do this course*

This, however, remained as an area of change that the men continued to struggle with post-course completion. Despite what they had been encouraged to learn on the Programme, many men continued to draw on stereotypes of domestic violence as physical beatings, therefore distancing themselves from the label of 'abuser' and minimising the effects of their use of psychological and emotional abuse.

I turned around and told her 'Look, I'm not here by court order. I'm here by volunteer. I'm here because I've got a nasty voice, I'm not here because I've got a big fist'. I may have a big fist the size of a dinner plate, but I don't use it - Jason

The minimisation of non-physical forms of violence was related to issues of intent. Although non-physical forms of violence may be experienced as distressing and harmful by the victim, if the men did not *intend* to elicit such a reaction, then their behaviour should not be considered as abusive, and ultimately they should not be held responsible for the harm they have caused.

Interviewer: *Yeah. So, you were saying that you used to use your voice as a form of-*

Jason: *As a form of control. Not knowing that I'm doing it, but just ogre it out*

The issue of intent was seen very clearly in relation to acts of child abuse. There was often a sense that violence is a necessary part of child discipline. The *intent* is to be a good parent, therefore, from their point of view, some violence against children can, and should, be seen as a positive parenting procedure instead a form of abuse.

I knew that what I was doing was illegal, but I'd spoken to a few people about it and they said that it works if it's done properly and sometimes it's the only thing that will bring a child to the point where they realize that they do need to actually look after mum and dad. And so it was done in that calm, controlled manner. As I say: 'It's not like we hate you or are angry at you, we're just trying to stop a particular behaviour of yours' - Paul

They say you can discipline your kids, but you can't hit them. I always say, what's the difference? Some people discipline by smacking on the bum - Patrick

For those who were unable to shift their understandings of abuse, there was a sense that present society's understandings of 'abuse' have become too liberal. Some of the men discussed how society has gone too far to label certain actions as abuse, when they should be understood as 'normal' or acceptable.

Martin: *Anyone that I've met, anyone who I know and I've told them I had to go to anger management, they said 'What do you have to go to anger-', Because I've never-. People think I'm pretty laid back and no one's ever seen me angry and I said 'Well, I had to go for that' [laughs] and no one's ever said anything other than 'What a waste of time' and I said 'Well, that's society and that's what I've got to do'. Like, at the end of the day, I did what I did and had it of been 10 or 20 years ago, probably the cop would've given him a clip around the ear for talking to his mother like that, you know. Like, when I was a young fulla that's-, The cops used to give you a clip around the ear or take the keys off you or send you home and that was all well and good.*

Interviewer: *Things are different now, aye.*

Martin: *Yeah, that's what the cop said to me. He goes 'If that Sheila hadn't of been there, they would have just left it at that'*

Essentially, this argument against liberalism and 'political correctness' allows men to deny responsibility for their abuse by disregarding and discounting understandings of 'domestic violence' that do not fit within their worldview. Holding on to stereotypes of 'real abuse' at times prevented the men from appreciating the effects of their abuse on others, and therefore they had difficulty believing they had a problem that needed to be addressed.

Why am I here? Just because I said I wanted to shoot you? Wrong choice of words, aye? - Jake.

You're getting told that you're the woman basher and you like to smack women over and you like to hit women and you like to make them feel hurt and scared and pain and you like to make the pain with your fist and everything else like that and I'm like 'That's not me. I can control you with my voice, I can stand up and make you cry, yeah. I know how to make you cry and I can make you feel like you want to just climb inside your shoe and never come out' - Jason

I just kept on saying I didn't belong there. As far as I was concerned I did not belong there. I'm not a violent person, but yes I do get very mouthy - Matthew

The importance of attending to multiple meanings of domestic violence can be seen when listening to why men have used physical forms of abuse in the past. There is a tendency to privilege and attend to physical forms of violence because of the risk of lethality or serious injury, but the men discussed how physical abuse is used only as a last resort, when psychological abuse, such as manipulation and intimidation, are no longer effective at achieving control.

Verbal mainly. It only got to a physical point when things weren't going my way - Thomas
I didn't have any more tricks in my bag and I resorted back to my upbringing. And I didn't want that to happen, but once I had run out of everything else and it was still happening-. And I talked to him about it. I warned him and warned him 'Don't do that. Don't keep doing that' and it kept on happening and that's when I used violence - Tim

If the men were able to experience a shift in their beliefs and understandings concerning domestic violence, the resultant process of engagement was quite powerful and facilitated the path to change.

You think of family violence as kids getting beat up and you're beating your missus up or whatever. As I said, I watched that video and I just felt ashamed. That was me. They are actually talking about me. They're not role-playing, that's me in there. And it really sunk [in]. It hit home. I thought 'Whoa'. I actually went back...I went back straight from here to [her] house... and I apologised to her. I said 'Shit, we've seen that video', Because she'd mentioned the video, so I think the women see it as well, I'm not sure. She mentioned the video and I said 'Look, I've seen that video and I was-. That was me. They're talking about me and I'm real sorry' - Matthew

Some men found it helpful to challenge their entitlement to anger and violence as a legitimate response to stimuli in their environment – the 'right' to treat others in an abusive way. The Men Living Free from Violence Programme encouraged them to reflect upon, and respect, the right of others to opinions that may differ from their own. This served to challenge the anger and violence they would normally react with when dealing with conflict or perceived threat in their environment.

What did I used to say? 'Hi, welcome to men's group...respect. Respect for other people'. I probably never said it, but perhaps I should have. I'm just thinking, that's what I got out of it – respect for other people. Respect their rights, respect their right to have their opinion and respect it - Matthew

I never used to see the side of other people's opinions or took the time to look at them. Even at work they noticed that, but since the course, putting things into place and that, it did teach me a lot - Sam

Entitlement was a powerful concept for the men as it worked as a buffer between stressor and response. Much like the behavioural skill of developing 'space' in section 3.1.2, engaging with issues of entitlement enabled the men to reflect on the situation at hand and choose a non-violent response out of respect for the other person and the awareness that they were not entitled to treat others in an abusive manner.

I was always self-absorbed in to my own thoughts. If anything didn't go my way, it would be alright because I'd just go beat them up. That's why I was always arrogant and always, you know, didn't give a stuff. I always thought 'Oh well, at the end of the day, if anything goes down I'll just smack them in the face'. I don't think like that anymore. Everyone has an opinion and they can look how they want to look and say what they want to say - Brian

Engaging with issues of entitlement also facilitated an ability to see the perspective of those who they have abused. They began to take the time to think about what other people may be thinking or feeling, why they may be feeling that way, and to develop enough respect for the other person to treat them with dignity and regard.

We still argue and we talk about that, but I don't storm off. I don't-, We can agree to disagree and she might go down and read a book if we've got different views and I'll sit and watch TV at the end of the night and then the next morning we're talking again, fine and that's normal and I love that - Derek

In the times gone by before I went there, like these pricks used to get angry at work and I used to say 'Just either work here or piss off', you know, so I sort of learnt a bit, like to listen to their reasons and it sort of did me better for that side of it, you know, to see how it all works. So it was quite good really as far as that went - Martin

Becoming aware that they are not entitled to treat others in a disrespectful or abusive way had the potential to become a strong, positive influence in their lives, and had benefits. By upholding others' rights to dignity, respect and safety, the general atmosphere of their lives and relationships changed for the better.

When you respect someone's personal life it means a lot... it makes the good better, and it makes the bad good, and then eventually the bad-good better - Matthew

Control was another key concept that enabled some men to challenge their anger and the resultant abusive or violent behaviour. A particular session in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme introduced the 'power and control wheel', developed by women who had experienced domestic violence in Duluth, USA (Shepard & Pence, 1999). This wheel demonstrates that there are forms of abuse that are not directly physical. For those men who had held the belief that domestic violence was a physical act, and a severe physical act at that, it was very powerful to have actions labeled as abusive that related to issues of control, such as economic abuse, and was helpful for dismantling the legitimacy of anger.

There was a lot of good stuff in that too because it actually shows how your power and control can be in subtle ways that you might not realise as power and control. Like control over the finances. And that's something that you have to watch because you can think you're

doing the right thing: 'I have to hold that money back because we're trying to stick to a budget', but you're controlling a person - Paul

The one thing that I have taken away from the whole thing is the power and control wheel. I used to be quite controlling with friends, my ex and just stupid little shit I used to do - Jake

Those who engaged with this session began to see the intimate connection between their controlling behaviour and abuse. They were able to reflect upon the relationship between domination and violence, and identify their thoughts and behaviours that needed addressing.

I said 'I know I can be domineering and I can be quite sort of verbally abusive at times' - Richard

I think if a woman feels like she is trapped, that is abuse - Paul

The men who began to shift their understandings of domestic violence recognised that their upbringing played a pivotal role in establishing what they considered 'normal' or acceptable behaviour. Many men spoke of how their history of abuse in childhood had affected how they thought about, and engaged with, issues of violence throughout their life.

My father was violent towards my mother and that was just part of life. I thought it was normal. I really did. I thought all men beat their wives up. Sorry to say that - Cody

Finding out how things aren't as always as you were brought up. My beliefs when I was brought up were 'You do this, you were punished'. I was brought up like that and I suppose I carried on like that and then it wasn't until going to Te Manawa that I realised that wasn't the right track to follow, but through my family and that, that's all I knew - Sam

Through this reflection of the norms and beliefs regarding domestic violence stemming from family background, the men experienced a powerful realisation of how their history of abuse had influenced and affected their behaviour today. This helped them to identify and understand their own abusive behaviour, and become motivated to challenge their use of psychological and emotional abuse.

My dad wasn't particularly-. But he did have the same way of dealing with anger, and I remember part of the course makes you think about your own childhood and stuff. My dad was similar in a lot of ways. He'd get frustrated when we were helping him and things would go wrong and he'd get angry about stuff and I remember how I felt as a child with that, which I hadn't thought about before. This is all the stuff this course does to you. It makes you really think about things that happened to you. Whoever came up with the concept is very clever. I can't say enough about how much they changed my life - Derek

When you understand why you have behaved the way you have in the past, when you understand why that's happened, that puts you closer to dealing with stopping it - Cody

The expanding understandings of domestic violence, and its effects, motivated the men to address these same issues and preconceptions of violence with their children in an attempt to break the 'cycle of violence'. They talked about wanting to challenge these 'normalised' understandings of abuse with the younger generation in order to shift the culture of violence in NZ and make positive steps towards eliminating domestic violence in generations to come.

You're taking generational things and it still sticks. It's still part of your psyche and hopefully, I want to-. The kids are going to be around and sort of get a little bit more of a go - Richard

Probably by far the biggest thing I remember from it, and everything, is role modelling and what I'm teaching the children as being ok or not ok. So, obviously in the bad stuff, I don't want my kids to grow up with that...so that was a huge, huge, huge thing. It just-. Especially

with the kids being young and everything, what my behaviour is showing them, that that sort of stuff is ok, that it's all right and, like I say, no way in the world would I want my little girl to marry someone who was like me. I'd probably go round there and punch him out. So that was just flippin' huge. That's just like, if there was one thing, that was the biggest thing that stuck out for me - Simon.

3.1.4 Feeling Changed

Often, the men said that as a result of the course, they were 'changed men', a completely different person to who they were before they began the Programme. As a result of their time and learning at Te Manawa Services, they had undergone a significant and permanent positive change.

I feel like a completely different person today than I was when I first went in there - Derek.

It changed my life, let's put it that way. It really has changed my life dramatically - Matthew

This change was described as liberating - they had discarded their previous identity that was holding them back and holding them down. This 'new man' gave them a sense of pride, hope and accomplishment.

Walking away from something that could have been, and knowing what you used to be like, to what you are now, walking away from it, yeah, it was fulfilling. It's so empowering. It's brilliant - Peter

My whole life's changed today and my family's lives have changed. It's pretty positive as far as- Even my boss, who I didn't want to find out that I was going to anger management...sent me an email that said that it was really good that I was in a really good place in my life - Derek

Most men said that they no longer used violence in any form in their lives as a result of their engagement with the Programme.

I think I've learnt quite a bit. I'm not violent anymore - Brian

One significant difference between the 'changed men' and those who experienced 'reduced levels of anger' was how the changes experienced on the course had become habit, or a 'part of them'. In this sense, non-violent reactions and behaviours to stimuli in the environment were the natural way the 'changed men' now interact with the world, instead of a forced effort to redirect previous tendencies towards being abusive.

Thomas: It happened without realising it. At the start I'd notice it, but now it's just kind of become habit, a part of life.

Interviewer: That's really cool.

Thomas: Yeah, whereas when I was doing the course, some of those moments would happen and I'd sort of stop and think and 'Well, that's not going to be good if I do that or this' and do this instead.

Interviewer: And so now it's just natural?

Thomas: Yeah it is

3.1.5 Developing a Community Conscience

One of the principle aims of Te Manawa Services is to produce a broader social change and reduction/elimination of domestic violence in the wider community. It appears that this aim is being achieved through the course, or at least is on its way to being achieved, as the men discussed how they were now motivated to actively challenge and address issues of violence in their community. Many men talked about how they have suggested the course or referred their friends, family members and acquaintances to the Programme, or would do

so in the future if they saw it could help someone. They appreciated how much the course helped them to challenge their abusive behaviour and to educate them about violence and abuse, and they wanted others to share those changes and their new knowledge.

Sam: If they were going down the same track and I was close to them, I would suggest Te Manawa. I did to one of my other friends at the moment. He goes 'Oh, I think I need to look at doing some anger management' and I gave him the phone number for Te Manawa, so he's meant to be getting into there

Interviewer: Wicked. And is he enthusiastic about it or is he in the same place that you were?

Sam: He sort of blames his missus, most of it he's blaming his missus for and I'm like 'Well hey, it takes two' and I didn't have a problem [laughs] and when I got there I found out I have a big problem

I'd like to share the whole thing because some positive thing like this, which is quite huge for me, is-. My whole life's changed today - Derek

In conclusion, the Programme works. It really does work. I have to say that and I'll reiterate it time and time again at the risk of repeating myself over and over and over. But as I say, it's a matter of trying to get it out there. And, as I say, word of mouth helps - Richard

Some of the men discussed how they have adopted a mentoring role in the community, becoming actively involved in the lives of men who are exhibiting issues with abuse or violence. Through the changes experienced on the course, the men were eager to offer help, guidance and role modelling to men who struggle with violence like they once did. They were able to identify problematic behaviour within their social relationships and were invested in being involved in other men's journey of change towards non-violence.

He just thinks it's cool, you know, he just thinks it's cool to be an arsehole really, and I need to stay with him because I can see me in him and I just say 'Bro, you don't want to reach the age I am. What's that? You've got a chance, bro' - Peter

The men believed that if other community members could see them acting as role models for self-awareness and change, it would encourage them to be open to identifying and challenging their own issues of abuse. By modelling no shame or embarrassment in admitting they had previously struggled with abuse and violence, or that they had attended a programme in order to address these issues, the men believed it might help motivate others to do the same. These men had even been active in the local news media in order to promote such a dialogue and sense of openness.

Once people knew that I'd gone to anger management, a couple of people said to me that they were going and it was almost like 'If it's ok for [him] to do it and to be open about it, then it's ok for me to do it' and I think it's like anything, it's like telling someone you're an alcoholic, once you say it and-. So to me, the more people that do it and talk about it and then-. That's why I wanted to agree to the whole thing about talking to the media because it was quite a difficult thing to do at the time, but I think that what the value of it was for me was that other people get value out of it, and I'd still like to be able to-. Like today if anybody that I know or had to do with has got a problem with it, then I'd like to be able to sit down and talk to them and maybe pass on or suggest that they come to somewhere like this - Derek

Some of the men reflected that this Programme should be offered prior to crisis, before men come to the attention of the courts or police, as a preventative or pro-active measure.

These programmes are life changing. They are life changing and they will continue to be as long as you get out there and reach people, but you don't want to suddenly find that it's through the justice system or visits to the local constabulary - Richard

It was commonly reported that courses such as this should be offered in schools or when young adults begin romantic relationships. The men wished that actions were taken to educate young men about what domestic violence is, what forms it takes and how they can manage their anger and learn to respect women. This would facilitate a changing of 'norms' concerning abuse in relationships and has the potential to prevent, or eliminate, domestic violence in the community.

Every guy should do this. It should be part of part of the school syllabus. Once you become a young adult, you know - Cody

It should be compulsory for every male, as soon as they start dating they should do this course - Matthew

As a result of the course, some of the men were able to engage with the broader issue of violence in wider society. They began to see how violence underpins a lot of our media and social influences, and they recognised that the ideas, understandings and beliefs that society promote and support ultimately affect what we believe and how we behave. Therefore, they appreciated Te Manawa Services efforts towards challenging the norms of violence and abuse.

Violence is part of us. We're trying to change, society's trying to change, but it's going to take generations to change - Richard

And through the interviews it became apparent that the men are not the only individuals in the wider community that are embracing Te Manawa Services as a community agent of change. Many men discussed how other local community agents and professionals were actively recommending the Programme to those who may need it. Therefore, Te Manawa Services are accomplishing the development of a whole-of-community network approach towards reducing and eliminating domestic violence in the community.

I went to the doctor and he just rang Te Manawa when I was in talking to him and-. Or he suggested me ringing them. Maybe I rang them later. Which I thought was really good because it's not something that I would have thought was in a doctor's at all - Derek

Interviewer: How did she find out about Te Manawa?

Richard: Probably through [local mental health agency]. She was doing counselling through them

3.2 Accountability and Responsibility

3.2.1 Provocation

Provocation was a key theme running through the men's accounts. If the concept of provocation was engaged with and challenged during the course, it was a powerful promoter of change. However, if understandings of provocation were not challenged or addressed, it served to enable the men to minimise or deny their abusive behaviour.

The men who challenged their understandings of provocation and began to question their entitlement to violence were able to address their own personal responsibility for their actions and behaviour. This encouraged them to become accountable for their abuse and their use of violence. While they could articulate the influences that lead to their decision to use violence, they could also understand that they had a choice to respond without abusive behaviour to a challenging situation and therefore were ultimately responsible for their actions and accountable for their abuse.

She would always lash out, punch or throw something, kick, and then the easiest way was just to push, but because of my size and that, when I pushed it was...But I could have dealt with

the situation other ways and just taken off, but at that time I just used to stand my ground - Sam

These men discussed how the Programme encouraged them to problematise the concept of provocation, and how this began a meaningful process of reflection for them. They developed an increasing cognitive awareness of how men who use violence are able to deny responsibility for their behaviour by blaming other parties, such as the (ex) partner or children, and that this was not a healthy or responsible way to understand or address their own personal behaviour.

The powerful thing was that we were all angry and that I was responsible for my anger, because I used to say 'You made me angry because you did that' and I realised that I was responsible for the way I feel and I think that was huge for me. Yeah, that would be the main thing because you tend to go blame somebody: 'If you hadn't said that, I wouldn't have got angry' and you know now that it's up to me if I chose to be angry - Derek

Sam: Opening up to the fact that I had a problem, that's the biggest part I think

Interviewer: Yeah. How did that feel?

Sam: Well, it took a little bit to get used to because as far as I was concerned I was just normal, I didn't have a problem. Other people had a problem, but not me, so it came as a big eye opener

However, many men continued to struggle with issues of provocation, and continued to blame others for their use of violence. Abusive behaviour was rationalised as an appropriate response to provocative situations, and in these instances they were not responsible for their own behaviour, and should not be held accountable.

She started it and she went right in my face and I head-butted her, but she provoked me and there's all different forms of abuse. Physical, psychological and all that. She wasn't physically abusive, but definitely every other form of abuse - Cody

Furthermore, through appeals to provocation, men could question or even deny their need to be on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme because the incident that led to referral was the other person's fault.

I said to her 'You could have told me way back at the start, but after 2 years, of course I'm going to lose the plot. Of course I'm going to say those things' and yet, they made me go - Jake

I didn't realise I had a problem and then I got landed with a couple of assault charges, though I still didn't think I was in the wrong because it was more self-defence than provoked - Sam

I was dirty on the fact that I was there because I thought this wasn't actually my fault. It's like 'He hit me first, so I hit him back', who's at fault? - Cody

Understandings of provocation kept the men's focus on blaming their (ex) partner or children for having to attend the Programme, and prevented them from taking responsibility. Some men spent a lot of time during the interview arguing why their (ex) partner should have been on a living without violence programme, instead of talking about what they could have gotten out of the Programme themselves. This deflection of focus and responsibility limited the ability to engage with concepts such as self-control and accountability for one's own actions.

I thought 'This is a load of bullshit' because very early in the piece, I thought to myself 'I'm not the only one who should be doing this. There's two parties to every incident' and very early in the piece I realised, the man gets blamed a lot and they've got all this set up to deal

with-. You know, they've got men's programmes, where's the women's programmes? Because the circles I was mixing with at the time, I could see the women were as bad as the men. Heavy drinkers, partying all weekend, living the blokey-type life and I thought to myself 'No, this isn't-. There's something wrong here. Something out of balance' - Cody

It's always the bloke that cops it. If there's an incident between a bloke and a wife, a male and a female, the male cops it. That's just the way the world works and she was as much to blame as me - Cody

There were some instances where the men appeared to have challenged their beliefs surrounding blaming others for their abusive or violent behaviour, but continued to invoke understandings of provocation to rationalise the use of violence as an appropriate response to certain situations, minimising any wrong doing. For instance, many men discussed how if someone were to hurt their children, they would use justifiable violence against that person.

He has twacked my daughter a couple of times I think and I have said to him 'That's it. Next time Dad's going to step in and I don't care where I end up, but I can guarantee you, you won't be walking for a damn long time' - Matthew

A few men even talked about a situation where justifiable violence was used against another group member on a coffee break during the Programme because this individual had committed a particularly undesirable crime in his past.

We all confronted him. Think we ended up in a punch-up on site there, but it was quite funny - Jason

Sam: Well, he sort of did a runner one night, really fast and another night I took him out the side door and that, but yeah, he didn't get back in our group anyway.

Interviewer: Did some of the guys in the group confront him about-

Sam: There was quite a few ready to bash him, but I thought that was pretty stupid.

Interviewer: Yeah, especially considering what course you were doing, aye?

Sam: Yeah, you go to anger management course and beat someone up [laughs]

This suggests that violence is still seen as a legitimate response if it can be justified.

3.2.2 Consequences

Another concept related to accountability and responsibility was that of consequences. Accepting, and coping with, the consequences of their abusive behaviour necessitates that men take active responsibility for the harm they have caused and hold themselves accountable to those they have abused. The power of actively engaging with, and addressing, consequences was identified as an area that motivated change.

They could see what it was costing them. Their circumstances had changed them. They'd lost contact with their children or they're on to several (ex) partners and they realised 'This is just not working' - Paul

However, some men talked about how they preferred to avoid thinking about the consequences of their actions, choosing instead to focus more on the positive gains and the effort they were making by being on the Programme.

I regret sort of saying those things now and I said 'Well, what's done is done', I mean, you can't change it. It's like when you pull the trigger on a gun, once the bullet's gone, you can't call it back! - Richard

They saw that I was making an effort, even the ex's mother and step-father, they'd treat me the same and that was a big one I think. If they'd sort of turned it against me and maybe come

at me negatively then I don't think I would have-, It would have been harder for me to sort of move on and, you know? - Peter

For one man, taking responsibility included the attempt to engage in the Youth and Parenting Programme with his child. In describing her refusal to attend not only the course, but contact with him as well, he shifted the responsibility to his ex-partner's boyfriend rather than accept his daughter's refusal as a consequence of his own behaviour.

They had one to interact you into your kids lives and that, but-, I was going to sign up on that one, but my daughter didn't want to go near me, didn't want a bar of it. I thought that one would be a really good one, but my teenage daughter didn't want a bar of it. Didn't want a bar of me, she was more involved with the faggot. The faggot's my ex's new partner - Jason

The avoidance of consequences enables the denial or minimisation of abuse because the men are able to comfort themselves with the fact that they are attending the course and are a 'good person'. When others do not respond in kind, then the problem is theirs, diminishing their responsibility for previous harms.

Avoiding consequences may leave men unprepared to deal with the reality of the effects of their abuse outside the Programme. One participant described how the Programme gave him the tools to deal with his anger in the future, but not how to cope with the issues and damage that had occurred because of his abusive behaviour in the past. He knew it was inevitable that he would need to address these issues, but he felt unprepared to do so when leaving the Programme.

The Te Manawa course talks about how to handle your cycle of violence, but you still don't have a solution for these problems that you have to fix as a dad and as a partner. You do have to deal with those - Paul

3.3 Processes of Group Learning

3.3.1 Non-Judgemental Environment

A non-judgmental environment was vital for facilitating engagement with the Programme content and the process of group learning. Building an environment where the men did not feel judged, put down, or attacked enabled the development of a more honest, trusting and open learning environment. From the very first group session, the men were encouraged to be honest and open, and were given the opportunity to experience non-judgmental acceptance from the facilitators and other group members. Therefore, most men felt they could 'be themselves' with no pretences, and were able to dismantle the processes of shame and guilt that can accompany sharing such personal and embarrassing stories of violence and abuse.

You were all equal, all treated equally...Everyone was given the opportunity to speak their mind and in your own words. If you wanted to swear like a trooper, you went for it. If you wanted to bawl your eyes out, you bawled your eyes out - Matthew

Matthew: For me, it was just the way [the facilitators] came across, you know?

Interviewer: So, down to earth?

Matthew: Down to earth and they treated you all equally. They-, 'Alright, so you're here because you've got a court order to come here, because you've put your missus in hospital, who cares? Alright, you've done wrong, but you're here because you're trying to better yourself' and they treat everyone the same, and they're a good bunch of guys, even the women. Because, with the men's course, they have women helping as well, and yeah, they're all good

You could talk openly and honestly. No one was going to put you down and it was clear to me right at the start, very early in the piece that what was said in the room was where it stayed -
Cody

This helped the men discard the defences or denial of abuse that they previously used to shield themselves from criticism or shame, enabling an openness for accepting issues of abuse and violence, and motivating a willingness to work alongside the staff and other group members to produce positive changes in their lives.

But again, I think it's just trying to get people to come along and get out of the shells and sort of, you know, get off that cycle. We're here to help each other and help you. We're here to help you. The counsellors are there - Richard

The acceptance and sense of equality promoted by the group facilitators enabled the development of a 'team' approach, where the men felt part of a wider 'family' of positive change. This reduced their feelings of discomfort or 'otherness' and helped facilitate a welcoming, supportive and egalitarian learning environment. It broke down the barriers between 'us' and 'them' and enabled the development of an interactive and comforting learning journey.

It wasn't: 'Well, I don't have to do it because I'm teaching you to do it'. It was: 'We're part of the team' and they sat amongst us. They didn't sit in the front like a teacher. They sat amongst us. The men's group were in a big curve of chairs and they would-, [One facilitator], she'd sit over there and 'Oh, I've had enough of you this week! Next week I'm going to sit over there with these guys' and it was good. So yeah, they joined in. They were like just part of the group and as I said, it was homely. You were made to feel welcome, all treated equal -
Matthew

This egalitarian environment between group members and facilitators was vital if the men were to respect and engage with what the facilitators were attempting to teach them on the course. If barriers were erected between staff and clients, then the men may not trust what the facilitators had to say, doubting whether they had the authority or experience to truly help them.

These might be the kind of guys who are not going to listen to the facilitators. They might see them as: 'You're not one of us', and they might be the sort of people who think: 'You can't tell me what to do' - Paul

The development of a non-judgemental environment is vital, for without it the men may not have been as open and receptive to the Programme as they were. However, there are some unfortunate unintended consequences that relate to non-judgemental acceptance and equality in the group environment.

Accepting without judgement the men's previous behaviours, and not actively confronting individuals about their abuse, has the potential to ignore or divert attention away from addressing how to deal and cope with consequences and criticism in the wider community. In the following quote, one man shares an account of an incident with a woman facilitator where she did not 'accept' his behaviour and instead confronted him about it. His threatening behaviour towards her in the group session was not addressed afterwards, perhaps to maintain the non-judgemental environment, but unfortunately what this example illustrates is the reinforcement of understandings of provocation and avoidance of consequences. By not explicitly challenging his response of intimidation towards the woman facilitator, a learning opportunity for how to deal respectfully and responsibly to those who may not be as accepting in the wider community was unfortunately lost.

Jason: I hate violence. I've never hit a woman and I turned up to her and I made her cry because I just turned into the ogre and I said 'Look, I'm not the one. I'm not a violent fuck. I hate this. I hate that. I don't touch-. You want to point the finger? Go to that guy there and he will clearly smack your head in'. I said 'I'm not like that. I will use my voice' and then they called a break and told us all to disappear.

Interviewer: Did she address that when you guys all got back? Did she say anything?

Jason: No. It was just sort of squashed.

Interviewer: Did you prefer that or did you want her to talk to you about it?

Jason: I would have liked for her to have just been kicked out really

If the men find themselves not being 'accepted' or being 'judged', they may find it easier to attribute 'blame' for that negative encounter on the other individual. It enables them to rationalise what issues the women may have that 'causes' the conflict and why she should be held responsible.

It was like 'Ok, you've got issues. You've been sexually abused when you were a kid. You've still got issues' - Jason

That lady who stomped out on me basically, you know, telling me about how much I like to hit females and that. That really scarred me. I want that person fired - Jason

Another concern with a non-judgemental environment is that it can unintentionally reinforce collusion. In some instances, acceptance was interpreted by the men as minimising their abuse. Some men experienced the act of facilitators meeting their stories without judgement as the 'experts' agreeing that the men did not have a problem with violence or abuse. Here, they believed that the staff did not think they needed to be on the course, because they were not like other (violent) men.

It was good with the people at Te Manawa. [He] was excellent, you know, gets you talking, makes you feel comfortable, there's no guilt thing, there's no finger pointing...He actually agreed with some of my ideology and moments of silence because he actually agreed with what I was saying. But no, it was good, it was excellent, things were coming along with understanding why things were happening - Cody

I think they sort of knew my reasons for being there and they sort of thought I was a bit different to everyone else too. I just had to be there because I had to be there and life goes on, you know - Martin

3.3.2 Vulnerability/Emotionality

Accessing and practicing vulnerability and emotionality was another extremely powerful process for the men in the group learning environment. It began to emerge through the men's accounts that violence and abuse had historically been employed by many men as a means of self-protection. As noted in section 3.1.1, many of the men were socially isolated prior to course engagement and sometimes this isolation served as a protective response to historical experiences of violence and abuse in the men's lives. After being victims of violence and abuse themselves, these men did not trust others, shutting themselves, their emotions and feelings off from those around them, therefore limiting their social networks and openness to sharing or turning to others for help and support.

I've been a person that always didn't trust anyone - Sam

I maintain that your close friends you can count on one hand, you might know a hundred people, but people you talk to, who you're honest with, who will tell you off when you're wrong and you're still mates - one hand - Cody

The family bit stuck to me quite a lot because I haven't had a lot to do with my family so I've kind of. To compensate for not having family behind me, I've become more defensive - Thomas

Their violent behaviour, likewise, was spoken of as a form of protection. In order to protect themselves from being hurt, they used violence as a defence mechanism.

I was brought up violently and that's just why I wanted to be violent to my kids, so that when they get older they can look after themselves, because that's one thing I can say, I got a lot of hidings when I was young, but at least I know now not many people can do that to me now - Brian

Furthermore, psychological forms of violence and maintenance of control and domination over others was driven by a desire to protect themselves. The more control and authority over situations they had, the better they could prevent themselves from being hurt.

They all seem to be that way. Vulnerable and striving, and a lot of their behaviour is fear driven. Fear of losing control and they think they have to be in control or bad things are going to happen, you know? - Paul

Similar to the stereotype that kiwi men do not talk about their feelings (section 3.1.1), it was recognised by many men that it was not commonly acceptable for them to openly express emotions or vulnerability with others. Therefore, they wished there were more opportunities and avenues for men to be emotional and show vulnerability.

Especially for men in my generation 'Argh, yeah, whatever, it's not going to work. I'll go to the pub and do all these things and want to drive around in fast cars and this male menopause thing', the old school of being tough and you're bullet proof and, you know, men do cry, perhaps not as often as we should - Richard

Through the development of social support networks and a non-judgemental environment, the group became a safe place for the men to express their emotions and allow themselves to be vulnerable. They began to see that the walls they had built in order to protect themselves from judgment, embarrassment and hurt were actually the foundations of their abusive behaviour. The men said the process of opening up, letting people in and being vulnerable enabled them to access their painful/shameful emotions and behaviours in order to begin to address them and positively work through them, facilitating healing and growth.

It is scary. It's 'Hey, this is real' and I think that's the biggest thing on the course: is being able to be real and allow yourself to be real - Peter.

It's hard to share in front of people that you don't know, but I think that's part of it, that fear you get over of opening up your heart, and when you do that you sort of can take a look at yourself and think 'Oh, yeah', look in the mirror and think 'Oh, yeah, I'll change this, I'll change that' - Brian

In a sense, development of emotionality and vulnerability acted as a catharsis to work through the men's own personal history of hurt. Some of the men spoke of the burden of distress and guilt over abuse they had either experienced or inflicted, and previously had been unable to share their feelings and emotions in order to process them and heal. By developing emotionality and vulnerability, they were able to work through their own pain in a supportive and embracing environment.

This big Māori fulla who bawled his eyes out, he started and you could see his eyes welling up and he stopped...The tears started flowing so he stopped, and I can't remember if it was one of the guys or one of the facilitators says 'Carry on. We're all here. We're listening. We

will help you', so away he went. He opened up and he bawled and bawled and we all went up and said 'Look, let it out', pat him on the back...I mean, it was heart wrenching...He was in pain and I tell you what, by the end of the night, he was just his happy normal self. It was like something lifted off his shoulders. He had been quite nasty to his wife or something, I don't know exactly, it was that long ago, and he felt real guilty. He really did and he needed to talk about it. It was awesome. It was just, you know, 'Just let it out. We will help you through it'. Instead of doing our module for the night, I think we spent three quarters of the time with him and it was awesome - Matthew

As this last quote illustrates, even simply seeing *other* group members become emotional and vulnerable can be quite a powerful experience for the men, helping them relate to, and engage with, particular sessions that they may not have emotionally connected to personally. By attending to, and caring about, other group members emotional pain, content which may have otherwise been ignored, became more powerful and memorable.

You could see in the group that some guys would be deeply affected by a particular subject and I identified those days and thought 'Oh, they're really getting in to this' or, you know, 'They're really feeling strong about this' which maybe didn't necessarily flow to me, so that's why the group, the way that they structure the course and stuff, is quite good, because there was one particular one there that dealt with some real issues that could be-. That come from your childhood and physical violence was involved in it, and there were a couple of guys on the course who were deeply affected by that and in a way it sort of brings the group together as well. It was quite interesting in the fact that you could see the ones that were affected differently - Derek

Additionally, the emotionality of the group experience enabled the men to develop empathy and caring skills by helping and comforting men in the group when emotions ran high.

It wasn't just the staff who helped him. Guys were going over and: 'Come on' [makes gesture of putting arm around someone] 'Let it out', pat him on the back. As I said, it was men's church. Men's church was bloody awesome. You end up with some good mates - Matthew

It is important to note that the facilitators were a significant part of dismantling this self-protective barrier to emotionality and vulnerability. Their encouragement and skills of facilitating discussions supported the men to open up, talk about their thoughts and feelings, and become comfortable with sharing things about themselves they may have been too scared or embarrassed to admit previously.

They'll see a guy that's quite pent up inside and we'll be going through an issue on the board or within the group and then they'll kind of give them a question or we'll all get questions and give them a bit of a challenge and see if they speak up. I got a few because I was just sitting there kind of nodding my head, being shy, didn't want to say anything and then they got me to speak by asking 'Did this happen to you? How did you go about handling it?' - Thomas

3.3.3 Situated Perspectives

'Situated perspectives' refers to the men in the group sharing their real-life experiences and stories with each other. During the group sessions, the men were given the space and opportunity to talk with one another about their histories of abuse, both as victim and offender, situating their concerns and course learning in the context of their real lives and everyday experiences. The ability to make space for talking about, and listening to, life experiences that were important to the men helped them to feel less alone in their struggles.

Just being there and just listening to other people and the problems they're having and, I don't know, just a feeling that it's ok and it's normal and you're not the only person in the world that feels like you do. You know, some people handled it better than I did and some

handled it worse than I did, but it's reassuring to know that you're not the only one that feels like you do and thinks like you do - Simon

Through finding points of shared meaning in their situated perspectives, the men were able to personally relate to each other and develop connections between their stories. This helped the men discard the label of 'other' they often felt they were defined by, finding a sense of belonging and understanding.

They do tend to get to know everybody on a reasonably personal level. Well, you do really when you're talking and saying the things-, It's quite intimate what you are saying. I mean, you don't say everything that happens in your life, or doesn't, or what's happened, but, I mean, most of it comes out. And it's good because you relate your experiences to what the other guys have, the other people there-, And obviously your counsellors are putting their input as well, you know, experiences that they can bring in as well, which adds to the mix a little - Richard

The other guys were a whole lot of varied, different people, but what we did have in common is that we had the anger, so we could discuss the anger and they didn't want to know about my job or anything like that or-, I could understand them...But we still had the same understanding of what it was like when we got angry and that was the good thing about having that group - Derek

Through the connections facilitated by shared meanings and experiences, the men were exposed to a variety of different ways to think about and respond to difficult life situations. Many of the men's stories contained useful 'lessons' for what to do, or what not to do, when confronted with similar situations. This complemented the course material, as while the Programme content discussed issues of anger and violence in an abstracted, generalised way, the men's stories were able to concretely link the themes and ideas in the curriculum to real life application and learning – they were able to see the teaching in practice, hear how it can be put into to action, and the challenges that may occur when attempting to translate the course learning to real life situations. This is important because it is something that cannot be offered by the facilitators on the Programme – real stories of struggles, successes, worries, concerns and triumphs of men attempting to eliminate violence in their own lives.

Just people that have been in the same environment...Quite a few of the guys had been in the same predicament as me. You could hear the stories were similar, you could hear how they've handled things, you could hear how you've handled things, you could even discuss with each other how they went about it and no one was opinionated of you, but yeah, until you learnt those skills you didn't know where you'd went wrong and I probably had been taught some of the skills, but didn't know how to use them and had forgotten about them totally - Sam

Hearing these situated stories in a group discussion format enabled the men to engage with a variety of different points of view and ways to approach certain problematic situations or issues. Likewise, the men were able to contribute their own perspectives. Therefore, the sharing of stories became a form of brain storming, each man gathering new ideas and ways to cope with problems, whilst also sharing points of view or advice they had personally found to be helpful in their own lives.

It would be one of my first group experiences and I would rather do it in the group. I think you learn more and you see more from four or five sides than what you do just the one, because some topics we were on, there was right answers on this side, and they seemed wrong answers on this side, but they were also right. Just different ways and views of looking at things - Sam

We'd all come and we'd start off with how our week was going and two or three of us might have had the same situation that week that had bothered us and two of us might have done the same thing and another one might have had a different result because he did things differently and then we'd give each other advice during the break about how if you'd done it wrong or right, how we could correct it or do it better - Thomas

The process of sharing situated perspectives had the additional benefit of enabling the men to experience moments of pride and accomplishment within the group setting. If they had used the skills taught during the week successfully and were given the opportunity to share how that experience went for them, they felt pride at being able to demonstrate their learning from the Programme.

It's more of the helping each other and being able to talk about the things that you've done during the week. Even the skills-. When you turned up, you used to have to explain the skills that you've used, that you've learnt over the last three or four weeks, 'Have you used any of those skills?' and you could tell the people, and sometimes it made you feel quite proud - Sam

Hearing the situated perspectives of the other group members also enabled men to feel a sense of hope that they too can get through this and improve their behaviour. Because other men had been through similar events that they could relate to, had made progress and demonstrated change, it gave them hope that they could do that as well.

You think 'Oh, he's having the same trouble. It can't be that bad'. Nah, it was quite good. It was positive. I used to enjoy coming here - Brian

It was just, yeah, pretty cool seeing it from a guy that's been to the worst places that you can probably be and come out the other side ok - Simon

One drawback of devoting time to sharing stories was the potential for one or two more vocal members of the group to dominate the group discussion with their own stories. When this occurred, the men said they felt frustrated and irritated at the amount of time taken away from more positive learning discussions. This resulted in the men feeling their engagement and enjoyment of the course was reduced.

Just annoying. Just never ever let you get a word in edgewise. I mean, you'd get into your discussion groups and if you were unfortunate enough to end up in a group with him, it just killed the conversation, and they would be the nights when you just sort of walk away thinking 'Oh, God, I wish that guy would shut up' and it just pissed you off, so you went home and didn't sort of enjoy the night as good as you do other nights - Simon

Furthermore, the men noted there was the risk that certain group members could treat the sharing of stories as a sort of competition, vying for the 'bigger or better' story, or being too forceful with promoting their point of view and shutting down alternative ways of thinking about the various issues and situations presented. Here, forcefully dominating the experience of situated perspectives served to reduce other group members' engagement with the group learning environment and prevented their willingness to participate in discussions.

It was just one particular guy that was just such a pain in the arse. Just everything we talked about, he had a bigger or better story and everything was just a matter of fact, and he's made a statement and 'It's as simple as that. No questions asked. That's it' and it was just like it just killed the conversation. Yeah, so once he stopped coming it was good - Simon

3.3.4 Time Away From Staff

As mentioned in section 3.3.3, it was important for the men to be able to interact with others in the same position they were in. Their peers were able to offer them something the staff could not – real, meaningful and shared understandings of what it is like to currently struggle with issues of violence in their day-to-day lives. Therefore, for the men interviewed, the time spent with their peer group members was as important, and in some cases more important, than their interactions with the facilitators of the Programme.

You get into a little group and [the other group members] just tell you what you've got to do for next week, tell you how to relax. That was the best thing about going. I'm not saying listening to the teachers was bad, but that was the best thing for me because you just know that there's people who want to help you, people who were going through the same situation - Patrick

Although the facilitators worked hard to promote equality and a team approach between staff and group members, there still remained a sense of division between the 'experts' and the 'clients'. Whilst the 'experts' were well-educated in issues of violence and counselling, they were still not seen as experts on what it is actually like to live with violence in your life, therefore the connections between the facilitators and the men, whilst strong, had their limitations. The following quote is from a man who did not enjoy the group and, while he was one of the minority, he explicitly raised a concern that was an undercurrent throughout many of the men's accounts: the process of engaging with the other group members was often more powerful than solely being 'taught' by experts because it enabled a direct and understandable translation between theory/ideology and real-life behaviour and experiences.

To be honest with you, they do these courses and that's all they know. This is how you learn, this is how you learn, but they don't. You take them away from that book and they're lost and they need to be part of the-. Sit down, 'Hey Bob? How do you reckon we can help John?', you know? And the guy will go 'Oh hell, yeah ok, we do this, we do that' and 'The time it happened I felt awful about it. Gee I'm glad I could talk to you'. You can't talk-. You're talking to a computer there, you know? You're talking to a five year course. That's all you're talking to. And the guys, you can see, they go away and think 'Christ' - Aaron

Because the theme of 'time away from staff' was quite important to most of the men, they often talked in the interviews about the power of the 'smoko break'. The break was an opportunity for the men to engage in valuable and memorable 'work' without the presence of staff members. It was a chance for men to talk informally and meaningfully about the impact the course has had on their lives, and how they were integrating the course teachings with life outside the Programme. Here, the men were not focussed on learning new material, but were thinking about how the Programme integrated with, and posed or solved problems in, their day-to-day life. As such, the smoko break was an invaluable learning component of the course.

Everybody would come outside on the smoko break and everyone would come outside and we'd talk on the smoko break. We'd talk about how we think we're doing on the course, we'd talk about how we're doing with things at home and how we're doing things at work and how we now treat our bosses and stuff like that - Jason

They had a little break there for coffee and that's where the bond thing got really interesting with the boys because we'd talk and yack about men's stuff away from the staff and the cup of tea time was very beneficial, so if you're talking to them about it, that time was great because,

away from the people running it, boys can just talk about stuff and I found that just having a cup of coffee and a biscuit and stuff with the boys really was quite good - Derek

During the break time, the men felt they were able to 'be themselves' more (as 'men' rather than 'students'), therefore were able to meaningfully integrate the course teachings with their sense of self.

I can't put my finger on that, but it was, for me, quite strong to be having a cup of coffee with those guys and not to be talking so much, or not to have the Te Manawa people there and just be guys - Derek

Furthermore, men said they were more honest and open during the break time. They were able to say, and admit, things they were not comfortable discussing in front of the staff members.

I didn't really tell [the facilitators] about those because I didn't want them to think how nuts I was...but when I talked to the boys about it, they all understand. They're like 'You shouldn't have done that, but we're not going to say we wouldn't do it' - Patrick.

As a result of the increased levels of honesty and openness during the break time disclosures, the advice or direction the men could give each other in these moments was also more direct and honest. They felt they could react to other men's stories in a more 'authentic' way during break times, creating relationships and interactions that reflected how they would respond to such stories or issues with friends in their situated lives.

Because you've been there, you can see where the other guys are coming from, you can give them your advice, you can give them a kick in the arse if it's needed basically to show them - Jason

3.3.5 Mentoring/Role Modelling

Te Manawa Services have an open door policy, which means the group is fluid, with men entering and graduating from the Programme at various points. Because of this, those who had been in the group longer had the opportunity to become role models or mentors for new members of the group. They were able to relate to the new members, remembering what it was like for them when they first started the Programme. Therefore, the men said they actively tried to motivate new members to become engaged with the course. They supported them to become more open to both their own emotions and what the course had to offer, and helped the new members feel comfortable within the group. This enhanced new members' engagement, whilst also cementing and reinforcing the senior group members' learning and change process.

It really affects the dynamics of the group because when somebody comes in, like myself, they may be very upset about having to be there and very resentful and half the group have been there for a while and are quite enthusiastic about what the group is doing and what they're getting out of it, so that brings this person out and they can see that these guys are actually enjoying this, maybe it's not so bad after all. It's a very positive attribute I think - Paul

It's real welcoming. All the guys that have been there for longer were quite welcoming. Because they had been there for longer, they were more open with what they wanted to say and needed to say, so we kind of drew on that for speaking when it was your turn to speak yourself, and then when it came to newer guys coming in while we were there, we kind of tried to do the same - Thomas

You sort of try to bring a little bit in and we were sort of almost a veteran. We'd be listening to what they're saying and, again, it's about encouraging and putting your lot in - Richard

Therefore, the open door policy at Te Manawa Services is vital for encouraging and establishing engagement and motivation for change, as the older group members were often a key figure in enabling the new members to feel comfortable and to participate in the group environment. Furthermore, the open door policy produces organic opportunities for group members to experience feelings of accomplishment and pride relating to what they were learning and the changes they were making as a result of the course. As a newer member, they were inspired by the older members' attitudes and accomplishments, and over time were given the opportunity to 'be' that inspiration for others.

Everybody comes at a different level, but you just all fit in, which is really good the way they do that because you get the old-. When I first started these guys who were there, I thought 'Wow they're on to it. They really understand their anger' because you're new and then as you go on longer and you're actually doing the same role, you're supporting the new guys that are coming in - Derek

3.3.6 Dispelling Stereotypes

As mentioned in section 3.1.3, many men could not initially relate to the label of 'abusive' because of preconceptions and stereotypes of what 'domestic violence' is and what an 'abuser' looks like. Through interactions with a range of men in the group, some similar to themselves, others very different, the men began to see that the stereotype of domestic violence and 'who' commits domestic violence does not relate to the reality of men who abuse. 'Ordinary' men also abuse, 'good' men also abuse – men who committed domestic violence were not only the monsters portrayed in the media, but were normal men struggling with issues of violence in their lives. Therefore, the men began to reduce their resistance towards relating to the Programme content due to the dispelling of stereotypes concerning 'what kind of man' is abusive. They no longer needed to distance themselves from that label, and therefore their own abusive or violent behaviour.

And seeing that it's not only-. That this sort of behaviour affects the whole range of society. It's not just young pissheds who are broke, you know, there's middle aged men there, there's well-to-do people, it is everyone, you know, and the fact that men late in their life finally front up to it. Like, there was a guy there who was in his 60s. That can only be good, that, not bad - Cody

Furthermore, the men were given opportunities to see those who would normally fit the stereotype of 'dangerous' or 'violent' display vulnerability and emotion. This further dispelled stereotypes by showing men who would normally be considered as 'bad men' as complex, caring and emotional men as well.

We had one big Māori guy saying something one night and he broke down and cried. He was bawling his eyes out like a little 2 year old kid who wasn't allowed to have a cookie and I thought 'Whoa. Why the hell am I scared of you?' - Matthew
And another amazing thing was when we had old, can't think of the guy's name, Viv Te Moti was it? That was on the family violence ads on TV, big guy with love tattooed on his knuckles and that sort of thing, when he came and spoke to us and seeing where he'd turned his life from to where he is now, that was unbelievable, aye - Simon

3.3.7 Minimisation

Unfortunately, seeing the range of diversity in the group environment also enabled the men to compare themselves to the use of violence by others in a way that minimised their own abusive behaviours. Here, the men were able to rank themselves against other men in order to rationalise that their use of violence was 'not as bad' as other men's in the group. So

although there were opportunities for men to dispel stereotypes of domestic violence, the comparisons between men served to reinforce or draw upon these stereotypes. When stereotypes were not shifted, they served to minimise the men's abusive behaviour by producing a distance between themselves and what a stereotypical 'abuser' may look like.

You know, there was some people there that had obviously had some bloody rough upbringings, you know, gangs and that sort of thing, but man I take my hat off to guys who go there that have had that sort of upbringing and shared it with us and told some of the things that they've done in their life and that sort of thing and, yeah, it was really cool. Makes you-, Well, probably for me it sort of made me sort of think 'Well, I'm not quite so bad after all' - Simon

It was more what they were saying and hearing the other guys' stories as well. It's just-, People have had a far worse life than me. I mean, I thought I was bad, but there are guys out there that are far worse off than me - Jake

The privileging of physical abuse in their definitions of domestic violence further enabled this minimisation, allowing the men to rationalise that their behaviour was 'not as bad' as others (if 'bad' at all), because they did not use physical forms of violence against women and children. Therefore, in instances where the underlying assumptions of domestic violence were not challenged, minimisation occurred through comparison of the self against men who did use physical violence. This minimisation constrained engagement with the course and reinforced the men's belief that they did not belong on the Programme because they did not have a 'genuine' problem with violence.

I took nothing in. 'I don't belong here. Oh hell, I don't want to sit too close to him. He beat his wife up', you know? - Matthew

I don't feel like I should have been there and...I can understand people beating the snot out of their missus and their kids and that, you know, if it helps you, well so be it, you know, that's good and I don't want to rubbish it, but I just don't think it was in my-, Fitted my need, but that was only my view - Martin

I think my case was a little bit unique in that nobody else that was there on the course with me was there for similar reasons. That is, the guys who were there on the course appeared to be there for genuine cases of violence against a person - Paul

Furthermore, some men used the emotional and psychological vulnerability the other men displayed as further support for why they did not belong in the group and why they were 'not as bad' as other men. Here, they could not, or were unwilling to, relate to the emotional issues other men were struggling with as a result of their experiences, and this produced a distancing between them and others on the course. This encouraged some men to view themselves as 'healthier' than others, and therefore less in need of the help and support the course offered.

The first night was sort of sit back and work out 'Oh, these guys have got problems, I'm nothing like them' - Sam

Interviewer: Did you find anyone in the group that you could connect with, like that you'd formed a buddy type relationship with at all, or were they all pretty different to you?

Martin: I thought they were all pretty-, Do you mean the crims or the staff?

Interviewer: The crims

Martin: Oh, I thought they were all fucking hopeless bastards [laughs]

Interviewer: What about the staff?

Martin: Yeah, no, good, yeah. I felt more like they were more normal, like me, but that was only my reasoning

When men minimised their own abuse and issues through comparisons to other men, there was the sense that men 'like them' did not need as intensive an intervention as the other men in the group. In this regard, their referral to the Programme was an 'over-reaction'.

People that were just like me and needed to be hit over the head with a feather duster and sent on their way - Martin

Referral pathways appeared to be extremely salient in issues relating to minimisation and the 'need' to be on the course. It was common in the interviews to hear how those who self-referred were 'not as bad' as those who were court referred, despite the fact that there was often minimal to no difference in the histories of violence between the two groups of men. Court referred men were considered 'bad' based on the assumption that it is severe physical violence that comes to the attention of the police. Therefore, comparison of referral pathways enabled a minimisation of abuse for those who self-referred.

In my group, I think I was-, Because everyone else had been referred there from the courts all the time and they had quite a lot of violent things with their partners and girlfriends and they all had restraining orders on them and all that sort of thing - Martin

They're obviously court appointed and they just sit there and they don't want to be there or be part of the place or anything else - Simon

There was, however, one positive element of minimisation through comparison: some men were able to see the 'worst abusers' as a warning in regards to where their behaviour could take them if they did not receive help and change. In this sense, the men could see where anger and violence issues could lead to in the future, and this motivated them to actively work on addressing their issues before they escalated to more serious behaviours and consequences.

Some of the guys would talk about something-, That's right, because you go through week after week and then you might have a good time, but then something goes wrong and you do have an argument and you have a bit of a go, that's when the boys talk about 'Oh, I lost it a bit in the weekend. Me and the missus had a big row and I ended up getting in trouble' or one of the guys had gotten arrested or something like that. 'I wasn't here last week because I was locked up' and stuff like that and that was one of the real powerful things because when you hear about other guys going through stuff, you just knew that you could see yourself in that position. Even if I never got arrested or anything like that, I was on autopilot. I wasn't thinking about what I was doing at all and you get to know what it's like for us boys when we blow that-, Flick that switch or whatever it is that makes you into the horrible person that you don't like - Derek

3.4 Processes of Engagement

3.4.1 Relating to Self

The key to meaningful engagement for all men interviewed was to be able to personally relate to the Programme content. The men needed to be able to see themselves, their behaviour and their issues within the course curriculum. If they could relate their own personal experiences to what they were learning about and discussing in the Programme, then they were able to translate the teachings to their own understandings and actions. Those men who could not personally relate to the Programme content found it difficult to engage with the course and therefore change was minimal.

A lot of the things they said, I wasn't really getting much-, Didn't feel like I was benefitting from what they were talking about. Like, I was trying to envisage what they were talking about, but it held not much relevance to my anger problems - Brian.

Even men who believed they had high levels of general engagement with the Programme found that in sessions where they could not relate to the curriculum content, engagement with that particular session was absent or minimal. Therefore, being able to relate to all of the presented course content was vital for maintaining motivation for learning and change.

I think there was some nights where you went there and, just the topic for the night, just didn't really have a bearing for me. Some nights you just went there and you just thought 'Wow, that was really, really cool' and you got a lot out of it, and then other nights it just, don't know, you just walked away and sort of think 'Well, that was really a bit of a'. Not a waste of time, but you just didn't quite get as much out of it as you do other nights, so you feel a little bit lower. You walk away from there maybe not quite with such a spring in your step - Simon

For those who did not personally relate to the course content, it did not necessarily mean they could not engage with the course at a cognitive level. A few men said that while they believed they did not have problems with anger or violence, they still found the Programme useful for further strengthening their positive behaviour, and were interested in the progress and learning journey of the other men. Therefore, although relating to self is a vital component to engagement with the course, it is not inflexible. If men are able to see the potential of the Programme, even if it did not address their particular experiences, there are still opportunities to facilitate engagement and positive change.

I just resented being there, but I certainly didn't try to show that or use that to just not get involved in a stand-off, but it would have held me back a little bit anyway, just naturally you know? But then I realised, you know, 'I've got to try and turn this to good. It's a course. Learn what you can out of it and put in what you can' and so I got to stage 2, which was 'Learn what you can' and stage 3 was 'Put in what you can', because looking at the course, I realised that it had some really good ways of showing the guys where anger comes from, the cycles of anger, and I could see those cycles and I could see how I go to there and there and back again, these guys go all the way around, and you don't want to get caught up in that, you know? - Paul

Because the need to relate to their own experiences was vital in order to facilitate engagement and change, the men spoke of feeling frustrated with the highly structured format of the course. They said the tight timetable the group sessions needed to follow did not allow them to respond to, and work with, the group members' specific issues and concerns. They felt there needed to be more flexibility in regards to working with the particular individuals in the group, rather than rigidly following the booklet and set curriculum.

When I first went in there they said to me 'You guys can leave anytime you like. This is your time' and that's the only true thing they ever said. From then onwards it wasn't. Everything was done by the book. You had that module, each week there was that module to do and the guys would be talking away there-. A lot of new people come in from time to time, you could see that they were unsure what the night was going to bring for them. The next thing you know, you have these counsellors come in, or facilitators as they call them, and the next thing you know it was 'Right, we haven't got much time. Come on guys. We've got to get in this and we've got to get through this, get through that' and it was like a conveyor belt in a factory, you know, you come in that door and this was what had to be done before you went out that door that night - Aaron

3.4.2 Awareness of Problem

Often the most difficult process for the men in regards to engagement and relating to the course was to first admit they had a problem and needed to be on the Programme. The men

talked about how difficult it was for them to simply acknowledge and admit that they needed help.

How do you get a guy to understand he's got a problem? That's the hardest part I'd say, getting someone to anger management class, getting them to identify they've got a problem - Sam

Shame and embarrassment about their behaviour had previously prevented them from admitting they had a problem.

The staff[at work]found out that I was doing anger management because when I first went I was like 'Oh, I don't really want to tell anybody'. It's like confessing to being an alcoholic or something like that, and you do portray an image, and people go 'You? Angry?' and they couldn't really-. And still people say 'You're not angry' and I say 'You don't see me when I'm away from [work]', you know, you portray an image on the job - Derek

There was a sense that this awareness could not be forced or facilitated. It was frequently expressed as a state of 'readiness' that the men had to arrive at on their own accord. This was often after a long journey through various consequences and experiences related to their abusive behaviour that culminated to produce a moment of meaningful awareness.

Interviewer: So was being at Te Manawa the first time you'd ever actually sat down and taken some time for yourself?

Sam: I had plenty of time in jail, but I still didn't do anything.

Interviewer: So that time became different as a result of Te Manawa?

Sam: Yeah. I think the timing was right for me, and opening up to the fact that I had a problem, that's the biggest part I think.

Interviewer: Yeah. How did that feel?

Sam: Well, it took a little bit to get used to because as far as I was concerned I was just normal, I didn't have a problem. Other people had a problem, but not me, so it came as a big eye opener

I realised that I had an issue and the opportunity was there to sort that issue - Thomas

I think it was that time. I wanted to learn - Brian.

'Readiness' was considered as so vital to engagement that most men said change would never occur until readiness was achieved.

They're there to help people that want to be helped and if you're not ready for help, I think you're just going to end up back there later down the track - Sam

I've got nothing but praise for Te Manawa and what they do and how they do it. You can state that quote! That it works, as long as the individual's come along and are willing to change. It's like smoking, if you're willing to change. You've got to come along and keep going on because you see it in some of these guys that may take two or three cycles through Te Manawa to really start bringing change, but you see it - Richard

3.4.3 'Click' Moment

When discussing the development, and processes, of engagement, the men were able to pinpoint a particular 'click moment': a moment when they began to start seeing themselves within the Programme content, became aware that they had a problem, and therefore began to engage and change. This often occurred with the presentation of a certain topic that facilitated a 'eureka' moment where they began to appreciate not only why they were on the course, but what benefits participating in the Programme could produce for them. There were various 'click moments' that the men discussed, emphasising the diversity within the group and the importance of being able to personally relate to the course content. One man

discussed a video that was shown in a particular session that facilitated his 'click moment'. Previous to this video, the man felt that he did not belong in the group and was not engaged with the Programme content. As a result of this video, he began to engage and take advantage of what the Programme could offer him.

Matthew: But yeah, that video-. If people saw that video first, you know? Like, I can't remember how many nights I did thinking 'I don't really belong here. I don't know why I'm here. I can't be bothered. Oh hang on, I'm trying to save my marriage that's right, I've got to come', but then I saw that video and I thought 'Whoa'.

Interviewer: So it actually meant something to you then, aye?

Matthew: It did and then everything-, I thought 'Well, shit, I've really got to start listening and concentrating and putting my two cents in'

Another man discussed a session that explored issues of conflict that made him re-evaluate his own personal history and give meaning to his experiences. From that point on, he was motivated to engage in the course and change his behaviour.

One session they had, they talked about conflict and it really struck me, about when you look in the mirror and the person you see, no one else can see it, but you can see it, the evil person that you're looking at, the evil things inside, and that just made me realise, that word conflict made me realise, that I live and breathe it. It's around me all the time and to be aware of it, but I don't know if that would strike anyone else that way, but to me it-. You know, we just went around in a group and he goes 'What do you think conflict is? What does it mean to you?' and it just made me feel like it was something I've struggled with for all my life - Brian

Despite many men being unable to recall or pinpoint an exact 'click moment', often the men articulated that at some time during the course, they began to gain a deeper awareness of why they were on the Programme and it was at this point they began to meaningfully engage with the course content.

I don't know when, but I know at some stage I thought 'Well, I am doing this for me. This is making ME a better person' - Matthew

3.4.4 Motivation

There were two motivational types identified in the men's accounts: internal and external motivation. Men were considered internally motivated if they attended the Programme because of a self-identified need to change, not because they wished to obtain an external goal, such as avoidance of a criminal record or to save their relationship. Often the source of internal motivation was self-observation of the way they treated their loved ones, predominantly how they interacted with their children.

I used to yell a lot at the kids and I went on the course just to learn how to control my anger so I wouldn't yell at them - Jason

That was maybe one of the things that motivated me to go and do something about it, was-. The kids were talking, that's right, and they said 'Oh, that's just dad' and I thought 'Nah' because I don't want to be just a dad who yells and screams at them when I want things done - Derek

In terms of Programme effectiveness, internal motivation was ideal. Those who spoke of internal motivations for course attendance in the interviews displayed the highest level of changes and non-violent beliefs after course completion in comparison to those who were externally motivated.

External motivation refers to men attending the course because of external influences or requirements. Reasons included court-mandated attendance, desire to avoid criminal

proceedings or records, gaining access to, or custody of, children, and to save the relationship.

So I was sort of resigned. 'I've got to do this to get rid of the sentence' - Cody

My goal right from the start was to get back in with my wife and be back in the family home with my children and so that was always, always my goal - Simon

With this thing with CYPs coming in, she said-, She was pushing me: 'Come on, you need to go to this. If you want me to stay here, then you're going to have to do this Programme' - Richard

Unfortunately, external motivation was associated with denial of abuse or violence in the interviews. Externally motivated men did not choose to attend the course voluntarily, but instead were forced or coerced by others, be they their (ex) partners, the criminal justice system or by other agencies. Because they had not achieved a state of readiness or awareness of a problem, they felt they did not need to be on the Programme and maintained a denial of their abusive or violent actions. Therefore, they were unable to challenge their behavior or engage with processes of responsibility and accountability.

We had a bit of trouble with her son and yes, there was a bit of a scuffle between me and him and...yeah there was a scuffle...the next thing you know I'm getting letters in the mail about Te Manawa and family violence and all that. So that's how we both heard about it, and my wife, she made all the phone calls and started the course practically straight away and, as I said, I [makes pfft noise], I haven't hit anyone in my life - Matthew

External motivation was also associated with accounts of diminished levels of engagement and change. Externally motivated men said they only attended the full Programme to meet certain criteria in order to achieve a particular goal. They could not relate to the Programme content and viewed their attendance almost as if 'ticking a box' in order to meet criteria for completion. Here, programme attendance is a form of manipulation where the course is used as a tool to achieve what they want, without facilitating change or challenging the use of abuse and violence in the men's lives.

At the end of the day, I sort of felt like I shouldn't have been there. It was bullshit, you know? I only went there because I didn't want a criminal record. That's the only reason I went there - Martin

Therefore, we must be careful not to associate attendance or course completion with engagement and change. Despite externally motivated men completing the full Programme, processes of engagement, accountability and responsibility were often absent for these men and the course should not be considered a 'success' in these cases.

I'd play their games, yeah. Like we had our little groups and they just sort of-, I came clean and said 'I'm only here because I have to be because of rar rar rar' and they were all pretty good and we used to talk about work and they were a bit more interested in what I did for a job, so it was quite relaxed and quite good, yeah - Martin

Interviews with those who were externally motivated suggested a reduction in violence after the course was not necessarily associated with genuine engagement and change, but instead reflected the men's motivation to avoid criminal justice processes in the future.

And knowing too that I could stop this shit that's going on just by smacking her one, and then what happens? She calls the police, I get arrested. I'm not the bad apple of this bunch here, come on - Cody

I said to [the police officer], like, you know, 'Last time I touched him I got in to trouble. So I'm playing by society's rules now' - Martin

However, the source of motivation was not a fixed or static state. Some men who were externally motivated also expressed internal motivation. They approached Te Manawa Services in order to meet an external goal, but increasingly became aware of underlying issues that they needed to address.

Probably a realization, I suppose, that if things didn't change that I wasn't going to get back into the family home, and, I don't know, having to take a long look at yourself and see that what you're doing is not ok - Simon

I wanted to reconcile and make things better with my girlfriend as well as get good merits for court, but I initially knew myself that I had to make some changes - Brian

There were also some instances where the men were able to shift their base of motivation throughout the course of the Programme. These men described how increased participation with the Programme enabled the development of internal motivation. Often this was facilitated by a 'click moment' as discussed in section 3.4.3.

I'm going to take that back. She didn't blackmail me at all. At the end of the day, I chose to come. In the beginning it was to get my relationship back, but towards the end it was 'Nah, I'm doing this for me' and it did take me a long time to realise that. It was even after the video, after I started really taking things in: 'Well, I am learning a bit out of this. I am doing this for me, not for no one else' - Matthew

3.4.5 Gradual Engagement

As the shifting of motivational sources suggests, engagement can be a gradual process, building upon itself through increased participation with, and exposure to, the Programme. Indeed, all of the men interviewed who said they engaged with the Programme, also stated they were not motivated to change initially, but developed their engagement with the course gradually across several sessions.

Towards the middle, or three-quarters of the way through, a guy is finally opening himself up because he realises 'Well, I do need this course, I am here for the right reasons' - Matthew

The men talked about how they did not pay attention to, or learn from, the first few sessions they attended. In these early sessions, they could not personally relate to the course, and had yet to develop readiness for change. Therefore, they felt they had 'missed' those early sessions due to a lack of interest or motivation to engage with the content.

After about the fifth week, that's when I realised I was more into it and started actually listening. Like, I'd sit there and listen, they'd be talking and I was just like thinking about other stuff in my head, but then I finally just sat there and listened - Patrick

It wasn't probably until the third week that you feel that you could-, Oh, for me, I couldn't fit in until the second or third week - Sam

Furthermore, for those who experienced gradual engagement, the process of goal setting at the intake session was often superficial and lacked meaning. Goals are set at intake to guide the men's journey of change and to assess how well they are achieving what they want from the Programme. However, if the men are not engaged at this early stage, they cannot set meaningful goals, suggesting that goal setting might need to be reviewed after several sessions.

It was definitely an eye-opener and I achieved all my goals, there wasn't a problem there, even though I didn't have many because I didn't really know what I was doing. Well, I knew

why I was doing the course, but I didn't know what it involved or anything like that, so I just made just ridiculous goals really - Matthew

3.5 Presentation of Curriculum

3.5.1 Booklets

Booklets are given to the men detailing each group session's content, along with exercises they can complete. The men discussed how these booklets helped them engage with, and understand, the set curriculum. In particular, the men appreciated the ability to continue to work through the concepts and content in the home environment. Working through the booklets at home helped to reinforce the group sessions content, strengthening meaningful engagement with the curriculum and deepening their understanding of the ideas introduced in the course. This was especially useful for the men who indicated they struggled with learning complex information and needed more time than given in the group sessions to understand the ideology and teaching of the Programme. By discussing the Programme content in the group, then revisiting it later through the aid of booklets, the men felt their learning was deepened, enhanced and reinforced.

I was taking everything in that was getting said and that we'd talked about and doing the work in the bits of paper that you get and then taking it home and reading through it properly at my own leisure and trying to understand it in my own words, because when it comes to big words I'm bloody useless - Matthew

The booklets also enabled the men's (ex) partners and family to be part of their learning journey. The men said they would spend time with their (ex) partners or family members discussing the concepts presented in the course, learning together how to strengthen their happiness and wellbeing in the home family environment.

I could take my worksheets home, she could see what I was doing, she could even help me fill them out and that, it was working good - Sam

The booklets were also helpful in times of crisis or conflict at home. If arguments occurred, the men could read through the booklets to remind themselves of what they had learnt in group, supporting them to respond positively to the presenting issue or situation.

He used to discuss a lot the following Tuesday how his week went and 'Oh, this happened and this happened, so we started getting heated up with each other so we got the last week's form out and we sat down and we went through it' - Matthew

Furthermore, the booklets enabled the men to engage with the content of particular sessions they missed - either because of circumstances that prevented them from physically attending a session, or sessions, as mentioned in section 3.4.5, they did pay attention to due to a lack of engagement. The booklets allowed the men to go through those missed sessions at home and learn the ideas and concepts that were presented on those particular evenings.

Derek: That was the only problem. I think if you missed the one-, Yeah because it was a 16 week-, And-

Interviewer: You can't just do it afterwards?

Derek: No you can't. I think maybe they would have given me the booklet for that day that you were reading it and stuff, and I would have taken it home that day and read it, and that was a good thing

Without exception, every single man who talked about the booklets during the interviews said they still have the booklets in their possession. This included men who had completed the course several years earlier. The men said that, even if they did not frequently read

them, they kept the booklets in case they ever needed to revisit the course content again in the future. In this sense, the booklets served as a refresher of programme content post-course completion.

I've still got all my books. They're in a blimin ring binder and every now and then I just open them up and have a browse - Matthew

I don't read much you see, but I've looked through them and once in a while I do actually take a look at things. Pretty stupid really, but you think 'Oh well, I better give it a go' - Jason

One area of concern regarding the booklets was that the men could use them to psychologically abuse their (ex) partners. In these instances, the men used the booklets to draw attention to their (ex) partners' 'problematic' behaviour and issues that the women needed to address. Therefore, the booklets had the potential to facilitate victim blaming, reinforcing the belief that the (ex) partners' behaviour was also responsible for the men's issues with abuse or violence.

I would go back to my place after the course and then go to her house. It would be like 10 o'clock at night and she'd be like 'Oh, I've got to go to bed. I've got to get up early for the kids' and I was like 'Oh, I want you to go through this' [the booklet], but it never happened until maybe 2 or 3 days later when we got time to sit down, but in the end she went through them and I'm pretty sure she went through all of them and she told me certain spots that she needed to work on - Patrick

3.5.2 Multiple Engagement Methods

Te Manawa Services present the Men Living Free from Violence Programme content in a variety of ways, including discussions, role-plays, written board work and videos. The variety of curriculum presentation catered to the diversity in abilities, and styles, of learning for the men in the group. Through multiple presentation methods, opportunities for learning and engagement were maximised alongside maintaining the men's interest and attention.

I go along and they say 'Right, tonight we'll do a bit of role modelling or do something else'. It's a little bit different in the way they introduce things along the way, and some of it's 'Oh yeah, I remember that', it gets reinforced along the Programme, but as I say, it's not boring, you know, it's not 'Oh he's falling asleep, it must be boring, come on, wake up!' - Richard

Because the preferred learning style and level of academic ability was as diverse as the men in the group, the presentation of multiple engagement methods offered each client at least one mode of working with the materials that personally suited their learning style. For instance, some men really enjoyed and connected with the role-playing exercises, while others found them difficult.

It's showing that model that a lot of these guys haven't had on how two people in a relationship are to respect each other. What that looks like and how to communicate when you have a problem, and teenagers, which can drive you crazy - Paul

I don't like doing it. I find it difficult, hard to understand. I can't remember how they were helpful. I'm sure they do have a key part to it. I think some guys did know and they did get something out of the role-playing - Thomas

However, the range of teaching strategies made it possible to learn in other ways. Some men found the cognitive-behavioural component of the course the most powerful tool for change and personal development.

I think it just starts you off on the road to thinking about what your switch is, and acknowledging that you have got a switch and that there is ways of dealing with how you're feeling - Derek

Others more meaningfully connected with the ideological/theoretical content of the Programme.

The cycle of violence was really interesting. Although I don't go right round the cycle, it's interesting to see the stages that I do go through - Paul

The inclusion of group exercises was especially important for those men who found the course content or tasks challenging due to their level of academic ability. In particular, the group approach to learning exercises enabled the men to reflect on the diversity of strengths and weaknesses within the group. Each group member could help one another, offering their skills where needed, thereby maximising learning for all group members, regardless of struggles in particular educational areas.

The structure of the whole thing is awesome and the things that they get you to do to make you think about your anger and things, and the exercises that you do in the group and things. They're very much hands-on. Everybody's writing on a bit of paper, coming up with ideas, but nobody is-. You don't feel uncomfortable in those sort of things. I've been at management things and we do things like, what's it called, brainstorming and that sort of stuff. You know, you get in a group of about five or six people, there's always going to be somebody who loves to write and somebody who likes to talk and someone who's a bit hesitant about-. Because I was always a problem because I wasn't a great speller, I didn't want to write, but I'd contribute ideas and that's all part of it, so they do that whole thing so no one feels uncomfortable about it - Derek

Sometimes they'd get you to get up and write on the board and I said to them at the start I don't want to do that because I'm no good at writing and after the course that night, one of my friends just started laughing, but I know he was joking, but it kind of hurt my feelings a little bit and I was like 'See, that's why I didn't want to do that', but one time I was up there, he came up to me and he was like 'What do you want to spell?' and he told me what to write and I was like 'Cheers bro' - Patrick

Although the group discussions were an important tool for learning and engagement, they could also be a source of discomfort and distress if men were not confident at speaking in a group environment. The group process enabled both the staff and group members to support the men in instances of discomfort to become more confident and comfortable regarding talking about their own experiences, stories and thoughts with others.

I think they knew that they had to get the information, get the answers out of us. We had to speak up and they knew how to get that, how to get us talking without giving us the answers. So we couldn't just sit in the corner and say 'Yip, nup, yip, nup', we had to actually think about what we were going to say. So that was good because we'd notice we'd say a few things or ask a few questions to some of the facilitators and they kind of sat back and said 'Well, we can't tell you the answers. If that's your answer, give a reason why', which was good - Thomas

Not all men were comfortable with learning in a group format, and the inclusion of four-weekly one-on-one review sessions helped cater to the needs of those who preferred individualised programme presentation. In the individual review sessions, the one-on-one attention to course content and individual progress helped those who struggled with group learning to consolidate and strengthen their understandings and processes of change.

My review helped quite a bit for that first time. That first review was like 'Oh, ok, I do have to suck it up and do this'. When you're on- on-one-, I'm more of a one-on-one person - Jake

Multiple engagement methods enabled the men to maintain interest and motivation over the 16 weeks of the Programme. The length of course is a substantial period of time, and during this time the men are exposed to a large number of ideas and topics. Therefore, presenting the curriculum through different presentation and teaching techniques helped maintain motivation and interest over the entire length of the Programme.

You were learning something new each week. Each week was a different topic and you were learning something new each week, a new skill. There was always a new skill to learn or something you would use - Sam

The actual, the content of the course to me is amazing. It makes you-, You do a lot of thinking - Derek

3.5.3 Length

The men said having the course span several months enabled a more meaningful engagement with the ideas presented, as opposed to a shorter or more condensed programme. 16 weeks enabled the development of a solid knowledge and skills base, and provided numerous opportunities to strengthen and refine what they were learning on the Programme. Over the course of the Programme, a wide range of topics was explored, with each week's teachings combining together to produce a firm base for meaningful change and personal development.

I still think about that group now, the ones who came and went, just some of the things that happened in that time. It's 16 weeks ago, so it was actually quite a thing once you started and to keep coming back, and I could see why it's good that way because each week you're learning a little bit more about yourself and things - Derek

Over the 20 weeks at Te Manawa I learnt-, Each week you virtually had a different subject dealing with the circle of-, They used the circle wheel with all the things-, It wasn't until you studied all the 20 stages over the 20 weeks that you realised where you were going wrong and then you could sort of pick up and put together and then just putting in to use what you'd learnt was the biggest task - Sam

The men said the length of the Programme gave them the opportunity to experience a variety of real-life achievements and challenges outside the course, while simultaneously retaining the safety net of the group to return to once a week to help them cope, further develop and thrive.

That's why it's so good that it's 16 weeks because within that time you do go through some dramas. If you just went over a 40 hour period you'd be going 'Awesome, awesome, oh sweet, oh sweet' and you wouldn't have that-, But because it's 16 weeks you're going to have trying times and that's why it's good that they keep trying to get you to come back because it reinforces each week and it does take-, I suppose it's like, what do they say? Once you do something over and over and over again, you pick it up and I think that's what it is. Each week, you're learning something and you're thinking about it during the week and then something happens and you learn about that more. It's very powerful - Derek

The structure and breadth of curriculum was comprehensive enough to formulate a meaningful knowledge base and change without being an overwhelmingly lengthy and complex venture. In other words, just the right amount of information and ideas were presented over just the right amount of time.

I don't think they could have crammed any more into that time we did spend each night without dragging it on and on, because it was short and sharp, but good. It wasn't a waste of time - Thomas

However, the men also said they did not think the course was long enough for them to have achieved as much change and development as they would have liked at completion of the Programme. They discussed how they felt they needed more time spent learning and engaging with the course content in order to ensure the changes and progress made during the Programme were sustainable post-course completion.

The 12 week course is obviously not enough - Paul

It's something that we talked about in that course and it's so flippin' easy to go back to old behaviours, yeah, because they're something that you've probably, probably in my case as well, I've lived through those same behaviours probably in my father, so right from an early time in my life, all through my adult life and everything, and then all of a sudden you go to a 16 week course and at the end of it you're not supposed to ever revert back? Yeah, at times, you do - Simon

3.5.4 Open Door Policy

As introduced in section 3.3.5, Te Manawa Services have an open door policy. Men who have completed the Programme are welcome to re-enroll and continue to attend subsequent cycles. This was extremely valuable for the men, especially for those who felt one cycle of the Programme was not long enough to achieve what they wanted or expected from the course. Many of the men interviewed said they had either taken advantage of the open door policy, or desired to do so in the future.

To be honest, I couldn't say enough about this men's group and, as I said, I am coming back. I am going to do another course - Matthew

For those who had returned for subsequent cycles, repeating the course helped them achieve the change they wanted to see in themselves when they first attended the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The initial cycle prepared and readied the men for more meaningful participation and engagement in subsequent cycles.

Doing it that second time around, it has helped me - Richard

Halfway through my first course I started getting a bit more open and honest, and the second time round I was more open and things like that - Jake

That's one of the reasons why I want to do the course again – to get 100% out of it, not just 30%, what I got out of it - Matthew

The first time round you get something out of it, but I think the second time it really starts to reinforce what they're trying to get through to you, what they're trying to, you know, to break up-. Break the cycle of this violence, ongoing, round and round and round - Richard

As noted in section 3.5.2, those with learning difficulties struggled to learn new ideas and concepts quickly, therefore the opportunity to re-enroll for subsequent cycles enabled them to continue to work through, and understand, the course content in a meaningful manner.

It's a pity I'm not still doing it because, as I said, it's all in here [points to head], but there's not much room in here - Matthew

I know this for myself, that I take a lot longer to process or to really sink in, you know, so I did it again and that was a big change. I think if I'd left, I don't think I would have got from the course what I should have got from it - Peter.

Attending more than one cycle enabled greater confidence that the changes made, and lessons learnt, on the Programme were maintainable after course completion. The increased length of time spent learning and practising the ideas from the course strengthened the sense of meaningful, substantial and permanent personal development and change.

I think when you keep-, Because I did it for so long, when I left I think it was quite instilled in me - Peter

Often the first cycle attended facilitated cognitive learning about issues of abuse and violence, but the men struggled to translate that knowledge into practice outside the Programme. In other words, they learnt the curriculum, but did not live it. However, returning for subsequent cycles enabled them to put their learning into practice. Having already learnt the course material, they could devote more time and energy to putting this knowledge into meaningful practice in their experiences outside the Programme.

Some of them had been there-, This was their third or fourth time on the course and they were saying that they hadn't really tried to put it in practice before, but this time they will, sort of thing, you know? - Paul

The open door policy was valuable for those who were unable to maintain a life of non-violence after course-completion. In this regard, Te Manawa Services are responsive to the issue that many men continue to struggle with ongoing issues of violence and can more effectively and sustainably reduce or eliminate their violent behaviour through re-engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

Brian: I'd done the course before and I put myself on there voluntarily.

Interviewer: Had things gotten worse when you decided to go back?

Brian: At that time I was having problems with my girlfriend. I was going to court for assaulting her and her sister

Although the open door policy was predominately considered a strongly positive attribute of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, it did pose certain concerns and challenges in regards to group dynamics. The constant flux of group members entering and leaving the Programme could disrupt or damage the development of a socially cohesive and supportive atmosphere between the men in the group. Some men indicated it may be more desirable to start and finish the course with the same group of men.

It's a pity it's a revolving thing. It really [needs] to be 'Ok, you 15 guys, that's it. No one else is coming in. No one's leaving until 17 weeks are up', but I know that's hard because a lot of them come in through court orders and all that and they've got to come straight away. So yeah, I don't know how they'd work around that - Matthew

I reckon that the course sort of also needed the constant-, They probably can't do it, but everyone sort of needs to start at the same time and run-, Because you're meeting a lot of people going through and that, but I thought you might get a little bit more if you were with the same group. You get people come in halfway through and discuss topics that are relevant to do with that course, what you're doing, and they can't understand and fill in the parts at the time - Sam

Some of the men also said the organisation of the set curriculum could be improved if the Programme was not an open door programme. They discussed how particular sessions were 'foundational' – that is, they introduced key concepts, terms or ideas that informed understandings of subsequent content, or they were particularly powerful and facilitated the 'click moment' for engagement with the course (section 3.4.3). They believed it would be more desirable to structure the course so these foundational sessions occurred early in the

Men Living Free from Violence Programme, which is not possible in an open door format where new group members begin the course at various points within the set curriculum.

Therefore, the men were concerned that new members could not gain the deeper understanding or appreciation of certain topics because they had not attended the previous foundational sessions necessary for optimal engagement with the current session's content.

Because the Programme doesn't start at week one and run through 16 weeks, you sort of, I don't know, I found that there was parts of it that probably would have been better if I'd done that first, rather than covered that section, and then gone back to some of the other stuff - Simon

It was all good even that the people were coming and going, but once you've been there the whole time, you see these people come halfway through and it's all related to the stuff we've done, they were sitting there, they couldn't understand what was going on - Sam

Although the ability to return to, or stay on, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was greatly appreciated, the cost of course admission was a potential barrier to re-enrolment. Some of the men said that although that they felt like they needed to return, or would have benefitted from attending another cycle, they were often unable to afford the volunteers fee.

I'd probably do the course again if I had to. Like, I would have gone back for extra-. Just carried it on, but after I left, the government changed the rules and you've got to pay for it. If you're a volunteer you have to pay for it and it was really expensive so I just never went back and there's no way I'm going to pay for about a \$280 course and for a guy who smacks his misses and goes to court and they say 'Here mate, you can go to anger management'. Or someone gets pulled over for drunk driving and got an attitude: 'You need to go to anger management, mate' and get it all paid for - Jason

3.5.5 Graduated Services

Cost was not the only barrier to re-enrolling in subsequent cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme (section 3.5.4). The men also discussed how, despite wanting to remain engaged with Te Manawa Services, they did not have the time or resources to commit further to the 16 week Programme in its full form.

Interviewer: What stops you from going back?

Simon: Um, I suppose committing yourself to another 16 weeks. You sort of think, you know, your life's busy enough as it is and I'm back in the home and there never seems to be enough time, and you sort of think 'If I go and do that once a week for 16 weeks, it's another night where wifey gets left with all the hassles and the kids and, you know, cooking and bathing the kids and all that sort of stuff' and you sort of think 'Well, it's probably going to make things worse if I'm away for a night as well'. So that's one thing that does sort of stop me, but if I could probably get round that one I would certainly go back again. I enjoyed it.

I actually asked whether I could still attend some of the evening sessions, but they said you can't just come in and out when you feel like it, you've got to commit and I just thought 'Nah'. Although I enjoyed going there, I've finished the course now - Tim

These men spoke of the need for a form of graduated services, where they could return to Te Manawa Services post-course completion to revisit and re-engage with the course content, but without having to commit to the full 16 week course. Similar to social support 'catch ups' (section 3.1.1), graduated services could offer the men a chance to return to Te Manawa Services and re-engage with both the course content and the philosophy of non-violence and change.

The men talked about how, despite making positive changes as a result of programme attendance, those changes were difficult to sustain over time and the longer they were away from the course, the greater the potential for forgetting what they had learnt and returning to abusive or violent patterns of behaviour.

I just let things in life get the better of me and just relapsed and forgot about everything I learnt - Brian

There's times where I think 'Gee, that was a waste of time going to that course because I've just gone and thrown it all away, and I've done exactly the same shit again' and then there's times where you just feel guilty as hell because you did revert back to your old ways - Simon
They definitely need that on-going support because it's such an ingrained habit or behaviour and you can't just change it in 12 weeks, because when we're doing the course, we're out of the environment that's actually where the behaviour's happening. I was going to say causing it, but it's not really. You take them out of that and you give them ideology, but they need practice. They're going to go home again and walk in through that door and someone's going to hit them with abuse, put downs and they're going to get crushed and they're going to defend themselves or whatever, and that's when they need the help and support - Paul

Therefore, the men believed a form of graduated services could help remind them of what they learnt on the course and further strengthen their skills and knowledge base in order to maintain their ability to address issues of abuse and violence in their lives.

Maybe give an option to come back for a recap or something. It's just having that information that we have been handed, to have it refreshed, to activate it when anger arises I suppose. So it's like a self talk meeting, just to keep in contact with the methods of how to deal with it and reading the signs and all that - Brian

That's the problem, I suppose, that-. It's like anything, you tend to forget about those-. It's like when you're young and stuff and you've got no money, the kids are young and stuff, and as you get older you've got more, you forget what it's like when you're struggling - Derek

The men suggested that graduated services should be established and organised as part of the core service provision on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. They could see the benefit of Te Manawa Services staff organising graduated sessions as part of the Programme to prevent relapse by addressing and working through issues of re-emergent abusive behaviour within the context of the course curriculum.

They even talked about having a follow-up that, after the course, those who have done the course can keep in contact with each other and have regular discussions and the counsellors will have an input into that, won't be directly involved, but they would appoint one of us as kind of like a supervisor or an over-seer or a chairperson or whatever and just chair the meetings and say 'How's it going in your life?' 'Oh, I've slipped back in to this' 'Oh, do you remember that model...' and we'd get books out again and that sort of thing and I thought 'That's brilliant' and I actually volunteered. I did agree to be a part of that, but it never took off as far I know. I've never been contacted again. It was an idea. They wanted to do that, so maybe they never got the backing to do that, I don't know - Paul

3.5.6 Staff Relationships

The majority of men said the Programme facilitators at Te Manawa Services were highly professional and focussed. This enabled the men to trust and have confidence in the facilitators level of knowledge and expertise, responding positively to the directive and focussed approach to group session facilitation.

All of them, all the staff were so switched on as individuals. As I say, it's like, you go to the group session and: 'Come on and sit down' and they're very professional and very focused on what they're doing - Richard

The sense of professionalism was vital, especially in instances when the men were not engaged or willing to participate in the group sessions. The staff's maintenance of a professional stance ensured that such situations did not detrimentally affect or negatively disrupt the men's experience of the course. Through the facilitators responding patiently and professionally to attitudes of resistance, the men felt comfortable to gradually develop engagement over time without becoming defensive.

Paul: The first stage, of course, was resentment: 'I shouldn't be here', really upset over that and a lot of deep hurt, so I didn't really get in to the course to begin with, and of course the counsellors noticed that. They didn't read in to that the reasons why and then-

Interviewer: How did you find that they responded to you?

Paul: They were positive and they were still trying to include me, so they didn't really react, certainly not in a negative way. I think they could see that I was trying. I thought, you know, 'Well, I'm here. I've got to make the best of this situation'

The physical environment where the group was held reinforced this professional approach to working with the men. The men said the physical setting of Te Manawa Services was different to, and more pleasant than, most of the other agencies they had been involved with in the past. The professional and pleasant décor and physical organisation of Te Manawa Services helped support the extension of respect and value to the men who were attending the course.

You walk in to Te Manawa, there's no actual counter or office type situation. No lining up. You press the buzzer, someone comes out, it's a good setup for that, it's very calming, instead of going up to the counter: 'Oh, what's your name?', tick you off - Cody

The facilitators' skills at developing positive working relationships were critical to engagement and change. Early interactions with the staff enabled the men to feel at ease when first entering the Programme. The facilitators positive and accepting attitudes towards the men, combined with their rapport building skills, were vital for producing a relaxed and comfortable learning environment. This enabled the men to more confidently open up and share their thoughts and experiences in the group sessions, therefore developing deeper participation and engagement with the course.

I was nervous as hell the first night you go because you sort of think 'What's this going to be like' and, I don't know, I suppose you look at yourself and you think 'I'm not an abusive person' and you think 'What sort of people are going to be there? Are they all going to be gang members?', you know, this, that and everything else, but once I sort of did the first introductory class with the lady over there, yeah, I don't know, she just sort of put me at ease and sort of talked about it and that sort of thing and, yeah, I sort of quite looked forward to it, but obviously being very nervous your first night [laughs] because you don't know what to expect - Simon

They were brilliant. They were brilliant from the word go. I'm pretty open as well so I just let it all out and it was really good, you know. I felt safe - Peter

On a subjective level, the 'likeability' of the staff was very important. The men talked about how they 'liked' the staff on a human relational level. This 'likeability' increased the men's respect for the facilitators, heightened enthusiasm for attendance and engagement, and helped the men participate and invest more in the Programme.

I did feel happy that I was going to do it in Feilding because I'd met those people. I'd interacted with [two of the staff members] and I liked them - Cody

The people running it are great and I've got so much time for those people that that's their job... the people are great - Derek

When staff members were well liked and respected, they became role models and inspiration for change to the men.

She made me want to be violent free. Well, I wanted it myself, but the way she used to talk to me about it: 'No. Violence is not ok. Not even with the kids. Don't even pretend to hit them' and I was just thinking 'Is this lady for real?' - Brian

Facilitators' responsiveness to individual men on the Programme was also important. In instances where men felt that the staff had taken an individual and particular interest in their needs, concerns and circumstances, they felt more 'invested in' personally, and therefore began to invest more themselves in the Programme.

I noticed that she started to invest and maybe could see in me that I was actually wanting-. You know, and it was just having someone that looked like that I was, you know, not there for the right reasons, then turning around. That gave me huge confidence and I just sort of went 'Wow, cool'. She actually rung my ex, you know, trying to get contact for the kids for me and that was a big one as well. I thought 'Wow, someone's actually trying to help me here', you know, and it was major - Peter

When the men discussed conflict or disconnection between themselves and the facilitators, it was often when they felt the staff had not personally invested in them. When relationships were strained between men and facilitators, engagement and enjoyment of the course was greatly reduced.

She was very blunt. I don't know, I didn't feel that she'd invested in me - Peter.

Patrick: One of them, it seemed like every time she talked to me, she had tension towards me. She was angryish.

Interviewer: Ok, so she seemed grumpy with you?

Patrick: Yeah, grumpy and I was just like-, I mean, I had one of my reviews with her and I didn't want to talk. I said to her 'Can you get the other person?'

Because the relationships between the men and facilitators were so important to engagement and motivation, the men said their experience of the course was negatively affected if a staff member they had developed a rapport with, and had learnt to trust, left their position at Te Manawa Services. They talked about their disappointment and reluctance to resume their work on the Programme with a staff member that they did not like as much or trust.

Brian: We've had a few different facilitators come and go.

Interviewer: Does that make it difficult?

Brian: Yeah, some of them are real interesting. Oh, just to me, I found them real interesting and some people are just real boring

Patrick: Then halfway through, probably about the eight week, that [staff member] ended up leaving.

Interviewer: The one that you got along with?

Patrick: Yeah and I didn't really want to do it anymore. I tried my hardest to get out of it, but I couldn't because of the order.

3.5.7 Co-Gendered Facilitation

The Duluth framework for domestic violence service provision recommends that living without violence programmes engage in co-gendered facilitation (Shepard & Pence, 1999). Te Manawa Services follow that recommendation and both women and men facilitators lead the group sessions in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. This was viewed as a positive influence to the group dynamic. The men felt that co-gendered facilitation contributed constructively to the atmosphere of the group and they enjoyed having the perspectives and influences of both men and women facilitators during group discussions.

The presentation - there were women involved in it. That was a big thing I think. Just the way they did things. It was friendly - Cody

It didn't matter you had [the women facilitators] there. They were a part of it. It doesn't matter-. It's interesting to bring up a woman's point of view, but they were just there as part of it. I don't think anybody there had any thought 'Oh, why have they got a woman on this?', it's just a little bit of a different perspective, but it's all just, you know: 'We're part of this group and it doesn't matter' and that's how tight knit of a group it was - Richard

The men said they found it easier to talk about their thoughts and feelings with women, therefore having a woman facilitator in the group helped them open up more and talk more freely.

I think it breaks things down. I think some guys-, I think it works. Guys can talk more freely and that to a woman than what they can to another guy. You could talk to [the male facilitator] and that, but, I don't know, I think I felt I could speak freer and that, and easier to [the woman facilitator] - Sam

The men noted that the women facilitators' presence in the group prevented the group dynamic and discussion from becoming too 'blokey', and talked about how the women's influence in the group prevented or 'shut down' avenues of discussion or thought that may not have been appropriate.

I actually think it's quite brilliant because men-on-men, you know, and we all get on with [the male staff], you know, we all got on with those guys so with the men's sort of thing you can kind of get carried away with it a little bit, but having [a woman facilitator] there, she'd jump on it and she'd just go-, Even though-, And she was quite abrasive or, you know, she's quite a strong woman and I think that men need that kind of-, It's a good, what's the word I'm looking for? It's a good connection having those three [facilitators] together - Peter.

The men said they appreciated the opportunity to experience positive interactions with a woman, something they may not have often experienced outside the group due to their personal situations or as a result of their abusive and violent behaviour.

There was always more than one woman there. It's just a-, It's like a bit of an ice breaker. Probably the nicest women these guys have ever met, and they're not dirty on it, you know, they're not putting you down - Cody

Positioning the women facilitators as a different type of woman to those they are in relationships with runs the risk that the women staff at Te Manawa Services may be understood as different to, or 'better than', women in their peer groups, therefore potentially reinforcing understandings of provocation and diminishing responsibility for their abusive behaviour.

3.5.8 Meeting the Needs of Māori Clients

One of the goals of the current evaluation report was to assess how well Te Manawa Services is meeting the needs of their Māori clients. Although few Māori clients participated in the qualitative component of this research, those that discussed the cultural aspects of the course expressed that they enjoyed and connected with the inclusion of Māori beliefs in the set curriculum. They found the incorporation of Māori health models, as represented through the Whare Tapa Wha model, meaningful to them, enabling them to understand better, and connect more to, the Programme's content and teachings.

I think what stuck to me the most was something about the four pillars and there's the fifth pillar - Thomas

They had the structure, house structure, you know, you stand up against each other and lock arms and there's four of you, so if your physical or your mental's down, you know, drop down, and it's just little things like that that put-, 'Wow', you know? 'Yeah, wow, that makes sense' - Peter.

As a Māori, like the four things that they, you know, the groups, I think that put it into perspective. The way they do it was brilliant - Peter

However, one client interviewed spoke of the difficulties he faced in relation to the inclusion of whānau in the group session component of the course. He talked about how he wanted a whānau member to sit beside him to provide him with the support and the confidence to participate fully in the group sessions. However, in order for this to occur, the whānau support person had to enroll in, and attend, the full 16 week Men Living Free from Violence Programme as a client. This requirement was difficult to fulfill as the whānau support member did not have the time and resources to commit to the full Programme.

It was my [whānau member], yeah. He was my support person. He wanted to just be the support person, but for him to come to the courses, because he wanted to come to the courses and just sit by me and support me, he wasn't allowed to do that so he had to enrol on the course as well. He didn't do the whole course, he ended up working overtime and he's got a family of [several] kids - Thomas

The importance of whānau inclusiveness for Māori clients was illustrated when Thomas spoke of the positive impact his whānau support person had on his engagement and participation levels in the group sessions. Thomas said he may not have engaged as fully, felt as comfortable and safe, or benefitted from the course as much as he did had his whānau support person not been present in the group as well.

I probably wouldn't have opened up as much because after going to a couple of courses and seeing how much he spoke out, and because I was sitting right next to him and it went around in a circle, so I was next to speak, so after hearing what he had to say and he was being quite honest, I had to kind of match it, do the same - Thomas

3.6 (Ex) Partner/Family Involvement

3.6.1 Reviews

Te Manawa Services encourage the inclusion of a family/whānau support person at the men's individual review sessions. The men said they appreciated the opportunity to include their (ex) partners in the review process because it enabled them to discuss the Programme with their (ex) partners and explore the course content and ideas with the people who were often the most affected by their violence and abuse.

They had the understanding, they could see your progress, they could also have their input on things that might help around the house or in the relationship and that you could work on as well. Nah, I thought it was good to have that option to have them there and them to come in once a month - Sam

It was important for the men to embrace issues of domestic violence holistically and in the context of ongoing relationships. They believed that in order to address issues of anger and abuse, they needed to work on their relationship alongside developing their own personal skills and positive behavioural changes. The inclusion of the (ex) partner in the reviews enabled the men to meaningfully work on relational and interactional issues with their (ex) partner.

I think that's a very good thing in the way that they've done-. By getting the partner involved because you don't-, you know, it is all about more than just us, it's how we relate to the partner and things - Derek

The men talked about how helpful it was to engage with their (ex) partners' perspectives and experiences of their behaviour. The reviews served as a valuable learning tool for the men, with their (ex) partners' understandings of the lived effects of their behaviour guiding their learning and change process.

Well, they could say how they felt, they could say how they could see you wind up and what you were doing before you wound up, so you also knew. She could say about what her dislikes about me were doing and all that sort of stuff. I could say my dislikes about her and it would all be covered and talked through - Sam

The men who did not have (ex) partner involvement in the review sessions were disappointed they did not attend. They said it would have been helpful for them to have had an opportunity to hear their (ex) partners' perspective on their experiences of abuse and violence.

If I was with someone I would've taken them. I didn't feel obligated to have one there, it didn't affect anything, but if you had someone there they could have-. It's only your word, but there's always two sides and they can hear both sides - Sam

(Ex) partner involvement in the review process often contributed to the development of a supportive 'team approach' towards positive change for both the men and their families. Through the connections established between the (ex) partner and the staff at Te Manawa Services in the review sessions, men felt like they had a strong support contingent behind both themselves and their family, strengthening the family resources and sense of cohesiveness.

It was good because they could see that she was really supportive of me, so they could see from that that I was genuine and not just trying to build myself up and whatever, and they could see that and I think that really helped too for them to get behind us and get [my daughter] on to this youth and parenting course. Yeah, they were helpful - Paul

However, their (ex) partners' presence in the review sessions can constrain their ability to be completely open and honest with the review facilitators. There were times when the men felt they needed to edit what they said for fear of upsetting their (ex) partner, limiting the openness and honesty in the review session.

I think there were just sort of times where I would answer a question and you would have probably been happier if she wasn't there to answer it, probably because I didn't want to rock the boat. I didn't want to upset her or that sort of thing. I don't know, there's probably times

where you might have wanted to blame her or criticize something that she'd done sort of thing, but you didn't say it because she was in the room with you, so you kind of just let that one go, but there might have been a review another month later, sort of thing, and obviously she might not have been at that one and I could bring those things up - Simon

Interviews with the men revealed some safety concerns in regards to (ex) partner involvement in the review sessions. Reviews may provide a forum for men to abuse or intimidate their (ex) partners. One participant discussed how he used the review session to further antagonise and upset his (ex) partner, purposefully psychologically abusing her in the context of the review.

We'd have these sit down meetings together and stuff, which I would virtually rark her up on - Jason

Another participant talked about how he forced his (ex) partner to attend a review session, despite her unwillingness, so that she could see the progress he was making on the course. This was described as a very distressing experience for the (ex) partner. This situation suggests that the men's need to 'prove' they had changed may be more important than concern for their (ex) partners' safety and wellbeing.

I said to her I wanted her to come to the last one. She finally decided to come. We were on our way there and they called us saying 'You're 10 minutes late' and I was like 'Oh, yeah, I talked [her] into doing it, but she didn't want to come so we're going to be a bit late' and then after I got off the phone, she got into a big argument with me and she started crying and I was just: 'Hurry up, we've got to get there' and she was like 'I don't want to go' and I was like 'Hurry up' and then when we were there they were talking to us and they asked her something and she just started crying and I told them 'She's upset because she didn't want to come, but I forced her to go because I wanted her to see the changes' - Patrick.

Therefore, despite the reviews being a positive and constructive element of the Programme for the men on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, they do produce the potential for the further distress and victimisation of their (ex) partners.

3.6.2 Wrap-Around Services

As discussed in section 1.4, Te Manawa Services provide a range of programmes, including a Women Living Free from Violence Programme and a Youth and Parenting Programme.

Whilst the men interviewed did not specifically talk about their thoughts regarding the benefits of the women's Programme, their discussions did highlight some safety concerns in relation to their (ex) partners' attendance on the women's course. The men who had the opportunity to compare the men and women's Programme curriculum booklets talked about their dislike of the portrayal of women as the 'victim' and men as the 'aggressor' in relation to domestic violence. They did not feel comfortable with the alleged dismissal of their (ex) partners' responsibility for abuse and violence and were upset that the 'blame' for the abuse was located solely with the male offender. This issue relates to understandings of provocation (section 3.2.1), where the men rationalise that their use of abuse or violence was a legitimate and acceptable response to their (ex) partners' behavior. Here, the men were unhappy that it appeared their (ex) partner was not encouraged to take responsibility or be held accountable for the violence and abuse in the relationship. This discord between the men's understandings of the women's and men's Programme curriculum had the potential to increase conflict in the home.

Matthew: I said 'Look, sometimes my wife's told me that what they're teaching me is wrong' because she was taught different...I even said to [the facilitators] 'Are you, the men's course - is that as the aggressor and the women's course - is that as the victim?'

Interviewer: Did you get an answer?

Matthew: No because they can't. It's against their policy or something, which is fair enough. I've got no problems about that, but I mentioned it to them. I said 'Look, in my opinion, you can't do that' because as far as I was concerned, I was the victim. I was the one getting picked on at home because I was, at the time, without a job. I was the one getting the verbal abuse

Furthermore, the availability of a women's course introduced the potential for men to coerce their (ex) partners to attend the Women Living Free from Violence Programme. As a result of what they were learning on the men's course, the men began to identify 'deficiency' or mental health issues in their (ex) partner and desired them to attend the available women's course in order to work on their own problems.

She had head problems and once I'd done the course I could see that, I could see the patterns, everything, you know? - Cody

I said to her 'Ok, I'm going to do this because I know it will help us, but I want you to do the same', but she didn't want to take any-. Listen to it. In the end, when I was halfway doing the course, when they had these meetings after four or five weeks with the people from Te Manawa, she came in and they got talking to her and she could see that she needs help too and they were trying to get her on the women's course, but she wouldn't do it - Patrick

Whilst the women's course may indeed be of great benefit to many women, it is important to address the potential for the men to force their (ex) partners to participate, especially where women are positioned as responsible for aspects of their own victimisation. An illustration of this can be seen in the following extract, where one man believed that his (ex) partner did not want to attend the women's Programme because she was not willing to take responsibility for elements of the abuse inflicted upon her.

One of the reasons she brought up was culture, because she's Māori and there was [the staff member], you know, white lady. That was an excuse she used not to go there, whether that's true or not. It's actually a valid excuse, but I think that's all it was. I'll use that excuse not to go. I don't have to face up to things here. I don't have to admit that I played as much a part in that situation as [he] did' - Cody

The Youth and Parenting Programme offered at Te Manawa Services was frequently mentioned during the men's interviews, and its importance and significance must not be underestimated. Some men talked about how they had gained custody of their children, often later in life, and struggled with the demands of being a parent. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for their children to have a history of victimisation and neglect. Therefore, many of the men were currently working on their own issues of abuse and violence, whilst caring for children affected by unstable and sometimes traumatic histories. The ability for the men and their children to receive help, support and guidance through this transition was invaluable for promoting the safety and wellbeing of the children.

I had just gotten out of jail and I didn't know anything about changing a kid or anything. So, I became a fulltime dad - Sam

Why did we do it?...Mainly because I had nothing to do with her. This was my daughter from my first marriage. She was [a teenager] at the time and had just come into my care and I needed help basically - Matthew

Those who took advantage of this service greatly appreciated the opportunity to work on developing more constructive and healthy father-child relationships. They said it taught them how to be strong, positive fathers and strengthened their interactions and relationship with their children.

When I was still finishing off my anger management course, [my child] actually started the child and parent course with me and some of it was repeated, but it wasn't just about [my child] coming in to do some soul searching kind of thing, it was just for both of us to be there and they had both of us in there, sometimes they had us apart, and it was good - Tim.

My ex-partner was doing it with her son and she raved about it so I said 'Well, I'm going to do it. I need to because I don't know how to be a father'. I know how to be a friend. I know how to be my daughter's friend... You have your intake and you have your goals and that was one of my major goals: when to be a father and when to be a friend - Matthew

4 Women's Analysis

4.1 Areas of Change

4.1.1 Communication

Previous to their (ex) partners' engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, the women said that communication was a significant problem in the home environment. They felt their (ex) partners were 'closed off' – not willing to talk about, or listen to, thoughts, feelings and concerns.

He was not a big talker at all - Amy

He'd shut me out and stuff. Like, if we did have a disagreement he'd take off or he'd raise his voice and just shut me out completely - Andrea

Therefore, one of the meaningful changes the women saw in their (ex) partners as a result of attending the Programme was an improvement in communication. Their (ex) partners not only increased their amount of communication with the women, but they also demonstrated the development of positive and healthy communication skills.

His communication has got so much better - Amy

We've been able to communicate better - Lucy

The women felt the men were more 'open' with them, more willing and able to share and discuss their thoughts and emotions.

I felt it made him more open, more openness and he would discuss things with me, and [discuss things] from the Programme which he'd learnt - Jaime

It's opened him up so much - Amy

This 'openness' enabled the women and their (ex) partners to begin to 'talk' again together – facilitating an open dialogue that had been identified as missing previous to engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

His communication to me was excellent, you know, he was coming out and saying 'This is how I'm feeling. How are you feeling?' sort of thing - Amy.

We'd done a lot of communicating, like, we've been able to actually talk - Lucy

The open dialogue often began in relation to what the men were learning on the Programme. Their (ex) partners would share stories of learning and discovery as they participated in the group sessions. Beyond the improved communication this facilitated, it also demonstrated to the women that their (ex) partners were meaningfully engaging in the course and the ideas they were encountering. In a sense, the communication about the men's Programme curriculum facilitated trust that their (ex) partners were genuinely engaged with the course.

He used to always tell me what they used to do and where he would be in his progress and everything. That was good because we never talked anyway - Sarah

He'd come home and talk about what he was doing on it and it was quite good, yeah, because we were talking - Rebecca

Improvements in communication skills helped reduced the level of tension and arguing in the relationship. By utilising effective and constructive methods of communication, issues

that might have previously resulted in an argument were able to be addressed, and resolved, in a more positive and healthy manner.

We can sit and talk and discuss things now a lot better than we could back then - Jessica
He would quite often say to me 'I don't feel like anyone ever listens to me. I don't feel like I've got any-'. I just feel like I go to work and come home and I'm just the pay-packet' and I said 'Hell', I didn't think that he felt like that. I don't see him as just a pay-packet, but that's how he was feeling. And that's good because we wouldn't normally talk like that - Claire

However, if the increase in communication is not constructive, it can be overbearing and hurtful for the women. If their (ex) partners dominantly communicate negative feelings – their anger, frustration, what they do not like about the women's behaviour – then communication was seen as a method of punishing the women instead of improving the relationship. Therefore, if communication is not constructive and is frequently negative, improvements in communication can be distressing and overwhelming for the women.

He just started recognizing and letting me know, but it was a bit too frequent for my liking. aye. It was just like every day he needed his space. 'I'm getting angry', you know, sort of thing - Michelle

4.1.2 Anger Management

The women discussed how their (ex) partners had difficulty managing their anger prior to engaging with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The men's anger was often discussed as an 'explosion' of rage that would result in behavior such as yelling, throwing things and intimidating the women and children.

He could be alright for a long period and then he could just blow up - Hannah
I didn't like his anger in front of the children. Things like throwing things - Kirsty

After the Programme, the women said the men had developed control over their anger. They could see that the men were thinking about their anger – what triggers their anger and how they can actively manage their emotions – and through this self-reflective process the men developed a level of control over their abusive and violent behavior.

It's just a trigger moment that he has, or had, that I think he needed to take control of and I think they've helped him with that - Amy

Reduced Tension Levels

One of the more predominant themes in relation to anger management in the women's interviews was that of reduced tension levels. Because the men had gained an element of control over their anger, they were generally more relaxed and calm than they were before. In other words, the men had 'mellowed' or 'chilled' and were not operating from such a high level of tension.

He did seem a lot calmer, especially around the kids, even when some of them needed him - Jessica
I think he's just chilled out more. He's chilled out a lot more - Jaime
Ever since he's done the Te Manawa course he's mellowed a bit. Yeah, he's mellowed a little bit - Anna

The women discussed how their (ex) partners did not tend to be as prone to over-reacting to stimuli in the environment as before the course. The women said it was more common for their (ex) partners to exhibit tolerance and patience to situations that would have previously elicited a response of 'explosions' of anger and abuse. The men had gained enough control

over their anger to prevent and reduce the incidence of 'knee jerk' abusive reactions to situations or arguments.

After he finished the whole course, I did notice he wasn't as quick to jump down people's throats - Jessica

He wasn't reacting to things like he used to. If I said no, then that was it, he would accept that, whereas before, you know, if he'd text and want me to go and stay the night, or whatever it might have been, and I'd just say 'No, I'm not prepared to do that', normally there'd be nasty texts and it would just keep going and going, there'd be 20 texts, but now he just leaves it - Karen

The reduced tension levels were often described as 'better than' or 'not as bad' as before their (ex) partners attended the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The tension and anger was still present, and felt, by the women, it had just reduced in frequency and intensity of expression. This suggests the men still struggled with issues of anger, despite being able to manage it more effectively and frequently than before the course.

I think generally, overall, it's certainly a lot better than what it was - Claire

He still gets angry really quickly on some occasions, but not like he used to and he doesn't bellow like he used to - Jessica

His arguing sort of didn't stop, but it just didn't...escalate. Yeah, he just...learnt to control his anger a lot better I think - Rebecca

Cognitive Behavioural Learning/Skill Acquisition

The women discussed how the Programme taught their (ex) partners to identify, and respond to, escalating anger and tension through the development of cognitive behavioural skills and techniques. They were aware that, during the course, the men were taught various skills and strategies to actively manage their emotions and gain control over their anger.

The strategies. I think he used to talk about the strategies that they learnt on what do to when he was feeling-. You know, the processes they went through. Yeah, I remember him talking about that - Hannah

Confirming the men's accounts (section 3.4.2), the women said their (ex) partners had developed an increased self-awareness of their issues of abuse and anger. The cognitive behavioural component of the course taught the men how to engage reflexively with their behaviour, the effect it had on others, and the areas they believed could be improved or changed to enable healthier and more positive relationships and interactions.

I think he was identifying his behaviours, identifying the impact that it had on me and the whole impact in general of what he was doing, and more a recognition of what was not helpful in the relationship - Jaime

In terms of cognitive education, the women noticed their (ex) partners were employing a new language as a result of course engagement. They were given cognitive terms with which to engage with issues of anger and how to manage their emotions.

He's used different words that I could tell that he's learnt, that he'd picked up from the course - Claire

One linguistic skill the women noticed their (ex) partners employing was the use of 'I statements'. 'I statements' encouraged the men to take responsibility for their own emotions and avoid holding other people accountable for their feelings and responses. The women said that 'I statements' helped their (ex) partners to control their anger through reframing

their approach to situations, de-escalating conflict, reducing accusations of provocation and contributing to positive communication practices.

And the way he talks. And using the 'I statements' and owning your feelings, owning your own thoughts and your own feelings and taking responsibility for them - Lucy

Furthermore, the women saw their (ex) partners employing cognitive behavioural skills and techniques to increase awareness of, and reflexivity to, emotions and anger. The women's (ex) partners demonstrated a greater responsiveness to escalating levels of anger, identifying when their tension and anger levels were rising and therefore able to actively take steps to reduce or avoid their anger from 'exploding' into more abusive and violent behaviours.

Like, if we have an argument, he turns back to himself and says-. Collects himself, how he controls his anger moments - Amy

Techniques such as identifying 'zones' or colours of the traffic light (see section 3.1.2) aided this self-reflexiveness.

He just...learnt to control his anger a lot better I think. Because they've got those, you know, red light/green light signs - Rebecca

Once their (ex) partners identified that their anger was increasing, this awareness was then able to be translated into action towards reducing anger levels and managing their behaviour. Improved communication skills (section 4.1.1) were often utilised in these moments of self-awareness, with the men communicating to the women what 'zone' they were currently in, therefore using the language of the cognitive behavioural teaching to communicate both an awareness and an indicator of anger levels.

We've been able to actually talk and recognize when we're getting too-. Like, they talk about an orange light and a red light, so really, that's helped us sort of realize when we need to stop talking and take a break - Lucy

Once it has been identified that a situation is escalating, the women and their (ex) partners were in a better place to be able to respond to the situation more positively and effectively. The women said increased reflexivity and communication enabled them to make better choices in order to keep themselves safe and to avoid the situation escalating into violence.

If we get pissed off about it, we don't use violence. We clean and do other things, but if that was still the case, they would use violence, but that's not there anymore - Olivia

The most frequently reported behavioural tool for de-escalating anger utilised by the women's (ex) partner was 'time out'. The men would communicate that they were getting angry and needed space, or time away, from the issue in order to calm themselves down, and then would remove themselves from the situation.

I did notice that he started telling me when he needed space and he would tell me before he started flipping. He just started recognizing and letting me know - Michelle

He would walk away or take the time out or say 'I need to go because I'm getting angry' - Hannah

Skill Acquisition Concerns

Although the acquisition of cognitive-behavioural learning and skills enabled the women's (ex) partners to gain a level of control over their anger, and gave them choices for effective and positive responses to rising emotions, it also introduced the potential for misuse and abuse.

Whilst the 'language' taught on the Programme enabled the men to better conceptualise and understand their anger, the women talked about instances when this new vocabulary was used in a manipulative and abusive manner. More specifically, if the men were able to learn the cognitive elements of the Programme without genuine engagement with the goals or purpose of the course, the ideology, philosophy and terminology of the Programme could be used to manipulate others, such as the children, in order to punish the women, or to further abuse her through processes such as the Family Courts. Here, the men were able to create a favourable impression of themselves for others, whilst undermining the women's rights and reputations in public forums.

He just learnt how to hide it better and how to make it sound better that he had done it when he was in court, and just I think he learnt quite a lot of terminology from there and more of how to control himself just to fool people, because, even now, [our son] goes to him once a fortnight and I'd love it to stop because he just mucks around with his head - Kate

He just learnt to talk the talk and just be able to say the steps that he'd made and what he wants from his future, which was pretty much-. Because it's quite a while ago now too, but I think that's the only thing that I really remember as like 'Oh yip, that gave you quite a bit of ammunition' - Kate.

Alternatively, the cognitive behavioural concepts and learning could be utilised as a justification, or rationalisation, for understandings of provocation. The men would apply what they were learning to the identification of 'deficiency' in the women, ultimately blaming them for their own victimisation. The women talked about how their (ex) partners would discuss, with reference to the Programme content, how the women's behaviours were responsible for the abuse and violence that had occurred.

He's found things that they've said in Te Manawa, taken it completely the wrong way and he's found reasons why he can blame me, just because they said this. I'm like 'No! It means this, but you've taken it on, so you can say: Oh right, now I can say she's that, she's doing this' - Lilith

The behavioural techniques for reducing or avoiding anger also had the potential for misuse or abuse. In particular, the technique of 'time out' appeared to be problematic. If the men utilised 'time out' without first telling the women it was serving as a strategic resolution to rising emotions, the women said it felt like their (ex) partners were simply 'storming out' and disregarding both them and the situation. Therefore, if effective communication was not utilised prior to time out, then it could become a source of hurt and emotional control.

Whenever we would fight, he'd walk away, which made me even angrier - Claire

The use of non-physical time out, such as withdrawing or mentally 'stepping away' from the conflict, also had the potential for misuse. If used to the extreme, the withdrawal of attention and engagement can be experienced as hurtful and punishing.

He's going too far with it I reckon. Sometimes he doesn't talk to my daughter for days - Anna.

4.1.3 Parenting

The women discussed that one of their personal goals in relation to their (ex) partners' participation on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was to improve the men's interactions and relationships with their children, therefore increasing the children's safety and wellbeing.

All I wanted was safety for [our son] - Kate

I know what it-, I'm a child of violence. I know about-, I've been through it and I know the holes and the scars that it leaves which makes me even more sensitive that I don't want that for my children - Claire

The women also talked about how their (ex) partners wanted to improve their treatment of, and relationship with, the children. The women said their (ex) partners recognised they were harming their children with their abusive behaviour and were motivated to address this in order to ensure that their children were happy and safe.

With [him] I think it stems from this father thing: 'I need to be the best father. I don't want my kids to turn out like me and my father so I need to be as good a father as I can for them' - Lilith

He was the one who actually chose to do it. It was probably because of the way he treated the kids. The way he yelled at everybody all the time and just being angry all of the time - Jessica

Therefore, an important and meaningful area of change discussed by the women was the improvement in their (ex) partners' positive parenting abilities. The women noticed that the sessions focusing on parenting and children were particularly significant to the men. Their (ex) partners were more engaged with the course content that specifically addressed issues relating to parenting and children, even if they were not demonstrating engagement with other aspects of the Programme, such as abuse or violence towards women.

Interviewer: What sort of stuff would he get really excited about?

Lilith: Anything to do with the kids. When children are being talked about, how they feel when they see mummy and daddy arguing blah de blah de blah, he's on to it and he brings it home and says 'I've done this, I've done this, I've done this haven't I? And I need to do this, this and this' and I'm like 'Yeah', but when it's anything to do with me it's: 'No, it's not my fault'

The women said their (ex) partners learnt, and used, positive parenting methods that increased the men's ability to engage with, and respond to, the demands of parent-child relationships. The men developed skills to interact with their children in a positive and nurturing manner, without the use of violence and abuse.

Even now he still uses some of the methods that they were taught in that Programme, especially when it comes to some of these kids because...He uses some of the techniques that were taught to them. He uses them on these teenage boys and I think he's a bit more calming than what I would be - Joanna.

He found out different techniques of looking after the kids - Jaime

The women talked about how their (ex) partners became more involved with their children, spending more quality time with them and taking responsibility for more of the parenting duties than previous to the Programme. This resulted in improved, stronger and healthier father-child relationships.

He's getting more involved. At first he thought he was involved, but then when he looked at it, he was like 'Oh, I'm not actually as involved as I should be'. Yeah, so that helped - Andrea

With the kids, he's helped out heaps with that and got more involved with me. We've been much more supportive and things. More loving I think - Andrea

The development of more positive and nurturing parenting skills helped those women who were no longer in relationships with ex-partners to feel comfortable and confident that their children were safe when spending time away from home in the men's care. Through seeing the change in their ex-partners' behaviour, and also the increased happiness and wellbeing

of their children, they felt more secure with the men's access to, or shared custody of, the children.

It made it better for the kids in the fact that they like going and seeing him now...I feel comfortable that he's always got their best interests at heart - Jessica

This security was significant for the women, as they said that the children were their main priority and concern in relation to their (ex) partners' behaviour and progress. Therefore, if the Programme enabled the men to be better fathers to their children, then the women viewed it as successful, often despite whether or not the course helped their (ex) partners reduce or eliminate violence towards women.

For me, the children needed to come first. And no matter what, we needed to be the best parents together for them - Claire

I don't wish him bad. I hope he gets his shit together and his life's all good, because that means my kid's life will be good - Mary

4.1.4 Reconnected Sense of Family

Improved communication skills, anger management and parenting ability combined to produce a reconnected sense of family for the women.

It's been brilliant. We've come together as a family more. We do more family things, which, before, we hadn't been - Amy

When anger was reduced, and positive and healthy behaviours increased, the women said their family felt more 'whole': more loving, nurturing and happy. The time they spent with their (ex) partner was more positive than before, and instead of the tension and the abuse, they were being treated with respect and care.

We've become so close now. The way that we speak to each other now, the communication. There's not so much put downs - Amy

Improved communication meant the family could spend more 'quality time' together without the presence of abuse and violence, therefore increasing the amount of respect and harmony within family relationships and dynamics.

It's been really, really good, especially for the kids as well. Like just the atmosphere at the moment is brilliant. We've treated each other with respect. We're more of a unit now - Amy

It did improve our relationship with him attending it. It did improve different aspects of the relationship. It felt more complete, more easier to live with him, easier to do things - Jaime

This reconnected sense of family was present even for those who had separated from their partner. The changes their ex-partner demonstrated as a result of Programme attendance enabled the men and women to reconnect in a healthy manner and become a 'separated family unit', interacting with each other positively, often for the first time in a long while.

We do get on a lot better now and he-, I had bacon and eggs ready for the kids this morning and he actually came in and had breakfast. We all had breakfast together and we have not done that for-, Been able to do that for years - Karen

We kind of came on board with each other and started parenting good together and then just became more respectful - Claire.

4.1.5 No Change

Despite almost all the women interviewed reporting they could see at least one area of change, regardless of extent or nature, after their (ex) partner completed the course, several

women still said that, overall, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was not effective at reducing or eliminating their (ex) partners' abusive and violent behaviour. Here, despite small improvements, the women believed their (ex) partners had not fundamentally addressed their issues relating to abuse or changed their violent behaviour towards women and children. The Programme, for these men, just did not 'work'.

It didn't work. I think if it did work we would still be together, but he's just a difficult man himself - Sarah

To me, it didn't work. It just didn't work - Kate

He's married again, but I know he's still the same. He hasn't changed and I know the relationship he's-, I think he's quite violent in that relationship because I've heard him say every now and then when he does come round that they've had an argument and he's kicked the door in and stuff like that - Hannah

4.2 Group Learning Environment

4.2.1 Development of Social Support Networks

As mentioned in the men's accounts (section 3.1.1), the women said their (ex) partners had difficulties making and maintaining friendships. Social isolation was a commonly discussed concern, with the women observing the men had few, if any, social outlets or interests, and therefore little-to-no opportunities to share their thoughts, feelings and concerns with friends.

He doesn't have a lot of friends - Anna

He's sort of a bit of a loner. Well, he's got acquaintances, but the way he puts it is he feels like he doesn't really have friends and he doesn't sort of get out and go out with people a lot - Lucy

Whilst the women did not say that the Men Living Free from Violence Programme helped decrease their (ex) partners' social isolation outside the course, they did talk about how the Programme's group environment provided a forum where men with similar issues, concerns and experiences could come together, share their stories and talk about things that were important to them. Their (ex) partners appeared to enjoy this social aspect of the Programme, in particular the opportunity to interact with other men in a supportive and safe environment.

Going to a group session and being able to talk to other men...even I've noticed that it's really good for him. And he does say that he enjoys that - Lucy

It was more of a male contact thing for him. That side helped him I think, having the male contact and having somewhere to throw your ideas I guess - Kirsty

He liked being listened to. They listened to him and he liked that sort of thing - Hannah

The women spoke about how they believed their (ex) partner began to feel 'less alone' through the development of social support ties with likeminded men in the group. Isolation was decreased through the connecting of men who had common experiences, building bonds of support through shared experiences of issues relating to abuse and violence.

He sort of comes across that 'It's alright because all the guys are in the same boat', you know? They're all there for the same reason and I think he wouldn't have gone if it was a group of men sitting down to discuss books or reading or something like that. It's the fact that it's almost stemmed from this macho, male perception of themselves - Lucy

Amazing for them because we don't know what's being said in that room, or the bonds that have been formed or what's happened-. You know, what the discussions were or even, you

know, for [him] realising there are other people out there that are feeling the same way that he does - Claire

The women said that social cohesion within the group had the potential to facilitate a cumulative learning process. Through connection and investment with the other men, their (ex) partners were able to reflect on their peers' learning and change journey, as well as their own, drawing the collective knowledge to contribute to their own processes of engagement and change.

And a lot of the time he would come home and...just see that other men are like this. That was a big thing for him too. He would always comment on how well others were doing at group, so that was really good - Karen

Or talk about what someone else had talked about in group and how that affected them and how they dealt with that - Karen

Furthermore, the strong social element of the group helped increase their (ex) partners' motivation to attend the Programme each week. The women discussed how instead of the men complaining about going to the weekly group sessions, they often looked forward to going because of the social aspect.

[He] used to say they have good times at the men's group. Yeah, it's not all serious. So it's a real support team - Karen

It was more a sort of social gathering as well as going to learn things - Joanna

As noted in the men's accounts (3.1.1), the women were also concerned that the social support networks developed over the course of the Programme were severed upon course completion. They recognised that there was an opportunity, and need, to continue developing this positive social network after course completion so that the men could retain and maintain the experience of support and friendship post-programme.

He really liked the group. He really did. Because he's not a particularly confident guy really and he's not-. We're both sort of the same. We're quite introverted and he doesn't mix with a lot of people socially. Like, he's got his very limited group of friends, but he doesn't socialise outside of that, so it would have been very difficult to start with, but he made some really-. Although we don't see anyone anymore, but he would talk a lot quite kindly about other people on the course and that's something I reckon they should have done is-. You know, what happens next? Because he was quite concerned about that - Claire

Maintaining Focus

Whilst the women said they could see their (ex) partners enjoying, and benefitting from, the social component of the group environment, they also raised concerns that the social aspects of the group had the potential to disrupt the men's focus from what they should be achieving from the course. They were concerned that the engagement and enthusiasm for the group sessions was actually motivated by having fun and socialising, not because the men were engaged with addressing and challenging their abusive and violent behaviour. The women were worried the goals and purpose of the course had become secondary to the social networking elements of the group

Well he went there just to make friends. That was it. He came back one time and he said 'Oh, I've got some contacts in the mob now' and I'm like 'Oh really? Ok. That's real neat' and then afterwards I thought 'Oh my gosh, that's right, that would be the only socialising you'd get to do, once a week'. So he ended up hating the idea of going, but then going and really enjoying it. Like, nothing would come between his Te Manawa nights [laughs] because that was the only socialising he had - Kate

This was another thing, he seemed to go to make friends - Lilith

In these instances, the women believed the course had become a 'joke' to the men. Their (ex) partners were not invested or interested in the course content and instead only attended to socialise and have fun with their friends.

He just said 'Oh, it was pretty bullshit. They just sat there and everyone just looked forward to the smoko' - Kate

Sometimes the only thing that comes out of his mouth is 'I told a joke tonight' and so I'm like 'Great. You told a joke, great. Everybody laughed, yay. Did you do that just for the men?' and I've talked to [the facilitator] about that, where, to me, sometimes when he comes home he doesn't take it seriously - Lilith

Alternatively, the women felt their (ex) partners were attending more to how their fellow group members were engaging with the course content and learning, instead of reflecting on how they were addressing and working through their own issues of abuse and violence. Here, the social aspect served to distract the men from their own processes of change and development.

[He] used to talk about the other guys, but not about-. I said to him 'Now, have you learnt anything out of it?' I sort of asked him that question. He was talking about everybody else, I was like 'Oh, ok' - Anna

4.2.2 Vulnerability and Acceptance

Similar to the men's accounts (section 3.3.2), the women said their (ex) partners struggled with feeling comfortable showing emotions or vulnerability prior to engaging in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. They too recognised there was the stereotype that kiwi men do not show weakness or vulnerability in the form of emotional expressiveness, and there were limited opportunities and spaces for men to safely express emotion and show vulnerability without shame or fear of being judged. Therefore, they recognised the significance of the group to provide a location where vulnerability and emotionality were actively explored.

He comes very much from a generation where men hunt, kill and, you know, provide for their family and the woman stays in the kitchen. You know, they're real old school, so he wouldn't-. Yeah, for him to talk about his feelings would be real poofy, pansy - Claire

With the group-. Yeah, especially for men I would imagine, because in our sort of generation, growing up, nothing was talked about, especially for men, you know? Men didn't cry and men were the bread winners and...so having group for that age group, for our age group, is really huge - Karen.

Whilst the women did not say that the men expressed their vulnerability or emotionality with them personally, they listened to stories of group sessions where the men showed emotionality, such as crying and comforting each other. The women were moved by such stories and felt it was quite powerful to hear that their (ex) partners had been either open to being emotional or had comforted someone in a vulnerable moment. It appeared that the women gained comfort from knowing that their (ex) partners were capable of both feeling vulnerable emotion and offering nurturing support to others.

[He] said one guy cried, so he put his arm around him and [he] doesn't do that. He doesn't do that. So for him to feel that he can comfort someone else like that would have been amazing - Claire.

He's just talked about guys, you know, big guys, gang members and stuff, crying. I was really blown away by it because you just wouldn't imagine it, aye? These big tough tattooed guys and he said they're just big teddy bears really, just like anyone else - Karen

The women affirmed that, as already discussed in relation to the men's accounts (section 3.3.1), the non-judgmental environment in the group sessions enabled their (ex) partner to feel more comfortable opening up and sharing their stories and experiences with the other men in the group. They talked about their (ex) partners' discomfort with discussing their histories of abusive behaviour and could see that once the men felt comfortable to share their thoughts and experiences without fear of judgment, they began to increase participation and engagement with the Programme.

Just get it all out and not feel judged, you know, or they're going through the same sort of things and stuff or have been there and seen this and seen that. So, he felt really comfortable towards the end with them. I think it took him a little while to open up, but when he did, he did and there was just a change in him - Amy.

The ability to share and explore their experiences of, and struggles with, abuse and violence often was related to an increased sense of worth and self-regard. The women believed that their (ex) partner could, to some degree, shed the shame of their past and begin to embrace themselves and the progress they were making in more positive terms

He started getting a bit more self-esteem - Michelle

However, there were concerns that the men were not being confronted enough in regards to their abusive and violent behaviour. The women worried that the development of a non-judgmental environment, and the dominant focus on positive behaviours and change, was silencing or ignoring the seriousness and unacceptability of the men's violent and abusive behaviour. They were concerned that their (ex) partners were not being challenged enough, and that this may hinder the men's ability to engage meaningfully with the effects their behaviour has had on those around them. Therefore, they were worried that the focus on non-judgement was limiting processes of accountability (which will be discussed further in section 4.4.3).

I always thought that they needed to be a bit tougher on them. I don't know. I think that was just me thinking, you know-. Like, if they did something wrong, then they should have been told instead of saying, you know-. They should have been told 'That's wrong. You shouldn't do it' instead of saying 'Well, these are the coping-. This is how you should have done it' - Hannah.

Make them accountable. Like, if they've done something wrong, sort of make them bring it to the light or just say to them 'You shouldn't be doing that' - Hannah

4.2.3 Minimisation

As was seen in the men's accounts (section 3.3.7), the diversity of men enrolled in the Programme enabled the women's (ex) partners to minimise their abuse through drawing comparisons between themselves and others in the group. The women said their (ex) partners could rationalise that their stories of abuse were not severe as other men's, therefore minimising their own use of violence.

You should have seen what this fulla did. You thought I was bad' - Hannah.

This minimisation through comparison enabled the men to deny they had a problem with domestic violence. The women said if their (ex) partners could not relate to, or see their

own experiences in, the other men's stories, they were able to distance themselves from issues of abuse and violence.

He didn't think-. He listens to some of the stories and he thinks that he's nothing like that, kind of thing. He was in denial - Lilith.

And as seen in the men's accounts, there continued to be a privileging of physical violence, where the women's (ex) partners could minimise their abusive behaviour by drawing on the stereotypes of 'domestic violence' relating to physical beatings and attacks. Those who used more psychological or emotional forms of abuse could minimise their own behaviour by comparing themselves to men who used physical violence against women and children.

I think he just didn't like some of the other guys that were on the course because he was angry, loud, in-your-face, but he would never, ever hit a person-. Well, he'd never hit a woman or a kid, never, and he couldn't understand these guys that were there that used to lay hands on their wives or their missus and that, and he just couldn't fathom why you'd do that. He would-. I think-. Because we were together for [over 10] years and the partner he had beforehand used to rile him up to the point he would lash out, but he said 'I hit the fridge or the wall and then walked away'. He wouldn't hit her - Jessica

However, there were instances when comparison to other group members 'level' of violence could be instructive. If the women's (ex) partner was able to use other men's stories as a warning as to what could happen if issues of abuse and violence are not addressed, there is the potential for motivation and engagement with processes of change to be enhanced. In this sense, the men could see what could happen to them if they did not address their (minimised) issues of abuse and violence, and were motivated to avoid such consequences.

There's people there that are obviously in worse off positions than what he got himself into, so I think that sort of made him sort of wake up and sort of see as well - Joanna

4.3 Patterns of Abuse

4.3.1 Physical Violence

Although there is the stereotype of domestic violence predominantly taking the form of physical acts of violence and aggression, physical violence was only reported as a major concern for a small minority of women interviewed. The lack of reported and discussed physical violence in the interviews may be a result of stereotyped understandings of what constitutes 'physical violence'. The women discounted experiences of violence when they were deemed to be 'minor' – that is, when they did not involve the stereotypical closed fist punch to the face. The following quote is from a woman who maintained that there was no physical violence in her relationship:

The one time that I didn't back down...he pushed me and I fell over and broke my hand and that was probably the worst of it really - Mary

The presence of physical violence was also discounted when actions did not result in serious injuries, in other words, when injuries did not result in women looking like a typical 'battered woman'.

Oh, just the general sort of bruising and everything, nothing sort of, I would say, major, you know? I didn't have black eyes or anything like that - Joanna

Alternatively, incidents of physical violence were discounted when they were not frequent occurrences in the relationship, therefore were not the dominant or most common form of abuse that their (ex) partners engaged in.

Oh, he'd say things, but didn't really physically-. Oh, yeah, a couple of times when he'd been drunk he'd done stuff like tried to strangle me and just dumb stuff, but I put that down to the alcohol, so I sort of let that go - Mary

For the majority of women who did indicate they were physically abused by their (ex) partners, the occurrence of physical violence in the relationship had completely ceased as a result of the men attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services.

Physical violence has been removed. There hasn't been any-. He hasn't laid a finger on me. He hasn't done anything physically violent - Lucy.

The elimination of physical violence sometimes enabled the women to feel safer than they did before their (ex) partner attended the Programme.

Interviewer: And you feel safe now?

Amy: I do, a lot more safe now

However, the absence of physical violence did not mean there was no sense of threat to safety. The women often said that they continued to experience processes of intimidation after course completion. Therefore, despite the absence of physical violence, the threat of physical abuse was still present.

There hasn't been any violence, physical violence, so that makes me feel a little bit safe-. Well, it does but in the back of my mind I know that anything can happen and it could just happen again. That's always in the back of my mind - Lucy

The continued use of intimidation tactics, without the presence of physical violence, suggests the men may still be struggling to challenge the underlying assumptions of domestic violence. The women talked about how their (ex) partners were able to engage with the understanding that it is not acceptable to physically abuse your family, but they were less confident that the men had engaged with the idea that it was also unacceptable to intimidate, scare or threaten women and children.

He gets very intimidating. And I think that he doesn't-, I'm not sure he realizes or not, but if he's getting angry, he gets this real horrible face on and it's quite scary talking to someone when they're like that - Lucy

There was just agitation in the air all the time and he was just always on edge. Like, he never hit me again, but it was just edgy. It was always like I was saying the wrong thing and just always the dirty looks, always the undercurrent - Kate

Alternatively, the women said their (ex) partners would physically attack inanimate objects around the house. Therefore, they did not hit the women again, but the display and threat of violence was still present in the home.

He never hit me, but he bashed the car and hit the walls and stuff like that. His driving was really erratic and stuff like that - Hannah

Attention to intimidation is important, as the women talked about an awareness that if their (ex) partners' thought their intimidating and threatening behaviour was no longer adequate to control or manipulate them, then the abuse would eventually escalate to physical violence.

His eyes would go like fire, aye. He'd start swearing a lot, putting me down and, yeah, he'd start that way and if he didn't get the results he wanted, you know, fear in me, that's when he'd start using physical violence - Michelle

Therefore, the women said that their (ex) partners had learnt to control their anger and not to use physical violence, but they had not learnt to challenge their entitlement to intimidate and control the women through threats and fear.

He can decide whether to be that or not, and that's what makes it even worse for me because if he couldn't control it I could understand: 'Ok. He can't control it', when he can. It makes me frustrated because I'm like 'Well, you can control it, so do it. You respect me enough to control it', you know, kind of thing, but you say that to him and whoosh! - Lilith

It helped with his anger thing, but everything else it didn't help with - Sarah

I think it's a bit of arrogance in some men though, aye. Like, it's their right to do what they want when they want - Kirsty

4.3.2 Psychological/Emotional Abuse

The dominant form of abuse the women said they experienced prior to their (ex) partners' engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was psychological and emotional abuse.

Not physical violence, but a lot of verbal - Claire

I didn't have any physical abuse, it was verbal abuse I was getting - Kirsty

The women spoke of how distressing and damaging living with psychological abuse was for them. They talked about how they believed psychological violence was just as 'bad' or as harmful as physical forms of violence, despite the stereotype that physical violence is the most 'severe' form of abuse.

[He] wasn't a physical abuser. He was still a mental abuser, which is worse really - Karen

I never had physical abuse, but just the verbal is sometimes more scarring on your mind - Kirsty

I never ever thought that he would hit me as such, but verbal abuse can be just as bad. So no, I didn't feel safe. I didn't feel safe for the kids. Sometimes I wouldn't leave the kids with him. Yeah, if I went out I'd quite often-. Depends what kind of mood he was in. I'd quite often leave-. Take them with me or leave them with someone else - Claire

However, because of a perceived reluctance in society to view psychological abuse as a recognised form of domestic violence, the women said they found it difficult to seek help for the abuse they were living with. They talked about the frustration of wanting to have what they experienced as extremely damaging and distressing violence acknowledged so that they could feel confident they could ask for help and not be doubted or turned away.

I said to someone, I said 'It would be so much easier if he did bash me because then people could see the outside' whereas they don't know what's going on inside for you - Mary

The reluctance to seek help for psychological violence often resulted in the women living with the experiences and effects of psychological and emotional abuse for long periods of time, threatening their mental safety and wellbeing.

I guess hitting, once it's done it might be finished and you might move on and get out, but when it's verbal, you put up with it and put up with it and put up with it because it's only little. You put up with it and put up with it...It wears you down and it's not until you're not living with it on a daily basis that you actually realise how harmful it was. I think you put up

with it and it can do harm to your family with children listening and that sort of thing. I think that's what I hated the most, was it being said in front of the children - Kirsty

The women said that living with unchallenged and unaddressed psychological abuse for extended periods of time deteriorated their self-esteem and often resulted with them blaming themselves for their own victimisation.

It was mainly mental and just threatening and that sort of stuff. He'd got in my head and he'd twist what I'd said and then I started doubting myself as well because my self esteem wasn't very good at that stage - Mary

Unfortunately, psychological and emotional abuse was an area of domestic violence the women said their (ex) partners struggled to engage with and challenge. Many women reported that their (ex) partners use of psychological abuse did not change or reduce as a result of their engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

I used to say to her 'It's certainly not helping him with me' because things got worse between him and...I actually said to [the Family Support staff] 'No, he hasn't improved with me personally'. Things did get rough for a while, verbally definitely across the phone and that sort of thing, and that is still there - Kirsty

He'll never smack his kids, but he'll swear and curse at them - Kate

The women indicated that because the psychological and emotional abuse remained despite their (ex) partner having completed the Programme and shown other positive changes as a result, they often felt like they had no other option but to take responsibility for their own safety and potential victimisation. The women realised that the Programme was unable to challenge their (ex) partners' issues with psychological abuse and therefore began to take measures to reduce it themselves for their own safety.

Lilith: We have an agreement now that if anything upsets us during the day, we leave it until 7pm at night when the kids are in bed and we can talk about it then.

Interviewer: That's a good idea.

Lilith: It is. I do it [laughs], but I then have the rest of the day to plan out how I am going to approach this conversation. I don't just, like normal relationships, come out with something. I have to plan. I have to re-write, re-do: 'No, that won't work because that will annoy him. That will get him aggravated. That will mean I'm having a go at him. Right, I'll say it this way, I'll come around it this way. Get to that point', but he won't know we got to that point by me planning it

4.3.3 Control⁴

Control was a central theme in the women's relationships prior to their (ex) partners' attendance on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. With few exceptions, the women said their (ex) partners maintained high levels of control over them and their children.

He was very controlling. Very, very controlling - Rachel

Once we got married he got quite controlling, especially with the kids - Karen

It was quite a controlling relationship. Basically he controlled a lot of what happened and what didn't happen - Mary

It has always been mental, always been mental, very subtle mental things of controlling - Lilith

⁴ Although 'control' falls under the psychological and emotional abuse category, it was retained as a separate discussion in the analysis as it was a major theme within the women's interviews.

The women said their (ex) partners would use technologies of control and manipulation, instead of physical and more expressive forms of psychological violence (for example, verbal abuse and threats), over the women, their children and their environment. Physical and expressive psychological violence would only occur when their (ex) partners' ability to maintain control over his family was threatened, or no longer effective.

It was like living in a military camp. Everything had to be his way. His way or the highway. I mean, he wouldn't hit us, but he'd threaten with it - Rachel

I think as the years progressed I started standing up for myself a bit more and that's when all the problems started - Rachel

Eventually our relationship-, I ended it. He didn't want it to end, but I ended the relationship. And at first he did all the 'I don't want you to leave' and all that sort of thing. And then he turned a bit nasty and started threatening. Things like 'I'll slit your throat', like those sort of things - Mary

Unfortunately, much like other forms of psychological violence (as discussed in section 4.3.2) issues of power and control were much harder to shift than issues of anger management and physical violence. Control and domination often remained despite many other positive changes taking place.

Interviewer: So you know when you said before that [your partner] has been domineering, is he still domineering, or did Te Manawa shift that?

Anna: No, it hasn't gone away

He had completed and he sounded like he regretted the person that he was in the past and he was happy to be the person that he is now and now he could give so much more to his children and he had that much more respect for women and that he felt bad about what he'd done and the control, but he's still the biggest control freak out - Kate.

For many of the women who had separated from their partner since the Programme, the men still attempted to control various aspects of their lives. For example, the women said their ex-partners used methods of economic control (withdrawing or denying financial support), or access to, and shared custody of, children to further abuse and manipulate the women.

He still has control in parts of my life. I'd like him to totally just leave me alone, but there are things-. Like I haven't applied for maintenance and in the agreement with him, at the nice stage, [he said] that he'd pay half of the kid's school fees and things like that, but that worked for a while, but then he was like 'Nah', you know, and so he still controls that side of it - Mary

Mary: There's no flexibility there in the way that, he'll have the kids those days and if I wanted to swap there'd be no flexibility there, so I just work around that. If I need to go somewhere I'll get someone, I'll get a babysitter and that sort of thing.

Interviewer: So, still trying to control-

Mary: Well, what he can and usually through the kids which is sad for them

It was something to do about financially, and he said 'I'm going to screw you and you're going to wish you never met me' - Kirsty

The importance of supporting the men to challenge and address issues of control and power were illustrated by those women who told of dramatic change occurring for their (ex) partner immediately after engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme session that focused on power and control (see section 3.1.3). This session provided a key turning point or 'click moment' (as discussed in section 3.4.3) for their (ex) partner, facilitating deeper engagement and motivation for change. The women told of their (ex)

partner returning home from this particular session moved or distressed, having identified their own behaviour within the context of abusive technologies of control, domination and manipulation. The session on power and control enabled their (ex) partners to see control as a form of abuse, identify their own abusive behaviour and also engage meaningfully with the effects of control and manipulation on their loved ones and family.

I remember the session, it was equality in the relationship. Something had switched on in his head and he'd taken a lot out of it and just took a step back and thought 'Yeah', but he had-. Yeah, I remember the paper that he was doing... The power and equality and everything, yeah...I just remember him just going over the paper and thinking 'This is what I was doing wrong' and he was putting himself up here and putting me down here on this little lower thing, but he didn't know. No, he doesn't try and do that as much now - Amy.

Early on, one of the first ones that he done was about-, Had concepts about what controlling is and what you may be doing that is controlling, so it was really good because it all kind of-, So it made it click in his head that what he was doing-, Yeah, and so he sort of stopped - Rebecca

The increased awareness and identification of issues of power and control in the relationship motivated the men to work together with their (ex) partners to dismantle the technologies of control and redistribute the power equally in the relational context. Therefore, engaging with issues of power and control can be a powerful and meaningful catalyst and motivator for positive change if the men are able to identify, challenge and address their controlling behaviour and maintenance of power over their family.

He went through that module. He did come home and he was sort of a bit upset because he really identified with that bit. That was all him...So I think that he really took that on board, but it's hard to change. And so we both looked at that and, like, even last night for example we've just recently started sitting down and talking about our money and bills and what needs to be paid and so last night we did that - Lucy

Yeah, it changed-, Yeah, it worked really good because I used to have to ask if I bought something, so, sort of, one night he sort of said 'Oh, it's your money too' kind of thing, and 'I know you're not stupid with it' kind of thing. And yeah, things just sort of changed instantly. It was quite good...but I think it's just, yeah, having that actual Programme there to make him realise what was going on - Rebecca

4.4 Accountability and Responsibility

4.4.1 Motivation

The women said they could see a relationship between their (ex) partners' motivation for attending the course and engagement with the Programme in a genuine and meaningful way. As found in the men's accounts (section 3.4.4), issues of internal and external motivation were salient, with the men who were internally motivated showing the most progress and change, and those who were externally motivated struggling to genuinely engage with challenging and addressing their issues of abuse and violence.

Internal Motivation

The women whose (ex) partners were internally motivated said the men engaged with the Programme because they recognised they had issues with violence and abuse, and wanted to change their behaviour. Although their (ex) partner may have also had external motivators (for example, court involvement), the men's main incentive was to personally develop and change for the better.

The courts tell them they have to go to these courses. Some of them-, There was one guy there that volunteered to go. He was going all the time...and he was a nice guy. He said 'I'm going to this so I can pick up things from other people just to make sure I don't make mistakes' - Amanda

He reached out to Te Manawa himself before the court ordered him to do so, so it was good of him to do that because he needed help and he knew it - Amy

The women talked about how their internally motivated (ex) partner engaged meaningfully with the course, taking advantage of the opportunity to genuinely address their issues of violence and abuse. They engaged with the concepts of responsibility and accountability for their violence, and were willing to address the effects and impact their abuse had on their family.

He wanted to go there and sort that out because he really didn't like the fact that he'd done that. So, he was really happy with going there and getting support - Sarah

The majority of women believed that internal motivation was necessary for the change process to occur. They said that unless their (ex) partners recognised they had issues of abuse, and wanted to address the violence, then change would be limited.

They have to want to in a way, I suppose, and they have to realise what's wrong and own their problems, you know? They have to come out with their problems if they want to get anywhere - Amy

He knew it was something he had to do for us to work, but I think the main thing with the whole thing is they have to want to do it - Rebecca

External Motivation

Externally motivated (ex) partners were often described as attending the course for manipulative reasons. The women said these men engaged with the Programme as a way of obtaining what they wanted – a technology of control – rather than because of a genuine desire to change and reduce or eliminate their abusive and violent behaviour. External motivation could take the form of:

Avoiding criminal consequences,

I think he went because I think he was more scared of the fact that he was going to end up back inside - Joanna

Providing a favorable impression to the courts,

Michelle: I think he went in to get himself out of trouble because he kind of threatened to kill somebody

Interviewer: So he did it to avoid going to jail?

Michelle: Well, to make them think that he was doing things to help himself

Mandated course requirements,

He got told by the courts to go - Amy

And to save the relationship.

He didn't want to go. He was doing it for the sake of keeping us together - Lilith

For the most part, the women said their externally motivated (ex) partner showed limited engagement with, and enthusiasm for, what the Men Living Free from Violence Programme could offer them in the way of challenging and addressing issues of abuse and violence. There was a sense that their (ex) partner was unhappy or irritated at being forced to attend

the Programme and only completed the course in order to meet the external requirements and obtain the resolution they wanted.

He didn't want to do it. Probably because he knew that-. Because he was getting forced to do it and then he started moaning about it a bit - Hannah

I think he was the type of person that was just going through the motions to get what he wanted - Michelle

The women of externally motivated (ex) partners talked about how after the external goal was met (for example, reconciliation between partners or meeting court requirements for completion), the men often returned to previous patterns of abusive or violent behaviour. In this sense, their (ex) partner demonstrated minimal underlying, fundamental change and instead exhibited a concentrated effort to resist abusive behaviours in order to achieve a goal, and once achieved, the behaviour returned.

He did it, right? [Laughs] and then we reconciled and he was doing the course. I think he was nearly finished and I moved back into the house and then he started getting his old behaviours back again and then one day he just flipped out - Hannah.

He sort of changed for a little bit. We didn't get back together, we've always lived apart, but I did-. With him going to the group, and myself going, things did get a lot better. And we sort of-, I wanted us to get back together and so did he and then he started going off course again towards the end when he realised 'Oh yeah, I might have my foot in the door now' - Karen

Similarly, the women talked about how the men 'gave up' engaging with issues of violence, and patterns of abusive behaviour returned if their (ex) partners were unable to obtain their external goal.

I think it was because he knew that I wasn't going back, so I think he sort of thought 'Well, what's the point?', but I said to him 'You don't do the course for anybody else but yourself'. He was going to go to counselling, but he said 'What's the point? I've got no one to do it for' and I said 'Hello! You really have to do it for yourself, no one else. You can't do it for anybody else but yourself' - Karen.

The (ex) partners of externally motivated men who showed minimal or no change said that a major barrier for change was the inability to recognise and identify issues of abuse and violence. Their (ex) partners were attending the course because they were forced to, and resisted genuinely engaging with the reasons they were required to attend the Programme. Because they did not choose to attend, they could maintain the rationalisation that they did not belong on the course and that they did not have a problem with domestic violence.

I still think to this day he doesn't admit he's actually got an anger management problem. I've said to him for years 'You've got an anger management problem', but I don't think, unless you admit it, how can you fix something? I don't know if that's what they teach them there or not - Kirsty

I think he's not ready to change. He says that he is. Like, every now and then he'll say that he is, but I don't think he will actually ever get to that point where he's ready to actually change his behaviours - Hannah

However, the women's accounts illustrated that external motivation, such as wanting to save a relationship, can also provide internal motivation if it is grounded in understandings of responsibility and accountability. If the men were able to engage with the pain and hurt they have caused others in their relationship/family and wanted to prevent more damage to the relationship occurring, then there was the potential for internal motivation. The (ex)

partners who could demonstrate engagement with responsibility and accountability, despite being externally motivated, were more successful at achieving change.

I think it was him putting himself on the firing line, you know, and knowing that what he was going to lose, that was probably the best thing for him ever and he didn't want to lose it and he's actually learnt, listened, applied himself and he's benefitting from it and it's now coming out in action at home - Olivia

Furthermore, as was discussed in section 3.4.4, motivation was not fixed or static. The women talked about the potential for sources of motivation to shift over the course of the Programme, moving from external to internal motivation. Much like the men's accounts of readiness and awareness of issues of abuse (sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2), this process was facilitated by increased time on the course and the men's ability to gradually engage with the Programme content (section 3.4.5). Here, their (ex) partner began the course externally motivated and unenthusiastic about the Programme, and overtime began to see what they could gain from the course in the way of personal development, therefore engagement and the potential for meaningful change, was increased.

He was quite-. At the beginning he was-. He was quite standoffish at the beginning, but during the middle, about the fifth or sixth time he went, he was starting to get some things out of it and he had changed - Amy

4.4.2 Provocation

The women talked about how their (ex) partners struggled to address their understandings of provocation. Many of the women said their (ex) partner continued, after Programme completion, to blame them or others for their acts of violence and abuse. The women suggested that when their (ex) partners were unable to challenge their understandings of provocation, the processes of taking responsibility and accountability for their abusive behaviour were limited.

He said 'I could have hurt somebody and it would have been her fault'. It's his fault. [But] that's what he said: 'It would have been [her] fault if I'd have hurt somebody because of what she said' and I went 'Ok' [laughs]. So he is seeing signs that he could have-. He does have a problem, but again it's that, like I said, he can't admit that he has control of his own actions - Lilith

The difficulty the men experienced when addressing issues of provocation may be related to a discord between cognitive learning and engagement with underlying assumptions and beliefs associated with domestic violence. In other words, some men were able to cognitively *learn* to take responsibility for their own behaviour –listen and become familiar with what is expected from them in terms of responsibility and accountability - but they still found it difficult to genuinely *engage* with responsibility and accountability for their abuse in a meaningful way.

Interviewer: So he doesn't get the controlling stuff really?

Lilith: No. I don't think-, I don't know. He understands it and he understands he has been controlling in the past, but he doesn't fully get it. He's still saying it's my fault. There's still that: 'It's your fault'. The reason why he gets wound up is still my fault. Everything's my fault

This discord between learning and genuine engagement reiterates the discussion in the men's analysis (section 3.4.4) that suggests we must be careful not to associate attendance and completion with change and accountability. The women said their (ex) partners demonstrated learning and retention of the teachings of the course, but that did not ensure they were willing or able to take responsibility for their abusive behaviour. Demonstration

of cognitive education did not necessarily translate into changes in behaviour and a reduction or elimination of domestic violence.

You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make them drink - Claire

He said himself it was useless...he'd just come home, put the booklet in the drawer and sit down, click the TV remote and change the channel - Rachel

The women themselves reinforced understandings of provocation in their accounts. Despite their (ex) partner attending the Men Living Free From Violence Programme, and many of the women receiving support and education from Te Manawa Services' Family Support Service, many continued to hold themselves responsible, or partly responsible, for the abuse and violence used against them.

I'm not saying I was an angel. I was saying this, that and the other thing to him too, which actually pushed him to the limit - Amy

It's not just his doing because I let that happen too, you know? You let that happen - Mary

4.4.3 Consequences

Many of the women interviewed said that, although their (ex) partner was able to engage with the positive processes of change associated with the Programme, they still struggled with responding to, and dealing with, the consequences of their abusive behaviour.

There's consequences to his behaviour. He doesn't like that word at all, that there is consequences to what he does - Lilith.

He doesn't like getting told that he is wrong, so he wasn't happy - Sarah

The women said their (ex) partners were unwilling, or unable, to confront themselves in regards to the impact their actions had on others. In this sense, the women believed the men were more comfortable focussing on themselves and were reluctant to think about how other people were feeling and coping with the effects of abuse and violence.

Putting himself into somebody else's shoes is not a thing that he does. It sounds awful, but he is a very self-absorbed person, but I think that again comes from his childhood. He's had to be because he's had such horrible things happen around him he has to think of himself for survival - Lilith

Alternatively, the women believed their (ex) partners were in denial about the harmful nature of their behaviour, or were attempting to minimise the effects their abuse had on others. By avoiding acknowledgment that their behaviour had consequences and had hurt others, they were able to deny or minimise their issues with abuse and violence

He's got this quick fuse, he'll just go like this [clicks fingers], snap, and then five minutes later he'll be fine and he'll expect you to be fine again and it's like 'Well, no. You've offended us. We're not going to just snap out of it like that either' - Kirsty

Lilith: He doesn't even remember that though.

Interviewer: As in selective memory, or was he so angry that-

Lilith: I don't think he wants to admit it. I think he does [remember], but he said he doesn't

The women talked about how the men would react positively when engaging with, and discussing positive accomplishments and change processes associated with the course, but would grow hostile or aggressive if they were required to address the negative consequences of their abusive behaviour. The women suggested that this reluctance to engage with, and become accountable for, the pain and hurt their abusive behaviour produced was because of the distress and discomfort of having to think about, and deal

with, the damage they had inflicted. The women thought the men were protecting their new positive image of themselves, and in order to maintain this positive image they avoided dealing with the reality that they also have behaved in harmful and abusive ways.

If I tell him things he wants to hear it's ok, but the minute I try to hold him accountable for anything that he's done...he just-. It's just-. Nup - Hannah

If I say something's wrong, it's the worst thing I could ever do, but if I ever compliment him it's, you know. I feel like I've got three kids. You basically mould them to good behaviour by promoting the good behaviour [we laugh] but you shouldn't have to do that with your husband, you know, and that's the difficulty - Lilith

Some women indicated that an avoidance of consequences was a life-long pattern of behaviour for their (ex) partner. These men would utilise methods of control and intimidation to discourage people in their lives from confronting them about their abusive behaviour. Therefore, there may be a strong relationship between engaging with consequences and issues of power and control, where men can consistently avoid dealing with consequences as long as they are able to control and intimidate those around them.

He doesn't see anything wrong with his actions. I think because he's done them for so long. He was a control freak with his mother. His mother's terrified of him, has nothing to do with him. Every woman that, I now see, in the past-. Like, I'm the only person that has fought him and he hates that - Kate

One woman interviewed suggested that the criminal justice system itself may contribute to this avoidance of consequences by enabling the men to evade criminal responsibility or punishment through appeals to Programme completion. She talked about how her (ex) partner's attendance on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme enabled him to avoid criminal consequences for an act of physical violence against her and her child. She was confused and dismayed by this, because the course had not worked to eliminate his use of violence and yet it was used to enable him to avoid the consequences for his continued abusive behaviour.

And then of course when the courts ordered him to do it, because they ordered him to do a violence course, he said 'But I don't need to because I've been to Te Manawa' and they went 'Oh, ok, you have. No, you don't need to' - Kate

When the court case came around, he was better equipped to make himself look better really - Kate

The avoidance of addressing and dealing with consequences may result in increased risks to safety for the (ex) partners and children of men attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Within the women's accounts, there were several stories of acts of abuse and violence inflicted upon women and children when their (ex) partners were unable to constructively process and work through negative consequences that resulted from their abusive behaviour. The women articulated that their (ex) partners were often underprepared to cope with, and respond to, set-backs in life. While things were going well for their (ex) partner, there was a reduction or elimination of abusive behaviour, but when the men's life became difficult or did not go the way they wanted, the violence and abuse resurfaced.

When he realised we weren't going to get back together, then he had horrible court cases and fights over [our child] and he tried to run us off the road with [our child] in the car. Like, just real-. And this was after he'd done Te Manawa. To me, it didn't work. It just didn't work - Kate.

He was doing it before the kids got uplifted and he was doing really good too, but then when the kids got taken he just lost the plot again - Michelle

Things were going good for him because he had a job then and he had a girlfriend and he was actually sort of civil. And I could ring and talk to him about the children and what they were doing sort of thing, but since then he lost his job, the girlfriend went and now he just doesn't have anything to do with me at all... I've tried knocking on the door to talk to him, but he's leant out the window - 'Fuck off' - sort of this, and I don't push it because it comes back on the kids...and my daughter said 'I'm glad you don't [talk] because dad just wants to punch you in the head' - Mary.

Similarly, there were instances when women and children's safety was compromised when they attempted to confront the men regarding the hurt and pain they had caused through abuse. Here, abusive behaviour returned when the men were confronted with the day-to-day impact of the consequences of their behaviour.

He can't handle the kids because they confront him as well. Like, [my daughter] will confront him if he does something wrong and that's why I sort of stopped him from seeing them as well - Hannah

Claire: She actually said to him 'I hate you. I wish you'd never come back to our family' and I thought-, So, she's obviously finding it different with him being back again

Interviewer: How did he respond to that?

Claire: Um, he wasn't very pleasant...He just said to her 'I fucking hate you too' and I just said to him 'I'm not having you talk to her like that' and he said 'Well she's not allowed to talk to me like that' and I said 'You're the adult. You're the adult'

The women were well aware of the risks associated with attempting to engage the men with consequences of their behaviour. Many of the women knew, through historical experience, that to push for accountability was to risk an escalation of violence and abuse. This suggests that attention to the productive and positive working through of consequences may be vital to ensuring women and children's safety in the future.

I've had a protection order, but I've never used it, you know? Oh no, I don't want the police involved. They're going to take him away, they're going to lock him up, but then he's going to get out. What's he going to be like when he gets out? He's going to be angry. I don't want to live like that, looking over my shoulder. I'd rather live with the violence everyday that I'm having now, than have it ten times as worse if he gets locked up and gets out. And if someone really wants to hurt someone, they will - Karen

Some women talked about how dealing with consequences can be a powerful motivator or catalyst for change for the men. Sometimes it was not until the men had to endure the negative consequences of their abusive behaviour that they realised they needed to meaningfully address their issues of violence and abuse. Coping with consequences may enable the men to experience their 'click moment' (section 3.4.3), facilitating a personal awareness and desire to engage with the processes of change and development offered on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

One weekend he was here and he went to leave and he verbally abused me loud and [our child] just said 'No, I'm not going'...and it was really early in the piece so it was really good for him to know that you don't treat a woman or that's how they'll respond...he learnt. He's never done it again since - Kirsty

I think there was a few there that were sort of in the same situation, obviously trying to get time with their kids and that as well, and that's obviously why they've gone, you know? Obviously, family's important to a lot of people and I think it does hit home eventually that

*this has now happened, you're not going to see your children or you're on supervised visits -
Joanna*

The women's accounts also suggested that dealing with the consequences of abusive behaviour may be a powerful tool for motivating change through enabling the men to 'feel' the effects of violence. Having to address not only the pain of those around them, but also emotionally connecting to the pain they themselves feel for causing the distress, might be a powerful motivational force towards awareness, acceptance and dedication to change.

[My daughter] said 'When you walk in the house and you're angry, you've got a big cloud and it makes everybody feel angry and upset. I just go to my bedroom and it makes me feel angry and everyone's yelling and I get really, really scared'. And he actually cried and he said 'I didn't realise that it made you feel like that' and she said 'Well, it does'. And I was really pleased because she would just be too scared to ever say anything like that and it's exactly how I used to feel as a kid. And when she left the room I said to him 'See, that's how it made me feel and it's exactly how she feels'. Yeah, so that kind of-. Before he wouldn't have normally listened to that, but he sat and he did, he really listened to that and he took that on board - Claire

4.5 Presentation of Curriculum

4.5.1 Responsive to all Levels of Ability and Need

The women talked about how, in some instances, their (ex) partners' difficulties with academic and educational ability may have prevented them from fully understanding, and benefitting from, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. In particular, difficulties with reading and writing made it hard for their (ex) partners to engage with the booklets and written exercises contained in the set curriculum.

*A lot of people do have reading or writing comprehension problems - Amanda
He was quite illiterate and he couldn't spell properly, so sometimes he would get me to help him with the booklets - Michelle*

Therefore, the women were concerned that their (ex) partner was unable to take full advantage of what the course could offer them in terms of understanding issues of abuse and violence, and learning the skills and techniques that would enable a positive change in behaviour. These women said their (ex) partner struggled with understanding the course content and would have benefitted from individual assistance and support to overcome their learning difficulties in order to fully engage with the Programme.

All I would say is, it would have been hard for him to understand them because he's limited. Maybe if he had help there, if someone knew how to explain it to him and just that sort of stuff - Michelle

Furthermore, some women indicated that their (ex) partners had 'complex needs' and that an approach that only focuses on anger and violence may be limited in scope. Complex needs included mental health and substance abuse issues. They said their (ex) partner entered the Men Living Free from Violence Programme with multiple issues that needed addressing in order for them to effectively reduce or eliminate their violence. In such instances, the women believed that any intervention effort to change or improve their (ex) partners behaviour would be limited or unsustainable unless their multiple areas of need were also addressed.

He's a tricky subject. He is quite a tricky subject because he-, I was lucky, I didn't get raised like that. He had quite a violent and abusive upbringing. It's all he knew. Gangs, drugs,

alcohol, violence...It was difficult. Like I said, he's a tricky case because he's uneducated, he's had his bad upbringing and I think he might be a bit mentally unwell. So, with all those things, it would be hard for anybody to benefit from just one lot of that. They need a lot more help - Michelle

I think something more needs to come into that, yeah. That's half the reason they're sort of there isn't it? Not just because they've got a violent streak in them, there's something that provokes it and brings it out, so obviously if they've got a drinking issue, that's sort of [important] - Joanna

4.5.2 Booklets

As in the men's accounts (section 3.5.1), the women said the booklets provided on the course enabled the men to re-engage with the Programme's content in the home environment. The resources provided during group sessions enabled the men who had academic or educational difficulties to devote extra time working through the Programme content at their own pace in order to increase their understanding and strengthen their ability to learn the skills introduced.

It had more in-depth meaning from the Te Manawa course because you've got the paperwork in front of you that you can reflect back on and you can always keep going over those areas that you need to work on - Jaime

Furthermore, the women found the booklets personally useful. They said that reading the booklets their (ex) partner brought home enabled them to work through some of their own issues of abuse or violence they were personally struggling with, and learn techniques and tools for improving their own behaviour in the home environment.

I had also been taking a lot out of the pamphlets and some of the stuff that he'd learnt, so it was helping the both of us - Amy

I'd have a quick flick through and obviously, yeah, I think I've learnt as well how to sort of, you know, not get so fired up as well - Joanna

Furthermore, the booklets served as a useful resource to utilise in moments of escalating tension or emotion. When situations involving high emotion or anger occurred, the women said their (ex) partners could turn to the provided booklets in order to de-escalate or cope with the problem. The booklets acted as a reminder of the teachings of the course, as well as offering helpful techniques and tools to actively reduce rising emotions.

You can go back and use it as a reference, which I think is really, really good. So yeah, you might not need it for years to come, but then something might come up and...He's one of the people that would think 'Oh yeah, shit, I remember when I went to Te Manawa and I remember we did something on that and sort of talked about that and covered that whole conversation or whole topic sort of thing' and he'll go through and he'll find the book and: 'Oh yip, I remember that' - Joanna

The women talked about how the booklets served as a 'refresher' of the Programme content in the long-term, enabling their (ex) partner to revisit the course content after Programme completion to remind themselves of what they had learnt on the course. Therefore, the booklets were a resource for re-engaging with the teachings and principles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme after the men had disengaged from Te Manawa Services.

I've got every single pamphlet that he takes. He reads sometimes if he needs to go back and recall what they've learnt. He does. He's got them all in the cupboard there and I read them as well, which is awesome - Amy

We've got all the books still here. So, you know, he's obviously got them to refer back to - Joanna

However, the women's accounts raised the concern that the booklets had the potential to reinforce understandings of provocation. The women talked about how their (ex) partners would go through the booklets with them and point out the women's behaviour that was 'causing' the men's anger to escalate. Once they identified behaviours that evoked the men's anger, the women said they could then take action to reduce or eliminate their (ex) partners violence. In other words, the booklets had the potential to teach women how to become responsible for their own victimisation.

We started going through the booklet together and then there were times where he would bring up certain things in the booklet to me, because it was helping me at the same time, you know, the things that I'm doing is what's making him get ticked off, and this is how we could go about it - Olivia.

I've looked at his work books and I'm seeing which bits annoy him and he's wrote down his bits when I've annoyed him and I think 'If I don't do that, then I won't annoy him'. That's how I've done it. Yeah, it's the same thing. Exactly the same thing because you don't want the arguments. You don't want it in front of the kids, you don't want anything, so it's easier for me to change than for him to change - Lilith.

4.5.3 Reviews

Many women who attended the monthly review sessions found the individual review environment to be safe, supportive and informative.

Very good. [The staff member] was really nice. Made me feel comfortable and everything. He told me that at any stage I wanted to I could get up and leave basically. So he put me at ease and he just sort of went through what [my ex partner] was doing - Jessica

Inclusion in the review process enabled the women to share their experiences of the men's processes and journey of change with both their (ex) partner and the staff at Te Manawa Services. The reviews gave the women an opportunity to contribute their knowledge and understandings of how they believed their (ex) partner was engaging with the Programme, and were also able to learn ways they could personally help support the men and the changes they were making as a result of the course.

I found that it was helpful because I knew where he was progressing and I could have a say in what was working and what wasn't - Jaime

It was good that you could sort of get your opinion across so it wasn't just the one side of the story, it was both sides of the story, so I found that very good, and then obviously there were things that they sort of talked to you about as well as to what they were doing, situations as to how to diffuse something if it came up again. So that was sort of quite good, so we sort of discussed that and I found that very, very helpful as well - Joanna

The women said that being included in the review process enabled them to feel like part of a united and supportive team. Having their opinions and experiences heard and confirmed helped them feel like an equal, valued and important part of their (ex) partners' personal development and change process.

A joint effort. It was equal. It felt equal. Sort of like an equal partnership - Jaime

Coercion

However, there was the potential for the reviews to be experienced as a form of coercion. Some of the women interviewed said that at the time their (ex) partner was attending the

Men Living Free from Violence Programme, they were not interested or invested in supporting the men or their experiences on the course. These women said they were still processing and working through the effects of the abusive and violent relationship and wished to concentrate on their own recovery rather than investing time and energy on supporting their (ex) partner. In a sense, they wanted to return the responsibility for the issues of abuse and violence to their (ex) partners and 'wash their hands of it'.

I think by that time I didn't really care - Hannah

I didn't give a rat's ass, you know? 'You've hurt me. You hurt my family and you need to just go and deal with your own crap'. Yeah, so I wasn't-. No, I didn't really care. Well, it's not that I didn't care, but I had enough to worry about - Claire

I'd just had it. So, to me, I was looking at it through 'This is the end. I don't care what you do. Whatever you do, you need to do it for yourself - not for me or for anybody else'. Yeah, it was just a journey that he needed to take and I wasn't prepared to take it with him at that stage. So, for me, it was just over - Claire

Therefore, if their presence was requested at the review session, it was experienced as an intrusion on their independence and drew focus away from their own journey towards good health and wellbeing. However, despite not wanting to attend the reviews, the women felt obligated or coerced to attend when their (ex) partner asked them to come. The women said if they felt they could have made a genuine choice, they would not have attended the reviews with their (ex) partner, but felt they obliged to attend and support the men.

I didn't really want to be too involved, you know? I wasn't-, I just had closed off and I'd had enough and I just didn't want to know anything really. But I tried to show an interest - Claire

This sense of coercion was amplified if the women's (ex) partner was responsible for extending the invitation to the review appointment. For women who did not have contact with Te Manawa Services staff independent of their (ex) partner, they said they were unaware of what the appointment was for, or what the review session entailed. They wished a staff member from Te Manawa Services had contacted them instead of their (ex) partner to explain the review process so they could make an informed decision regarding their participation.

Jessica: First experience was sitting there waiting with him to meet two counsellors...Basically I just turned up. I was given a little blue piece of paper with a date and time-

Interviewer: Did someone call you first or you got something in the mail?

Jessica: No, he brought it round. He gave it to me and it was like 'Oh, ok'. I agreed to go to it.

Interviewer: How happy about that were you?

Jessica: I wasn't very happy about having to do it at all.

The review sessions offer the opportunity for the men to assess how well they are meeting their Programme goals established at intake. As mentioned in section 4.4.1, one of the common reasons for men attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was to save their relationship. This introduces the potential during the review session for women to feel coerced into re-establishing the relationship because it is deemed essential for the men's recovery and accomplishment of his intake goals, regardless of whether the women wished to reconcile or not.

One of the things that she did that I didn't like was keep pushing to see if I would reconcile with him and I was like 'No I'm not. That's not going to happen. I don't want to be back with him'. She pushed it quite a bit. I wanted to be his friend. What had gone on wasn't something

I was going to get over and he knew that. He knew that even before we got married that I would tell him to 'p' off. She pushed because that was one of the-. Because he did see them without me there. I didn't see them on my own at all and obviously he was telling them that he wanted me back and I didn't want to, and she made it uncomfortable a couple of times, trying to nail me down to say 'Yes I will take you back' and it was like 'No, I'm not. I won't' - Jessica

Review Safety

The review environment could also feel unsafe. For those who discussed safety issues in the review session, they said they did not feel comfortable, or able, to be as open, honest and detailed as they would have liked in their discussions of their (ex) partners' behaviour for fear of how their (ex) partner would react.

Lilith: I was very nervous about what to say

Interviewer: Is that because he was there?

Lilith: Yeah. He said half the stuff. He admitted half the stuff. He didn't have any of the major stuff, but it was enough to show them that he needed something

Interviewer: Did you feel like you could have elaborated, if you so wished? Do you feel like you could have-?

Lilith: [laughs] No. Not in that situation. Not at that time. No definitely not

Interviewer: Do you think that if you had that it would have been carried home?

Lilith: Yeah.

In the women's accounts were stories of conflict and tension in the home the day of the review session as a result of their (ex) partners' displeasure or anger at things the women had said in the review session.

Interviewer: What was it like at home after that review session?

Sarah: We didn't really talk that night [we laugh], the rest of that day and night.

Interviewer: Was he shitty?

Sarah: Yeah he was shitty, only because I made him feel little in front of his counsellor

Therefore, the women said they would have liked the opportunity to speak to the Te Manawa Services staff involved in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme without their (ex) partners' presence in order to speak freely and openly regarding how they believed their (ex) partner was engaging with the Programme without fear of repercussions.

Interviewer: Do you think if they had organised a time- Would you have wanted to meet with them, just you, so you wouldn't have to worry about offending-

Jessica: I would've liked to have had at least one session where I could have told them exactly how I blimin felt and not to have him there

Although efforts were made to ensure the review sessions were conducted in a safe and supportive environment, there was still the possibility for women to feel intimidated and unsafe when attending reviews with their (ex) partner. The women preferred to have female Te Manawa Staff members present at the review session and the risk of discomfort or distress was increased if the review was conducted by a male staff member only.

I was just absolutely blown away that it was a male. It just freaked me out really - Claire

I noticed with, like, counsellors and stuff that I don't get along very well with male counsellors - Jaime

Therefore, despite the reviews offering a unique opportunity for the women to be involved in, and contribute to, their (ex) partners' engagement and processes of change in the Men

Living Free from Violence Programme, there is also the potential for the review session to introduce risks for the women too.

When I got there I thought it was a lady, and it was a man and I instantly was feeling really [uncomfortable] because it was a male, and I kind of felt really cornered to be honest, and some of the things that were being said, I just-, I was really rude actually. And I said to him 'Look, I don't trust you. I don't know you and I don't feel like I should be here opening up telling you stuff' - Claire

Silence/Exclusion

Whilst the review sessions were a good opportunity to focus on the men's change journey – how well he is meeting his goals, the improvements in his behaviour and areas that he needs to further work on and address – the women who were trying to find ways to cope with their experiences of abuse and violence said they were upset with the amount of attention and focus that was given to their (ex) partner, when they were the ones who had been hurt and affected by his behaviour. In these instances, the review sessions had the potential to increase feelings of marginalisation and subjugation to the men's needs and concerns.

The women talked about how most of our focus on reducing and eliminating domestic violence is spent supporting the offenders, instead of supporting and assisting those who live(d) with, and are affected by, the abuse.

I thought that there may have been some support-, Like, for me, I was thinking 'Where is my help living with depression?' Because, yeah, he's got depression, but what about the rest of us because we've got to learn how to live with this, or the effects of what depression has done to our family. And I was hoping that maybe they'd be able to offer that to me - Claire

You always hear about survivors and all that sort of stuff, but there's not actually much out there, because they've got all these ads on TV about surviving and victims and all this sort of stuff, but when it gets down to it, there's nothing really out there - Rachel

It was just like it was all about him sort of thing. You know? Like, what he had done, where he had come and stuff like that - Hannah.

It was mostly based on him. It was information they were getting from me to help improve him - Michelle

Alternatively, exclusion from the review sessions also resulted in feelings of marginalisation and subjugation. Some women talked about how their (ex) partners actively excluded them from participating in the review sessions. Exclusion included not extending an invitation to attend, not informing the women they had the ability to attend, or explicitly saying the women were not allowed to attend. The women who were excluded from the review process said they felt excluded, isolated and silenced.

It annoyed me in the beginning that, even though we'd just split, we were able to go to reviews together and he would not have that. He was scared of me probably saying something... Oh, there's no way he wanted me anywhere near him. I think he was just scared of what I'd say, especially when he'd been verbally abusive on the phone, but he just kept making these excuses: 'Oh you're not my partner anymore, you're not going to those', because I kept saying to him 'If you want me to come, I'll come', but no, that was his attitude, which I thought was quite negative when you're trying to help yourself - Kirsty

He never told me they were going on and then when I found the card that dated the three [sessions], he said that I couldn't do them because I was looking after the kids ...and I always said to him 'If you need me to, I can go away from my [work]' ...it was a flexible thing. So, he never asked me. He only went to the first one, when I was with him, and the last one that I

found and his excuse was that I couldn't go because I was looking after the kids and I'm like 'Well, that's rubbish' - Lilith

Furthermore, the women who had work and childcare obligations, or transportation issues, said that despite wanting to attend reviews because they believed they were an important process, they were prevented from doing so because of outside responsibilities or difficulties.

I went to the intake, but after that I didn't get to go with him because of the kids when he had the review meetings. I would have liked to have gone along - Anna

I wish I could, but it was just the kids-. And because it was on a Tuesday morning so there was no point in him going from here, all the way [there] and then come back and then go back again at night, so it was just petrol wise, but I wish I could have. Like, if it was on a different day - Andrea

As a result of being unable to attend, the women felt they had missed out on the valuable opportunity of sharing their personal experiences of the men's changes and progress with the staff members involved with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. They could see the importance of having the (ex) partner's input and perspective and were disappointed that they could not contribute their experiences with the men's Programme facilitators.

Lucy: Because of work I have been able to make them and they always seem to be on a Tuesday and I'm particularly busy on a Tuesday, the morning, yeah.

Interviewer: Would you want to go to more?

Lucy: Yeah definitely, but they just haven't been at the right time for me because I'd like to talk to them as well.

Interviewer: Yeah. What sort of things-. Is it that you'd like to tell them stuff or you'd like them to tell you stuff?

Lucy: I think a bit of both, but sometimes I'd like to say to them what's been going on and, not sort of tell tales, but just so that everyone knows-. You know, there's two sides to everything.

Interviewer: So they've got a more realistic picture of what's going on?

Lucy: Yeah. Well that's right because when you get one person it's hard to-. But when you've got two people then you might get a better overview, you might get a better picture I think

Again, the women talked about how there may be a need to improve the communication between Te Manawa Staff members and women in order to ensure they are able to make reviews where appropriate and possible. Often review times were set when the women had other obligations, so increased communication could help organise the review times around the various parties' schedules.

Nobody contacted me from there, but I think-. I don't know if they left it up to [him] to invite me along or-. I'm not sure how that works. He has invited me along but it's just at a time where I can't make it, yeah, just can't make it - Lucy

4.5.4 Length

The women said that running the Men Living Free from Violence Programme over 16 weeks provided their (ex) partners with a substantial amount of time to ensure they developed an increasing engagement with, and education of, issues relating to their abuse and violence. It also provided a solid length of time with which demonstrate whether or not significant changes were occurring in their (ex) partners' behaviour.

Because I've seen such a big change in [him]. I've got nothing but praise for them at Te Manawa. I do know that if, The sessions-, He's just had enough sessions, so it's only kind of just snapped with him, but yeah, so the length of time's awesome - Amy.

As discussed in the men's accounts (section 3.4.1), the men's engagement with the Programme was not immediate, but instead was a gradual process developed through increasing exposure to the course content and curriculum.

Interviewer: What about the way he talked to you? You know, the put downs and stuff like that. Did that change?

Lilith: Not straight away, it was more further on. About six or seven weeks into the Programme I think.

By holding the course over the span of several months, the women said their (ex) partners were given the opportunity to gradually develop and build meaningful engagement with the Programme. They talked about how if the course was shorter than 16 weeks, it would not allow for this gradual-engagement process, and their (ex) partners might not have had the opportunity to take full advantage of what the course had to offer.

It takes people a long time to realise sometimes that they are having those difficulties and so that's why I'm thinking that the sessions at Te Manawa are perfect. The length of time is perfect because he took what he had learnt in the first session, the very first session, I think it was the communication and boundaries one, and they went over it a second time with [him] I think a couple of weeks ago, just before his last session, and he took a lot more out of that one than he did from the first time - Amy

However, there were concerns that the course was not long enough to produce a genuine and sustainable change in the men's behaviour.

It's going to take a long time to change - Kirsty

16 weeks is not enough time to change - Lilith

16 weeks is kind of a long time, but it really-. It's not long enough to change some bad behaviours unfortunately - Claire

Many women talked about how their (ex) partner had an extensive history of abuse, both as victims and offenders, and this lifelong history of violence was unable to be adequately and effectively addressed in only 16 weeks.

I think what they did at Te Manawa is really good, but I think they've got to do it more in-depth and realise that some of these lifelong things can't be changed in a 16 week course - Kate

I mean 16 weeks is a long time, but to change a lifetime in 16 weeks, one night a week? - Claire

The women said their (ex) partners' experiences of growing up in an abusive household affected their beliefs regarding the use of violence and acceptable behaviour towards women and children. They talked about how, although the course was long enough to enable their (ex) partner to identify the role their upbringing may have played in their use of violence as an adult, it was not sufficiently long enough for them to fundamentally challenge and dismantle lifelong values, morals and beliefs. The women believed that a longer and more intensive course would be needed to change a lifelong habit (and acceptance) of abuse and violence.

It was just a couple of weeks ago I think, he came back from a meeting and he said that he's had an epiphany and he said 'I've been treating you like my father treated my mother' and

I'm like 'Wow, ok' and he said 'I need to see if I can deal to this because I don't want to be my father and rar de rar de rar' and I'm like 'Ok. Enough said. Carry on', but nothing's happened since so I can't go back to it - Lilith

Mary: I don't know if you could ever change him because he's been like that since he was a boy. I think the course is good while he's doing it, but I don't believe, unless he's doing it for the rest of his life or for a really long time-. Like, how many weeks do they do?

Interviewer: 16 weeks I think.

Mary: For one night a week is it? I mean, really, what sort of impact is that going to [have]? Well, especially at an age, like he was 40 odd when he did the course so, yeah, there's 40 years you've got to break down when you look at it. 1 day a week, well, really, you only do 16 days. Like, when you go into the armed services, they've got you for 3 months and they're on you every day. Something like that might work [laughs]

The desire for a longer course was also related to the women's feelings of safety, especially at the point of Programme completion. If women did not feel their (ex) partner had comprehensively worked through and addressed their violent and abusive behaviour at the point of Programme completion, they were fearful for their safety and believed their (ex) partner was not ready to disengage from the course.

When the 16 weeks was up, I didn't feel safe enough for him to stop. I didn't feel like it was 'All good, everything's all good now'. I didn't feel like that at all - Lucy

The women said their (ex) partner also expressed concerns they had not managed to effectively reduce or eliminate their use of violence at the point of course completion. The women said their (ex) partners were aware of the struggles and challenges that day-to-day life brings and the men were concerned they were not yet ready or strong enough to transverse these daily struggles without the support from, and continued engagement with, the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

He still felt like although he'd done all that hard work for 16 weeks, he was still a little unsure whether he was ready to handle the commitment of what happens within a family, which is a lot of work - Claire

These concerns highlight a potential safety issue that emerged from the women's accounts. If the women reconcile with their (ex) partner before substantial change takes place, they may potentially be returning to an unsafe relationship. The understanding that a 'completed programme' equates with effective change may provide a false sense of security for the women, and they may be more inclined to return to the relationship before confidently ensuring the relationship is safe.

Interviewer: Do you feel safe now?

Claire: Um, at times. Not always...yeah, I have to be honest and say not always. And then I wondered whether we shifted back in together too soon

4.5.5 Open Door Policy

The open door policy (as introduced in section 3.5.4) was a valuable asset to those who did not feel that the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was long enough to produce meaningful and sustainable change. If the men had not achieved what they wanted at the point of Programme completion, they had the option to return for subsequent cycles and continue to work on their issues of abuse and violence.

[The staff] said to him 'Just come back if you need to' which is fantastic. Fantastic service. So that's awesome. It makes him feel comfortable and that. So yeah, it's been brilliant - Amy

He asked my opinion [about returning] and I said 'I think it would probably be a good idea because we're not there yet' and he said 'I'm happy to do it if you want me to' - Lilith

The women whose (ex) partners returned for subsequent cycles of the course said that continued engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme increased the men's confidence regarding their developing knowledge base and positive behavioural changes. The first course introduced their (ex) partner to the ideas and skills needed for addressing their issues of violence and abuse, and subsequent cycles helped strengthen and solidify what they had previously learnt.

He learnt a lot from the first one and I think it's just confidence building and to keep it going - Karen

Furthermore, the women said that on subsequent cycles, their (ex) partner was able to work on particular areas they may not have engaged with or attended to on the initial cycle. Therefore, the sessions that the men may have 'missed' due to the process of gradual engagement (see section 3.4.5) were able to be revisited with more substantially developed enthusiasm and interest, ensuring that their (ex) partner learnt as much from every single session as they possibly could.

He was the one that said to me that he took a lot more out of it that time, when he came home after the course. He said he took a lot more out of it. He didn't even realise half the stuff that he'd missed out the first time. So that was good - Amy

The women said their (ex) partners' mode of engagement was enhanced on subsequent cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Whilst the first cycle developed their (ex) partners' cognitive engagement with the intellectual and educational elements of the Programme, there were concerns that the men were struggling to translate the teaching into practice in their everyday lives. In other words, they could participate in the intellectual learning of ideology and skills, but were often unable to truly 'get' the course teachings.

He can see things going on in his head when he's thinking of things and he can talk about this, but he just isn't at the stage where he can admit that it's him that is getting himself angry instead of him saying it was me making him angry. It's going to take him a while to do that I think because he still blames everybody else - Lilith.

The first time he was ordered to come to Te Manawa and he basically-, Well, he would have learnt things, but there was no putting it into action - Olivia

I could see him trying to do what the course had taught him because he'd bring the stuff home and I'd read through it and I could see him sort of trying to do-, But when he got into that rage it didn't-, Yeah - Hannah

The women believed that subsequent cycles enabled their (ex) partner to refine and enhance their engagement with the beliefs, skill sets and practices required for a life without violence and abuse. The women said it was often not until their (ex) partner had attended subsequent cycles that they started seeing a significant and meaningful change in the men's behaviour, and therefore started to believe that the course was effectively reducing or eliminating their (ex) partners issues of violence and abuse.

I noticed the next time we came in it was a lot different. They were talking to him, bringing out what he should know from the course, bringing that out so that I could actually see that, you know, that what they were teaching, he was actually learning and so I started believing - Olivia.

Furthermore, the women said returning for subsequent cycles also provided the opportunity for their (ex) partner to shift their motivational source from external to internal motivation (see sections 3.4.4 and 4.4.1). Whilst their (ex) partner may have attended the initial course because of an external goal or requirement, the women said the decision to return and remain engaged in the Programme showed the men's willingness to, and genuine investment in, addressing and changing their patterns of abusive behaviour.

He was doing it for me at first, now he's on his second session of 16 and he's doing it for himself now - Lilith

4.5.6 Need for Continued Services

The women talked about how they would have liked their (ex) partner to return for a subsequent cycle of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, however their (ex) partner was unable to do so, either because they did not want to return for another full cycle or were restricted by demands on their time and resources (see section 3.5.4 and 3.5.5).

I would have liked him to do it again, but he didn't want to do it again. I think he was just too tired - Anna

However, the need for some form of continued service can be seen in the women's accounts of abusive and violent behaviour returning after programme completion. The women discussed how, despite many positive changes taking place while their (ex) partner was engaged with the course, these changes were not sustainable and gradually began to re-emerge over time.

Lilith: Afterwards when reality came back, you saw the certain things coming back.

Interviewer: And what kind of things were they?

Lilith: Seeing red again, not as placid, not as-, He's very sensitive in a way. You can say something and he will take it well way over the top. I didn't even think of those things, but he's taking it on like that and then he will see red and he'll go over the top, so that started creeping back in

I think for a while there too it taught us to communicate a bit better, but that's lapsed too unfortunately. It's only when things get really bad that we'll talk, which is unfortunate really because that's where most of the trouble starts, you know - Claire

I've realised that you do return back to your old behaviours - Jaime

The women talked about the need for continued engagement with Te Manawa Services. They were aware that completion of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme did not necessarily indicate that their (ex) partners had made meaningful and genuine changes. They talked about how it was unrealistic, and undesirable, to assume that men were ready to disengage from services only because they had completed the Programme.

Having it an on-going course, instead of seeing it as a 16 week course and once you get to 16 weeks you go unless you volunteer to come back. I think it should be ongoing until they feel whoever is better, because 16 weeks maybe seems a long time to some people, but it's not for someone like [him] or some of the people that-, You know, [the Family Support person] says that [some] go to court and there's so many bracelets and things on and anklets and I'm like '16 weeks is nothing'. I know they haven't got the funding to do it, but it should be on-going - Lilith

Furthermore, the women said continued engagement with Te Manawa Services would also demonstrate to them their (ex) partner was dedicated towards maintaining life-long changes in their behaviour. They talked about how it is easy to make a concentrated effort over a

finite period of time to resist abusive behaviours, but that a commitment to continued engagement would show a committed investment towards change. This was particularly salient if the women suspected their (ex) partner did not genuinely acknowledge they had issues of abuse and violence and were only attending the course to achieve an external goal.

If they're going to do it, that this course comes with refresher courses afterwards. So, at least if they're going to try and wing it for that amount of time, well then they've got to go back and maybe on one of those go-backs, then they might decide 'Wow, actually'-. Because he just looked at that, to start with, I think it was like 16 or 18 weeks or something, and he was just like 'Well, it's only 18 times' or something, you know, 'It's only once a week' and then of course when he started enjoying it, that was different, but I think if they did the course for an amount of time and then they go back and they have like four week blocks. I just think that if they're serious about it-. You know? - Kate

It would be good to have some sort of refresher and say 'Are you doing this?' or whatever they do at the course - Kirsty

I think for [him] too it might kind of almost be like a little bit of accountability, if you know what I mean? Keeping him real, you know? Like 'Don't forget' sort of thing - Claire

Therefore, the women said there was a need for a form of 'refresher programme' available after their (ex) partners had completed the Programme so they could re-engage with the course content and maintain the positive changes made during the course. A refresher course could offer the men the opportunity to revisit the skills and tools they developed to actively manage their anger, as well as the chance to continue to practice implementing them in their daily lives.

I just think for the guys it's probably a personal choice-. Is that they need to keep using the skills that they've learnt because if you don't use them you lose them. I don't know whether that's something maybe they can look into. Whether every just once a month or something they have a little catch-up night - Claire

I'm sure doing the course at the time, and learning all that stuff at the time was fine, but sometimes you find yourself going back to there if you're not doing it all the time. So although I think those courses are good, I think some people need it constantly and they need to revisit it - Mary

4.6 Partner/Family Services

4.6.1 Family Support Services

Family Support Services provided the opportunity for women to be supported by, and connected to, Te Manawa Services whilst their (ex) partner completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. As mentioned in section 4.5.3, there was the potential for women to feel excluded and silenced within men's review processes. Therefore, the women said they appreciated the inclusion of Family Support Services because it gave them the opportunity to feel recognised as being affected by, and involved in, issues of abuse and violence, and as such were extended support and help to work on ensuring their own needs were met.

Where someone like me could be lost in another service, another system, I might not have got any support...They just rang one day out of the blue, they just said 'It's such and such from Te Manawa, your husband's booked in on the course. We're wondering if you'd like to come in and have a meeting. Would you like a bit of a support? There is support available for partners, would you like to come in and see us?', and I said 'Oh, that would be great'. Just went in and that's where it started - Kirsty

The women talked about how Family Support Services made them feel that Te Manawa Services were invested in their personal safety and wellbeing. There was a sense of value and worth attached to the professional investment in how victims were dealing and coping with the abuse they had experienced.

She was trying to think of, 'Look after number one and you don't have to put up with that, you don't have to put up with that' and, yeah, she was just amazing. And if we were having a bad day, we wouldn't even go through the book work, she just concentrated on what was happening for that day. You walked out of there and felt like you've achieved something, every time I went there. She was just amazing - Kirsty

The women talked about how they had previously been involved with other service agencies, such as mental health service providers, but the assistance and support provided by Te Manawa Services was experienced as more 'genuine'. This reflects the strengths-based approach to service provision that guides Te Manawa Services (see section 1.4). Instead of viewing the women through the lens of deficiency or treatment, Family Support Services staff were focussed on supporting the women's strength, and developing resources, to work through their experiences of abuse and engage in the process of healing.

She was just a neutral person. Didn't matter what medication you were on or whatever, she wasn't looking into that....she just cared about how...how you were getting through on a day-to-day basis and how you were going to get through and how you were going to help [him] and you - Kirsty

As discussed earlier (section 4.5.3), the women felt frustration at not being able to attend the men's review sessions because of work or childcare. Family Support Services, however, were flexible and worked around, and within, the women's schedules.

The partner support is excellent, absolutely excellent. Being able to have them come to me so I don't have to stress about getting anywhere or what the bubs is doing or anything - Lucy

In the Family Support meetings, the women could safely share their stories and experiences of their (ex) partners' abuse and violence. The women about how meaningful it was to be given a voice, and have that voice prioritised, within a process that appears to revolve around supporting men's issues.

Being able to talk to someone else about what's going on - Lucy
They are very supportive. They care about how you're feeling and they listen. That's what I found, one thing, they listen. And I've found when I've had one-on-one meetings with one of them, she'd listen and give me advice to try this way and that way - Anna

As a result of this investment in the women's stories, a strong emotional connection between the Family Support Service staff member and the women was formed. The women often referred to their particular Support staff member as a friend, and this helped them feel valued and cared about. The healing potential of such human relationships and connections were extremely important for the women.

She became your friend, sounding-board, and you could say anything - Kirsty

The women said Family Support Services gave them hope for the future again. They felt less alone, less isolated and more connected to a network of help and support, and they began to believe they will get through this and be ok.

They really helped me to realise that this isn't just me and there is a lot of other people going through the same stuff. So many that they've written modules about it and it's textbook and it's fine, you know, it's going to be alright - Lucy

Information Sharing

The women who were unable, or not invited, to participate in the review sessions said the Family Support Service enabled them to discuss their (ex) partners' progress (or lack thereof) on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme with the Family Support worker. They said it gave them the opportunity to inform Te Manawa Services of how their (ex) partner was engaging with the course in a safe and confidential forum.

Interviewer: Did they ever arrange to meet with you by yourself?

Lilith: Yeah we did. [The staff member] came round to our house and it was just me and her. [He] took the kids out and we just did the talk about the evaluation and things and that's when things came out [laughs]

How things are improving, if they're improving and what can they do to assist even more. They're awesome. It's brilliant - Amy

The Family Support Services also enabled the women to gain an awareness and understanding of what the men were learning on the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The women said this was useful, not only to increase their awareness of course content, but also to facilitate trust in Te Manawa Services. The women talked about issues of transparency, where information sharing enabled them to trust that their (ex) partners' issues of violence and abuse were being appropriately and effectively addressed within the course curriculum. This was especially important for the women whose (ex) partners would not talk to them about the Programme.

I would have been secretly thinking 'Now, what's he doing at that course?' Where she was able to, on the odd occasion, explain. Well, she was giving me the books and saying 'This is what they've done today' and I saw the headings and things. I don't think I read in-depth into much, but I saw that there was actually quite applicable sort of stuff, you know, and they do keep you informed on what's going on - Kirsty

Furthermore, the women said it was useful to know what skills and techniques their (ex) partners were learning in the anger management component of the Programme. They said this information enabled them to identify 'unusual' behaviours as cognitive behavioural techniques taught on the course (such as walking away for 'time out'). The women said this helped them recognise the underlying meaning of such actions and understand the reasoning behind it.

They did tell me certain things that they were doing with [him] so that he would be able to cope and they told me 'If he gets up and walks away, he's not ignoring you, he's just getting to the point where he's going to blow his fuse, so he's going for a walk', or 'If he hangs up the phone on you, he's not doing it to be rude, he's just trying to deal with his own issues at the time' ... Well, if I hadn't been told, I would have followed or-, I mean, if he had hung up on me... I would have gone round to his house and said 'What the hell do you think you're doing?', but because they told me, it was like 'Ok, just leave it and he'll get back to me when he's good and ready' - Jessica

The women also talked about the sense of security and confidence that came from knowing the Family Support staff were familiar with their (ex) partners. The staff members they were dealing with in the regular support meetings also facilitated on the men's Programme, or had knowledge of their partners' story and progress, and so were better placed to address the women's specific needs for safety and wellbeing.

She was just really good. And I guess because she knew [him] as well. That's another thing with this course, she was counselling me and she knew him. Not that they probably match up

people, but I guess she deals with men on there and the ladies later, but the other ladies [at the mental health organisation] had never met [him], so they were just going on what I was telling them and with my mental health I could have been telling them-. When I look back now I'm sure most of it was pretty truthful, but some people, they must think 'Oh my god, what are they saying' because they'd never met him and they couldn't relate - Kirsty

However, the women did talk about how they wished the information sharing processes were more open than the rules of confidentiality allow. They said their (ex) partners were prone to deception and, as such, often presented a dishonest, favourable impression to others. Therefore, the limits to information sharing produced by confidentiality also limited the level of security and trust the women could have in their (ex) partners' progress.

When he's trying to keep people fooled, he's just a better person - Kate

He's very good at lying - Rachel

[The staff member] says 'Oh no, he's doing really well. He's trying. He's involved in the meetings and he's not just sitting in the corner', but yeah, that's what [he] is like. He's a happy go lucky person who will get involved and will talk and tell jokes and if you ask a question 'What's wrong in a man' and 'Name 10 things', he will name 10 things. It doesn't mean he's going and saying that it's him - Lilith

Therefore, the women said it would have been good to know more about what was taking place on the course, or in the review sessions, in order to decide whether the Te Manawa Services staff's assessment of their (ex) partners' progress was reflective of genuine and meaningful engagement and development.

Because one person's opinion, like [the staff member's] opinion of [him] participating, to somebody who doesn't know him-. But somebody who does know him can see 'Oh, he's not-. He's just saying what they want to hear', and certainly I think that's what happened in the first course because certain things have changed, I mean, he's not throwing things anymore, but those are easy things to stop. The more difficult things, there's just been absolutely no change to the point where I'm thinking 'This is waste of time going to anger management, because you're just not doing anything' and I think the reason why is because he's just been his normal 'Oh, I'll just say what they want me to' - Lilith

Ensuring Safety

Family Support Services worked with the women to develop and monitor goals they wished to achieve concerning their (ex) partners' behaviour and the relationship. This helped increase safety for women and children through built in processes of reflection as to whether their (ex) partner was making positive gains (or not) during the course. Therefore, the women were better informed to make decisions regarding the safety of staying in, or returning to, the relationship.

I remember the first time I saw her she told me to set some goals with what I wanted with the relationship and even with myself and I think it was like five or six sessions later she read out what my goals were the first day and she asked me how much it had improved and it actually had improved. My relationship had improved even with myself, so that was good - Sarah.

Family Support Services also helped the women establish safety plans in the event their (ex) partner became violent and threatened the safety of them and their children. This provided the women with tools and resources to use in moments of crisis, and prepared them to respond to dangerous situations, should they occur, promptly.

They organised a safety-. Like, if he got violent, a plan - Hannah

The women also said that the support worker helped them plan for, and navigate, upcoming events in the women's lives that were potentially stressful or problematic, such as changes to child custody organisation. The support worker would advise them on ways of coping with, or responding to, the demands of the upcoming events in a positive manner with their (ex) partner. This was, in a sense, a form of safety plan, where the support person would help plan out potential courses of action in order to maximise women's safety during potentially stressful processes.

We hadn't sorted out who's having the children and when we are having them, and you sort of talk about what's happening for the next fortnight, and so you want to come back and reflect on that. It was really good. She talked about what's happening as well as what has happened and how you could deal with something that's coming up. Like, we dealt with issues of how to deal with-. Like, how we're going to talk about the children, who's having them, things that had happened. Just lots of different things - Kirsty

The women said they also appreciated that if they ever had safety issues or needs in the future, Te Manawa Services' door would always be open to them for support and guidance.

I know that they're available if I need their support-- Jaime

I would definitely go back myself. I wouldn't have any hesitation to walk off the street and go there because they were so open and friendly. I suppose that's what they're trying to be. They want people to walk off the street, don't they, if they're in a violent situation - Kirsty

Changing Understandings of Abuse

In the Family Support Sessions, the women were given the opportunity to talk about issues of abuse and violence, sharing their own experiences and having exposure to the support worker's knowledge of domestic violence. As a result of this process, the women said they were able to explore and learn about the different forms abuse and violence can take. This facilitated a changing understanding of abuse, increasing awareness and recognition of what is, and what is not, acceptable in relationships.

I didn't realise until he went to Te Manawa that there was a lot of mental put-me-down abuse going on that I just didn't realise was going on - Lilith

Sometimes when you were there I thought 'Well, I'm not really an abuse case', but once I sort of said a few of the verbal stuff, you realise that you were there, that you were in the right place because she'd say 'No, that's not acceptable' - Kirsty

The women said that acknowledging psychological and emotional forms of abuse was powerful for them. Despite experiencing the distress and damage of psychological and emotional abuse, they believed such behaviour was 'normal' or not serious enough to define as domestic violence. Therefore, through talking with the support worker about their (ex) partners' use of psychological violence, they began to develop a deeper awareness that such behaviours were forms of abuse and were not acceptable.

She would ask me 'Does he do this? Does he do this? Does he do this?' and I was like 'Yeah, would you call that abuse though?' and she'd go 'Yes' and I'm like 'Ok'. And that's what I mean with the put downs and the mental abuse. I didn't even think of things like that. I was more concerned about the physical. Throwing things, storming out, screaming, scaring the kid and when she started listing all these things, I was like 'Yes he does that. Yes he does that. Yes he does that' and I'm like 'He's been doing this for a long time' and she goes 'Alright' and I'm like 'Is this part of it?' and she goes 'Yeah, it's all about abuse' and that's when my eyes were opened - Lilith

The women talked about a sense of relief at having an 'expert' acknowledge their distressing experiences as abuse. They said it empowered them to articulate their experiences of violence and resist normalising, and tolerating, such behaviour. Acknowledging psychological and emotional abuse motivated the women to challenge the presence of psychological violence in their lives.

I think it's just confirming that it's not ok, like you probably know deep down 'It's not really ok to live like this. I don't like what's happening to me', but for someone else to say 'This is not normal, this is not ok, you don't have to put up with it', it just makes you stronger because it brings your own beliefs right out there, yeah - Mary.

Her questions were just so good that when you're answering them-, And sometimes you're judging your own things, thinking-, Sometimes you doubt your own judgement, but when you can say to her 'Well, this is happening and I don't think it's right' she would say 'No, that is not right'. It was really good of her to say. Quite often she would say 'No, that is not acceptable behaviour in your house' and because you're the only one putting up with it, you don't know if it's a bit exaggerated or if it's happening in other people's houses, and now and again I would say things that would happen and she would say 'No, you're right, you don't put up with that' and it was really good of her to say that - Kirsty

Staff Relationships

The women said that the 'heart' of the Family Support Services was the staff members. The interpersonal rapport and relationship building skills of the staff were critical, and the women talked about how the support staff devoted time and energy to developing genuine and strong relationships. This enabled the women to feel safe and to trust their support liaison, therefore enabling the women to take full advantage of the avenues of help and support Te Manawa Services could offer them.

When you're confident with someone you probably divulge more...with [my support person], because she was so trusting, you were able to divulge all your things to her and then she helped you - Kirsty

She was easy to talk to for me - Rebecca

It took me a while to actually open up to her. Like I said, I'm not a talker and I don't really tell my business to everybody - Sarah

Some women said they felt their interactions with the support workers seemed superficial. In these situations, the women talked about how it felt like the staff were simply 'going through the motions', or ticking off a check list, during their meetings or phone calls. The sense of genuine investment was essential, and if the women felt like the staff did not genuinely care about, or invest in, their individual circumstances, then they were hesitant to meaningfully engage with the support services.

She would go through and 'Oh yes, this is his goal and this is his goal. Is it still happening?' Tick. 'Oh yes, you've done that module' and it's like ok, but is this actually explaining where they thought people may have gone wrong? - Amanda

Claire: I kind of felt like it was a waste of time

Interviewer: Ok, yip. Was it quite general?

Claire: Yeah, and to be quite honest I work five days a week, I've got [several] children, I'm really busy, I can't be bothered sitting there ticking boxes and stuff like that

It was like she was reading off a piece of paper and just filling it all out - Andrea

Furthermore, the women talked about how if the support worker appeared to distrust, or were not responsive to, their interpretations of their (ex) partners' behaviour, then trust and

respect for the Family Support Services was reduced. For instance, a few women talked about how they did not believe they were victims of their (ex) partners' abuse, however they felt the support worker either did not pay attention to their beliefs, or did not trust the women's stories. As a result of this perceived distrust, the women indicated that they were unable to respect or connect to the staff at Te Manawa Services, and therefore were not willing to utilise their services for support or assistance.

He came home and said 'Oh, God she doubted the things I said' and I says 'Oh ok', and then when she rang me a few days later it was like-, She didn't say it the same way she said it to [him], but it was in a different way, so when she started talking about things I knew exactly what she was getting at and I says 'To be perfectly honest, we have no problems' - Amanda

Andrea: She asked if I was all right and if I was safe in the home and stuff. She knew that I was safe and things, but most of the questions weren't even relevant for [him] anyway, so it was kind of hard answering those kind of questions ...she'd always ask 'Is [he] there? Are you safe to talk?' -

Interviewer: Was it the same person?

Andrea: Yeah, it was the same lady every time, so she knew our case and everything...I'm like '[He's] here. I'm fine. We can talk. I'll put you on speaker' [laughs]

4.6.2 Women Living Free from Violence Programme

Many of the women whose (ex) partners completed the men's Programme said they also attended the Women Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services. The women talked about how prior to engagement with Te Manawa Services they were socially isolated and lacking in support networks. They often described this isolation as resulting from the effects of living with abuse. They said their self-esteem was too low to make and maintain friendships or that their (ex) partners' behaviour and manipulation isolated them from their friends and family.

I think when we first got together, I can't remember all the conversations now, but I can remember thinking later on 'Well, they were really leading to what does he need to do to be able to control my life' and one of the biggest things was get me away from my friends - Kate

More insecure, feeling more insecure, losing friends - Lilith

I used to really isolate myself with [him]. I isolated myself from my family because I didn't want my kids having anything to do with my family because I didn't want them to say-, You know, one day they might say something and how am I going to explain this? So everything was kept really quiet - Karen

The women said attending the women's Programme helped them reduce their sense of isolation. They began to develop supportive social connections with other women in the group and valued having the opportunity to talk to other women who were going through, or had gone through, similar experiences of abuse. They talked about the sense of belonging and connection they felt in the women's group and how this helped to increase their confidence and psychological wellbeing.

I think the group thing is, you know, you get more out of being in a group because you have all those other women or men in the group that have been through the same stuff, in a different sort of a way, but it's all the same, so you have all that support, really confidence building. It's really, really good - Karen

Because I don't have many friends, I got an interaction with other females as well and a sense of belonging - Jaime

The development of social support networks within the women's group was then translated outside the course into the women's everyday lives. Some spoke of how they maintained meaningful connections and friendships with women they had met on the Programme. These connections served to maintain strength and good psychological health through continued engagement with course content within the context of various day-to-day experiences, such as intimate relationships and parenting.

My friend that I've made from group, we ring each other. We talk everyday on the phone, or text as well, and we always talk about tools and stuff that we've learnt at group and she's got this new partner now and she's talking to him already about the tools to use, you know: 'Don't tell me what I'm not doing. I'll talk about myself, this is how you can talk about yourself'. So she's teaching him and she's done it with her kids. She had her kids taken off her because she attempted suicide, and her and her kids now have an amazing relationship. It's fantastic - Karen

Alternatively, the women said the group gave them the confidence and ability to reconnect with friends and family they had disconnected with due to living in an abusive relationship. The self-confidence and strength developed during the women's course enabled them to reach out to friends or family, sharing with them their experiences, some for the first time, and to rebuild strong support networks and caring relationships with those who were important to them.

Karen: Now I have the best relationship I've ever had with mum

Interviewer: You were able to reconnect?

Karen: Really. All my family. And I went up on the weekend and my cousin-, We were talking about it and I said 'It was really hard and awful being in that relationship with [him]' and she said 'It was ugly being on the outside and not being able to get in'. So that was nice to see what it was like for her because we're really close. We're like sisters. So yeah, we had a really good talk about stuff

The women appreciated the opportunity to spend quality time working on themselves and their own needs and concerns. Many of the women spoke of personal histories of abuse, in both their childhood and adult years, and said the women's course was the first time they felt like they had the permission and opportunity to place their own happiness and wellbeing as a priority in their lives.

It's amazing, really awesome. And the 'I statements', you know, I talk about-, I used to think it was selfish to have time out for myself, you know, I always put the kids and everybody first. I was always manipulated by previous partners. I've always had violent partners, because my mother also had violent partners, so I grew up in that and just thought that that was just normal, and so I used to think that going and having a coffee with a friend was really selfish and if I wanted to go swimming or go do anything like that, go to the gym or whatever, I used to think 'Oh no, I can't afford that. The kids will miss out if I do that', but now, if I'm not right with myself, my kids won't be, so that's a huge thing. Self-care is a huge thing that I've learnt at group. And the 'I statements'. I talk about myself all the time now, you know, it's not-. And when you get into a bit of a disagreement with anybody I always talk about myself 'Well, hang on, you haven't let me finish. This is how I'm feeling, this is me. Not talking about you, I'm talking about me' - Karen

The women said the women's course strengthened their self-esteem and psychological wellbeing. Through engagement with the course content, women felt they had gained, or regained, their own sense of worth, confidence and 'happiness'. For some, this was the best they had ever felt in their lives.

The women's Programme – thumbs up from me [laughs], and I do tell people that I think might need it too, especially for the self-esteem part of it, to make you stronger - Mary
I used to be so excited about going because it just lifted me up so much. I'm [in my 40s] and this is the first time ever in my life that I've ever felt like I do - Karen

The experience of their own personal development, and that of other women in the group, often gave the women hope and reassurance that things will improve, or continue to improve. There was a sense that they were not 'damaged beyond repair', that they have been through some distressing experiences, and may have also acted in ways they are not proud of, but that their future can be better, healthier and happier.

It gives the other girls an incentive, you know, they can do it. We are ok. Even though we've been through shit, we've done some nasty stuff, we've had nasty stuff done to us, we can change. It's never too late - Karen

The women said the course helped increase their own and their children's safety by helping them develop the skills and confidence needed to be able to identify abusive behaviour and take whatever actions they could to avoid living with violence in the future.

They'll just keep going down the same path. Whereas, I know I'll never go down that path again. That path is destroyed. It doesn't even exist anymore - Karen.

Furthermore, the women said the group taught them knowledge and skills to develop healthy relationships in the future, and strengthened their confidence with which to use the knowledge and skills in their interactions with the new partner.

I mean, like, with my husband now, he's got a bit of a short fuse as well, but I mean I don't-, I'm not scared of him and I was with my ex, but I know I'm not going to let it lie. Like, with my ex, I'd just let it lie and never talk about it again if there was a situation, but with my husband now I'll let him calm down and then I'll go and raise it with him so things get talked out. Nothing ever hangs. So there's not that built up resentment that was there before. And that's me having the courage to actually do that because I know that it needs to be done. Communication's so important - Mary

Relationship to the Men's Programme

The women said that doing the women's course gave them a deeper understanding of what the men were learning, as the content and curriculum of both Programmes were similar. They could see the underlying philosophies their (ex) partners were being introduced to as well as the skills and tools they were, or should be, developing. This was especially informative for those who no longer had contact or open relationships with their (ex) partners.

Mary: Yeah, because the women's course is sort of similar, although-, They're the same programme

Interviewer: Did you find that helpful to have that information?

Mary: Yeah, really good, especially things like 'I statements'. I thought, you know, that would be really good if he's clicking on to these because instead of the accusing 'You, you, you, you', And taking ownership of your own feelings. Yeah, I thought that was really good

Women who had contact, or remained in the relationship, with their (ex) partners said doing the course at the same time as the men helped strengthen both of their learning and change processes. It provided a common foundation from which to engage with each other, facilitating and increasing the amount of communication in the relationship whilst also increasing their understanding of the course content.

I found it was really helpful because it gave [him] and I a better understanding of what we were learning and we could discuss it, discuss what we learnt - Jaime

They're just sort of the same kind of a unit things...but you're probably doing them a different week, but like when you come home-, Or else we talked about things. Because that was a big thing for us, was a breakdown in communication. So we'd have our meetings and stuff and...yeah, we'd come home and we would talk about what we were doing that night - Rebecca

Therefore, a few women highly recommended that the (ex) partners of men completing the Men Living Free from Violence Programme should also attend the Women Living Free from Violence Programme in order to maximise the learning and changes possible for both parties.

Interviewer: *What advice would you give to a woman in a similar situation to you?*

Rebecca: *To do the course. To do the women's Free from Violence course and just support each other during the course. That's probably-, Yeah, both do the course. That's just the best thing*

Improving Children's Futures

The women talked about how the women's Programme helped them protect the safety and wellbeing of their children, either through addressing the women's own abusive behaviour or through enabling them to become a positive role model for their children. They said the course enabled them to learn the effects anger and abuse have on children, facilitating an awareness of the issues and experiences their children may be dealing, or struggling, with.

Teaching about anger, what it can do to your children. What violence can do to your children - Anna

Some of the women interviewed spoke of how they too struggled with issues of abuse and violence. These women said that, often as a consequence of the violence they themselves endured, they began to act violently or abusively towards their children. Attending the women's course helped them identify, challenge and address their own abusive behaviour.

To be honest, I started behaving violently because of how I was being treated... and it is good, you know-, Or even abusive because I started being psychologically abusive, and it's good to make you recognise it - Michelle

I used to smack my kids. I'd get so angry and just really smack them and I can see now how people do get carried away, in a situation-, It's not even the kids, it's just that inbuilt, years of being in a violent relationship, growing up in a violent relationship and you have all that built up anger and it explodes - Karen

If his dad was grumpy and angry, I'd find myself getting grumpy and angry and the kids would cop it and things like that. And so it made me aware of 'Oh my God, why am I radiating this?' It's been from him to me to them, you know? It's not their fault and things like that. So that was good, that part of it - Mary

Furthermore, the women spoke of the pride that came from learning how to be a positive role model for their children. They said it was powerful to be in a position where they could develop non-abusive and healthy behaviours in children who had previously been exposed to violence and abuse. They transferred the skills and understandings they learnt in the women's Programme to the home environment, teaching their children what is acceptable, and not acceptable behaviour, and how to make better choices for themselves in the future.

And my kids are going to grow up and hopefully have really nice partners too because I've changed all that role modelling. They don't see me react anymore - Karen.

With me as their role model, they can see that it's not ok. It is not ok. And that day that [he attacked] the car, and I got in the car and drove off really quietly and [my son] said to me 'Oh mum, that's not acceptable is it? That's really bad. You should call the police about that' and this is his dad that's just done that and I just thought 'Wow, this is huge. I have just role modelled this. It's not acceptable and he's really picked up on it'. So, it's been huge for me - Karen

Safety Issues

However, as was discussed in the men's accounts (section 3.6.2), if the men and women were attending the Programmes at the same time, there was the potential for conflict to occur when course curriculums were compared. The women talked about how their (ex) partner became upset and angry when reading through the women's Programme booklets if they thought the Programme was portraying the men as the aggressor and the women as the victim. Their (ex) partners were upset that the women's Programme was not encouraging them identify the part they played in the abuse or violence that occurred, therefore accepting some responsibility for their own victimisation. The women said this caused arguments and tension in the household. As a result, some women felt they could not fully embrace or engage with the understandings and skills they were learning for fear of repercussions.

Initially [he] picked up some of my booklets, looked through them and went 'Oh, this is all rubbish! This is all the women are the victims and it doesn't take anything against-. You know, from the man's perspective!' He really felt-. And that was quite a scary thing and so I sort of didn't talk to him about them and just sort of kept them out of his sight and that was me going back into old habits. Hiding them and trying to hide that-. And the things that I was getting out of them I was feeling that I wasn't able to use or put into place because I felt like he wasn't accepting of them - Lucy

The women suggested that if Te Manawa Services staff were aware that (ex) partners of men were attending the women's group, it might be helpful to discuss the women's Programme with the men, much like the Family Support Service does with the women, in order to address any concerns or issues their (ex) partners may have concerning the women's course content. They said this would be helpful to remove the women's responsibility to defend or explain the women's Programme, and if the men had any concerns or hostility it can be safely addressed and worked through with a Te Manawa Services staff member instead of with the women at home.

I think that it would be helpful if they got a look at what the women's Programme is like as well, and if they have any problems with it they can take it up with the facilitators, not out on us. I think that would be helpful because as well as these women's modules that I've got, [the Family Support worker] brings along the men's ones as well so I read everything that [he's] doing - Lucy

Another concern that emerged from the women's accounts was the possibility that the women's course may unintentionally reinforce understandings of provocation. Because the Living Free from Violence Programmes emphasise taking responsibility and accountability for your own behaviours, there was the potential for women to mis-apply this to their experiences of victimisation. The women sometimes talked about how the course helped them take responsibility for either the role their behaviour played in provoking their (ex) partners' violence or their responses of distress and pain to their experiences of abuse.

You definitely have to do it as a partnership. You both have to be wanting to change because it's not always one-sided. But, yeah, there's always something you could've done different. You didn't need to keep saying something just to make them blow up - Rebecca

I did the women's course as well and it made me realize that I need to stop being a victim and stop saying 'Poor me, poor me' and change how I was as well - Mary

It may be helpful to actively address the issue of provocation within the women's course in order to prevent the women from returning to, or employing, understandings of provocation in relation to their experiences of victimisation. This is especially important given that, throughout the interviews, the women continued to draw upon provocation as a reason, or excuse, for men's violence against women.

There are females out there that treat their husbands like shit and no wonder they don't know how to work it out, you know? What's going on here? And they get upset or angry and they give her a whack and then they're at fault? - Amanda

It takes two to tango, you know, it's not always-, And I'll admit that to anybody. Like I say, that night that it all happened, you know, it took two of us to start that. Admittedly, he started it with the drinking, but I stepped in and told him what-for. So yeah, I could have just left it and packed up my pillow and gone and slept in a different bed and just left him to go to it - Joanna

As was seen in the men's accounts (section 3.3.7), the group environment introduced the potential for minimisation of abuse through comparison to other group members' experiences. The women said their (ex) partner had not abused them 'as badly' as some of the other women in the course, therefore their experiences of abuse and violence were minimised. Again, this reinforced the privileging of physical violence and undermined the seriousness of psychological and emotional forms of abuse.

I felt really minor compared to some of the women that were there. I felt 'Oh god, maybe I shouldn't be here', you know? 'Have you really got the right to complain compared to them?' - Mary

4.6.3 Youth and Parenting Programme

The women talked about their concerns that, due to experiencing their (ex) partners' abuse and violence, their children were beginning to exhibit similar patterns of behaviour.

I still see it now with my son, the way that he behaves. He's quite controlling and bossy and, little things, like if someone's eating and they're making a sound, he'll get all angry and nut off about it and I can see that from his father, those are the sort of things he did - Mary

Because of his father being domineering, he can be domineering - Anna

Therefore, the women said it was significant that Te Manawa Services also provide a Youth and Parenting Programme to support their children to work through any issues or concerns they may be experiencing as a consequence of their history of living with abuse and violence.

One good thing that did come from it is that he did take his son to an adolescence one that they ran. So obviously he could see that it could help. It could help getting people when they were young or something. Like, he could see that the fundamentals of it could work because when he took [his son], I just thought that was a really good thing - Kate

Him and his daughter went to the parent and youth [course]. They did that as well and they found that really good. I think he's got a lot out of it, definitely got a lot out of it - Karen

Some women said their (ex) partner was not able to change their own abusive and violent behaviour, but was engaged with helping support the children work through their issues. Therefore, in some cases, although the men's Programme was not effective in reducing or eliminating abuse towards women, the Youth and Parenting Programme enabled the men to address their relationship with, and behaviour towards, their children.

I think the thing is he could see some points did absolutely make sense and if you tried hard enough, definitely they-. But with [our son], I think, he wanted the best for [our son] because he didn't like the person he was, but he didn't have enough balls to change himself, so I think with [our son], he was like 'I don't want you being like me. Now is the opportunity that I can actually do something to help' - Kate

However, the women talked about the frustration of long waiting lists for attendance on the Youth and Parenting Programme. They said this was disheartening because they could see their children needed immediate help and support, but were unable to obtain it due to overwhelming demand for the youth service.

The thing that does need improving from my point of view is that it's quite hard to get into the parenting and youth [course]. There needs to be more of that because the waiting list is so long - Karen

4.6.4 Partner Support as a Measure of Effectiveness

Perhaps one of the most significant findings from the women's analysis is that partner support could be considered a measure of effectiveness for the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, if 'effectiveness' is defined as increasing women and children's safety and wellbeing. The Family Support Services, Women Living Free from Violence Programme, and the Youth and Parenting Programme were predominant in the women's accounts, with some women choosing to devote the majority of the interview talking about the services they were offered rather than changes in their (ex) partners' behaviour.

Interviewer: Is there anything in particular that you want me to feed back to Te Manawa? Like, maybe advice? Something that they need to keep on doing because it's awesome, or something that they could change?

Mary: I think the women's group is really good and empowering, and the children's Programme - fantastic.

The women who said their (ex) partner did not benefit from the men's Programme often still highly recommend Te Manawa Services due to the level of support and help they personally received. They said that, regardless of their (ex) partners' processes of change, their safety and wellbeing was increased significantly as a result of the spectrum of services and support offered to the families of men on the Programme.

Interviewer: Would you recommend the place?

Hannah: Um...yeah, I suppose for women I would. I'm not too sure about the men's group though.

When I look back, I think I got more benefit than he did and it was a men's support group - Kirsty.

Interviewer: And it worked so well for you, despite the fact that things didn't improve with [him]-

Kirsty: But frankly I don't care-. Well, I do care, but I got so much of value out of it that it was amazing, you know.

For one woman interviewed, the support and assistance she received at Te Manawa Services literally saved her life:

I'd never heard of anything like Te Manawa before. It has saved my life. It really has. I don't know if I'd even be here today if it wasn't for Te Manawa because I've been suicidal. You just feel like you can't go on anymore. You can't do this anymore - Karen

The significance of the connected services offered at Te Manawa Services may be related to the various barriers to help and support women living with violence may experience in the community. The women talked about how they had previously not asked for help, and therefore had not received the assistance they needed to protect themselves and their children. For instance, women may not seek help because they are fearful their children will be removed from their custody, or because they were ashamed to admit they were being abused by their (ex) partner.

It is a lot harder though. It is harder, because if you are in a relationship like that, you constantly are fearful for help because you don't want to lose your children - Michelle

I was beaten for [several] years and I never called the police because I didn't want the police involved. I didn't want them to take my kids off me and that's what I thought would happen: they're going to automatically take my kids away - Karen

I didn't want people to know, you know, people to know what's happened, because I felt really embarrassed about it...and someone like me who has this-, I do have this squeaky clean image, you know? I don't sort of do this, do that and ...and I found it quite embarrassing to know that that had sort of happened to me - Joanna

Therefore, the women said the offer of non-judgmental, non-adversarial support and help from Te Manawa Services was both needed and appreciated.

Actually I was overwhelmed and I didn't even expect it. It was something that maybe definitely they should put in their brochures more, that the women are going to get support more and they might get more guys go I think and more of the women might go with the guys if she knows - Kirsty

Through the acknowledgement that the families of domestic violence abusers need help, support and guidance to deal with their experiences of abuse, Te Manawa Services are embracing and promoting a holistic approach to reducing and eliminating domestic violence in the community.

It's a whole-. Like, it's holistic isn't it, really. It's like every-. What do they say? It takes a community to raise a child, well, you know, same with anybody, it takes-. There's so many outside factors that make you what you are and can help you change if you need to. It's not just one way - Mary

4.7 Expanding Services

4.7.1 Living Free from Violence Programmes in the Wider Community

The women said that the Living Free from Violence Programmes were so effective at addressing issues of domestic violence that they should be provided in schools to help young adults develop healthy and respectful understandings and beliefs in regards to relationships. They said offering this service in schools could help children who have experienced abuse at home prevent the cycle of abuse from repeating in adulthood, teaching young women to identify abuse and seek help when struggling with experiences of violence, and encouraging young men to develop healthy attitudes and behaviours towards women.

I have lost all those years and I am very, very lucky that I am still here...whether that's suicide or being beaten to death, or taking it out on my kids and something really bad happens there, and that happens. I really am strong about that being in high schools and for kids growing up living at home with parents like that so they learn what is acceptable: 'This is not acceptable. This is not right', because I grew up and I just thought it was normal, that this is it. This is how life is. Because my mum was in a really violent relationship, you know, it was awful - Karen

They also suggested the Programmes should be offered to offenders in the prison system. They talked about how engagement with the Living Free from Violence Programmes whilst in prison could give domestic violence offenders the opportunity to engage in rehabilitative efforts towards addressing and reducing their issues of abuse and violence.

Even in jails, you know, every man and woman in jail should be doing this. I don't know what they have in place. You know, they spend all that money keeping someone in jail to come out and reoffend and do it again. Wouldn't it be better to put that money there so when they do come out they're not going to go back there - Karen

4.7.2 Youth and Family Counselling

The women identified a potential gap in the services offered at Te Manawa Services in the form of youth and family counselling. They talked about how the Youth and Parenting Programme seemed to focus on addressing issues of anger and violence for youth, but they needed a service that could provide a more counselling function for their children. The women said it would have been helpful if they could engage with a counselling service that was focussed on the healing and recovery of the children, rather than anger management. They talked about how they, and their children, already felt safe and comfortable with Te Manawa Services, that they knew and trusted the staff, and it would have been ideal if their children could talk to someone trusted about their experiences of living with violence.

I just wanted the children to feel like they had somewhere they could go and say 'Hey, you know, I feel really yucky when dad does this, this and that' because, especially with the older children, because they couldn't-, I guess the girls couldn't feel like they could come to me because they-, He was my husband. I mean, although I was their mum, he was my husband. So, I don't know. I mean, I have talked to them about it before, but they don't really want to talk about it - Claire

Rachel: My daughter has trouble opening up to people, which is understandable, and she got along really well with [a staff member] down at Te Manawa and I actually rung up and said 'Can she still come down for individual counselling' and they said 'No we don't do it'. It costs something like \$110 a session. They would do it, but you've got to pay through the nose

Interviewer: That's a shame

Rachel: Mmm. She's not interested in going anywhere else because she got on really well with [this staff member], so she wanted to stay with her because [the staff member] got her, which is important

The women talked about how the Youth and Parenting Programme can only accommodate one child at a time, but many women have more than one child in the household affected by issues of abuse. Due to demands on their time and resources, and the lengthy waiting list for the Youth and Parenting Programme, the women said that a family counselling service would be of great benefit and support.

I actually went in myself last year and asked for help and that's how we got [my child] on to the anger management programme, just because when we split it was quite violent and it was to help the kids deal with it, which they were very angry, but I could only do one kid at a time.

It's a long course and all three kids needed it, so we just picked the worst and hoped that we could teach it all to the rest of the kids - Rachel

Furthermore, often families who are affected by domestic violence are involved with many different service providers for various different reasons. The women talked about how the constant travelling, re-telling of stories and emotional work that is required to engage with several different service providers can be overwhelming.

We had all these counselling sessions. Like, we had all the Working with Families, we were going to that and then we had Te Manawa and then I had counselling at [another service], I think it got too much for all of us in the end. It did and it just got quite stressful - Anna

Therefore, one goal for the future may be to have places like Te Manawa Services grow and develop so that families can go to the one community service provider and access all the help, support and guidance they need to reduce and eliminate domestic violence in their lives.

Everybody needs to get together and do it together: family, parents, whatever, whoever's involved in that is part of helping that person - Mary

5 Statistical Analysis

5.1 Objectives

New Zealand Police Family Violence Records data and Te Manawa Services' client file information was employed to provide a statistical analysis of the effectiveness of Te Manawa Services Men Living Free from Violence Programme. The frequency of family violence occurrences and categories of police offence codes for incidents were examined to assess whether the course effectively reduced domestic violence following programme completion. Effectiveness was defined as a reduction in occurrence of reported domestic violence and reduction in the severity of offences reported post-course completion. Te Manawa Services client file information included referral type, whether the clients had children, and whether they were admitted to more than one cycle of the men's Programme. This data were analysed to deepen our understandings of the relationships between client variables and Programme effectiveness.

Specifically, this study asks:

- Does the frequency of domestic violence occurrences decrease after completing the Programme?
- How are occurrences distributed across time before and after completing the Programme? Is there evidence of a pattern of sustained reduction in occurrences over time?
- Are client variables such as being mandated to the Programme, attending multiple programmes, or having children related to reductions in domestic violence occurrences after completing the Programme?
- Does the severity of violence reduce following completion of the Programme?
- Are client variables such as being mandated to a programme, attending multiple programmes, or having children related to the severity of domestic violence occurrences after completing the Programme?

5.2 Sampling and Data Collection

5.2.1 Te Manawa Services Client Data

Te Manawa Services provided the researchers with a list of all male programme completers (n=180) in the period 01.01.04 – 30.06.10. Programme completers data were chosen to analyse how effective the *complete Programme* is in reducing domestic violence. Previous research suggests programme completers demonstrate lower rates of recidivism than those who withdraw or 'drop-out' from living without violence programmes (Coombes et al., 2007; Walters, 2010), so those who complete programmes are likely to provide the best evidence of programme effectiveness. Therefore the results of the current study should not be generalised to all Men Living Free from Violence Programme attendees.

Te Manawa Services client files were manually accessed to gather data to enable matching with Family Violence Records in the New Zealand Police Force National Intelligence Application (NIA) working database. Te Manawa Services client file information was entered in an Excel spreadsheet that was password protected. Full name and date of birth, or age at intake, was required to ensure confidence that the correct client's Family Violence records were accessed in the NIA database with as minimal demand on police resources as possible. Referral Type, Children and Multiple Programme Admission information was gathered to facilitate an analysis of the relationship between client variables and offending

behaviour. Not all client files contained the required data and those that had missing data fields were removed from the potential sample. Information from all fields was gathered for 154 clients. Table 3 displays the Te Manawa Services client file fields that were recorded and the coding applied to those fields, where appropriate.

Given limited resources for matching, and missing data from older cases, a sample of the most recently completed 100 Te Manawa Services client files were matched with police Family Violence Records to comprise the final sample for analysis in the current study. Complete client entries were arranged in descending chronological order from most recent programme completion date in Excel.

Table 3
Data Fields and Codes Recorded From Te Manawa Services Client Files

Full Name
Date of Birth / Age at Intake ⁵
Referral Type at Intake
1 = Self-referred
2 = Mandated
Children
0 = No Children Indicated in Client File
1 = Children Indicated in Client File
Multiple Programme Admission
0 = 1 Programme Admission Only
1 = More Than 1 Programme Admission Indicated
Programme Completion Date

5.2.2 New Zealand Family Violence Record Data - Recidivism Analysis

There are concerns that utilising only arrest data to measure recidivism may limit comprehensive understandings of the extent and nature of domestic violence related behaviour (Gondolf, 2004). Police call-outs to domestic violence related situations do not necessarily result in arrest, and arrest rates can be affected by a number of variables such as: under-reporting of offences to police; the type of offence committed; available police resources; and changes in policing practices (Families Commission, 2009; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; NZFC, 2012). Therefore, to capture the range of offending behaviour relating to domestic violence police responses, this study recorded all 'occurrences' where the client was identified as the offender in police records of call-outs to a reported domestic violence incident. While this does not avoid the problem of underreporting to police, it does provide a more comprehensive account of those events that do involve police attendance.

Defining Variables

An 'occurrence' was defined as one of the following: Incident; Offence; or Arrest. 'Incidents' occur when police respond to a domestic disturbance where there is insufficient evidence to identify an offence for prosecution (coded as '1D'). Terminology used to describe the offending relationship in a 1D call-out can include 'subject of' rather than 'offender' or 'suspect', therefore it is not possible to ensure that all 1Ds recorded in this study involved the client as the offender. 54% of incidents recorded the client as the

⁵ Age at intake was recorded if no date of birth was present in client file. Current age was then estimated from age at intake to facilitate identification in the NIA working database

offender, 23% as the 'suspect' and 23% as 'the subject of'. Incidents that recorded the client as the victim, complainant, informer or witness were not included for analysis. 'Offences' occur when there is sufficient evidence of an offence committed, but no arrest is made. Reasons for not proceeding with an arrest in the present study included, but were not limited to: issuing a warning or caution instead, withdrawn charges, and transferring the case to Youth Aid Services. Only offences where the client was recorded as the 'offender' or 'suspect' were included for analysis. 'Arrests', for the purposes of the current study, occurred when police lay charges that resulted in prosecution. Whilst 'occurrences' provided the dominant focus of recidivism analysis in the current study, the separate categories for incident, offence and arrest were retained to enable comparability with previous research findings, in particular previous research utilising arrests rates as a measure of recidivism. As arrests do not always produce a conviction in a court of law, it was decided that data on arrests resulting in prosecution would provide a more comprehensive understanding of abusive behaviour than conviction data.

Data Matching and Sample Characteristics

All offences codes for occurrences (including 1D) contained in the Family Violence Records were recorded for analysis. Only information from Family Violence records was obtained and no other police record information was accessed or recorded. Therefore, if an offence on a client's police record was not identified as occurring in the context of family violence, the occurrence would not appear in the Family Violence Record. As a result, Family Violence Records may not be representative of all family violence occurrences that received police attention. Furthermore, the NIA is a dynamic operational database and the information contained is constantly being updated. The data reported in the current study should be considered provisional as it has not been subject to the checking and clearance processes which apply to official police statistics.

Police Family Violence Records document all offences identified when responding to a domestic violence incident, and on occasions these may not relate to common understandings of offences associated with 'domestic violence' (Families Commission, 2009). For instance, the current study includes offences such as Driving in a Dangerous Manner and Fraud. However, the qualitative component of this evaluation project indicated that eliminating such offences from analysis would limit our understandings of the range of domestic abuse occurring. For instance, there were descriptions of men forcing their (ex) partners off the road in their car or accumulating debt in the woman's name. Therefore, many offences that may appear on the surface to be unrelated to 'domestic violence' reflect both physical and psychological acts of abuse. As a result, no offence codes or categories contained in the Family Violence Records were omitted for analysis.

To access the NIA working database, Research and Confidentiality agreements between the researcher and the New Zealand Police were submitted and approved. In accordance with police protocols and requirements, the researcher did not have direct access to the NIA working database, but instead read out the full names and date of births, or current age, in chronological order from the Excel client list while a designated police staff member accessed the database and relayed verbally the incidences, offences and arrests, and the corresponding dates for each category of occurrence, from the Family Violence record information. The researcher entered the information directly into Excel. Any Te Manawa Services clients who did not have a record of family violence occurrences were eliminated from the sample. A description of the client characteristics for the final sample of 100 men is displayed in Table 4.

Table 4
Client Characteristics

Sample Characteristic	% of Sample Clients
Ethnicity	
Pākehā	54%
Māori ⁶	41%
Tauwi ⁷	5%
Method of Referral	
Self-referred	43%
Mandated	57%
Children	
Those who indicated having children	86%
Those who indicated they had no children	14%
Multiple Programme Attendance	
Those who were admitted to more than one cycle of the men's Programme.	37%
Those who were admitted to only one cycle of the men's Programme	63%

37 men were identified as having attended more than one programme cycle at Te Manawa Services. It must be noted that clients in this sub-set of the sample did not necessarily complete all cycles attended. In the current sample, 13 of the 37 men completed more than one cycle, 21 men attended more than one cycle, but only completed one, and three men completed more than one cycle and attended cycles they did not complete. Reasons for not completing a cycle were: continuous no-shows, imprisonment, charges withdrawn/discharged, withdrawn by other service agencies (such as Child Youth and Family Services), relocation, health conditions, and transfer to alternative programmes or services.

Frequency Analysis

Once the police records were matched to Te Manawa Service client file information, all names and identifying material were replaced with a numerical code in the Excel sheet. Occurrences were then separated into subcategories of Incident, Offence and Arrest, and organised into discrete time-frames before and after course completion date. Table 5 displays the organisation of time-frames.

⁶ All clients who indicated they were Māori as well in addition to another ethnicity were included in the Māori category.

⁷ All those who identified their ethnicity as other than Pākehā or Māori were included in the Tauwi category

Table 5
Time-frame Categories for Occurrence Data
 Before and After Course Completion Date

Over 1 year
6 months – 1 year
3 – 6 months
2 – 3 months
1 – 2 months
0 – 1 month

Frequency of occurrences by category was calculated for each of the pre- and post-programme time-frame markers for final analysis (see Table 5). The date of police response, and the occurrence category, was recorded for final analysis. However, 14% of police call-outs resulted in more than one occurrence for a particular category. For instance, one police response might result in three arrest charges for a client. Therefore, it was decided that regardless of how many offences within each occurrence category was recorded on a particular call-out, a value of 1 was given for any occurrences identified as present. To illustrate, if a client was arrested for three different offences at a single call-out, only one arrest 'occurrence' was recorded for that date. If an incident, offence and arrest was reported at a single call-out, one 'occurrence' was recorded for each category of occurrence. Therefore the number of Family Violence Records and the number of occurrences do not necessarily correspond. Offence codes were retained and used in the analysis of the severity of offences pre and post programme completion.

In order to establish a baseline for offending behaviour, all Family Violence Records pre course completion date were recorded. To obtain as comprehensive recidivism data as possible, Family Violence Records up until the date of data collection (July 2012) were recorded. The date range of occurrences collected from Family Violence Records was May 1994 – July 2012. This enabled a comprehensive and complete snapshot of reported family violence occurrences; however, it also introduces the potential for those clients who are older to have a more established history of domestic violence offending. Therefore, the comparison of pre- and post-course completion occurrence rates may overestimate the effect of the Programme on recidivism rates by exaggerating previous domestic violence history. Similarly, those who completed the course in the early range of completion dates have had longer time post-course completion to further offend, which may serve to underestimate the effectiveness of the Programme. Alternatively, those who have completed the course most recently have had a shorter time since course completion to further offend. Previous research indicates that offending behaviour reduces substantially, or ceases, immediately after programme enrolment and completion (Akoensi et al., 2012; Rosenbaum, 1988), also known as the 'honeymoon effect' (Rosenbaum, 1988), therefore there is a possibility that more recent completers' data may introduce an overestimation of the Programme's effectiveness. However, the most recent completion date in the sample was June 2011 – 1 year before data collection, so any 'honeymoon effect' may be limited in this study. It was also anecdotally noted that some of the clients had spent time in prison both before and after their course completion date; therefore occurrence rates may overestimate Programme effectiveness due to the men being removed from the community and residing in prison for lengths of time.

Caution must be exercised when interpreting the occurrence data. It is well documented that the majority of domestic violence goes unreported to the police (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004; Jansen, 2012; NZFVC, 2012b), with police involvement often occurring after an extensive period of abuse or violence (Fanslow & Robinson, 2010; Stubbs, 2002). Therefore the number of occurrences reported in no way reflects an accurate count of domestic violence incidents that are perpetrated, and reductions in reported occurrences do not necessarily correspond with improvements to women and children's safety. Furthermore, the current research sample was drawn from one locality and reported occurrence rates may reflect the community's level of tolerance or acceptance towards domestic violence (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012). Similarly, with the increased focus on eliminating domestic violence in the New Zealand Police Force, and changes to police practice and recording systems (such as the introduction of the NIA database), it is possible that any increase in occurrences may reflect an increased ability to identify and record instances of family violence rather than an absolute increase in domestic violence incidents (Families Commission, 2009; Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012; NZFVC, 2012b). For instance, the NZFVC (2012b) reports that, before 2005 when the Law Enforcement System (LES) was converted to the NIA database, many instances of Male Assaults Female were recorded under general criminal records and were not identified specifically as family violence. Since the LES conversion, there has been an increase of Male Assaults Female being recorded as family violence, with current reports that 93% of all Male Assaults Female offences are recorded as family violence. As the introduction of the NIA database falls within the time-frame of the data collected in this study, it is possible that any changes in reported occurrences over time may be an artefact of different systems for collecting family violence data. Therefore caution must be exercised when interpreting the pattern of occurrences over time.

5.2.3 Severity Analysis

All offence codes were retained and entered in a separate Excel spreadsheet to examine the severity of offending pre- and post-course completion. The offence codes for all incidents, offences and arrests were organised within Excel in the same time-frame structure as the occurrence data (see Table 5). In order to analyse the offence code data statistically, we needed to operationalise 'severity' as an offence variable. In consultation with local police, 'severity' was operationalised as the maximum penalty prescribed in legislation for each offence. Maximum imprisonment penalties (in years) were provided by police for each offence code. Maximum penalties for the offence codes identified in the data ranged from 0 – 20 years. Incidents were retained to provide a description of 'lower level severity' offending behaviour, despite not qualifying as an 'offence', and were recorded as '0' years. In order to eliminate 'noise' in the data and enable statistical analysis, given the multiple number of offence codes possible at any date of occurrence, each client's most severe occurrence for each time-frame was selected for pre- post-programme case comparisons. A 'type' was also assigned for each severity entry to indicate what form of abuse the offence represented: Physical or Psychological. It was decided that any offence that falls under the 'violence' police code range was to be coded as a 'physical occurrence'. It must be noted, however, that the violence range includes the offence group 'intimidation and threats', which may reflect more psychological forms of abuse. Interpretations of the 'type' of violence implicated in violence range offences will be discussed in more detail in section 5.4. Excluding Contravening a Protection Order, all other offences in other ranges were recorded as 'psychological'. Contravening a Protection Order was isolated because of its

direct relationship to domestic violence offending and was type coded separately from the other psychological offences. Finally, there were occasions where two or more types of offences in the same time-frame had an equal maximum penalty (e.g. Male Assaults Female and Contravening a Protection Order). In these instances, the 'type' of offence was coded as 'Combination'. The categories assigned to police offence ranges are displayed in Table 6.

Table 6
Severity Occurrence Type Categories

Occurrence Range	Severity Type Category
No Offence	0
Physical Occurrence	1
1400 Range: Violence - Grievous Assaults	
1500 Range: Violence – Serious Assaults	
1600 Range: Violence – Minor Assaults	
1700 Range: Violence – Intimidation/Threats	
1800 Range: Violence – Group Assemblies	
2600 Range: Sexual Offences	
Psychological Occurrence	2
1D	
3200 & 3500 Range: Drugs and Anti Social Offences	
3700 & 3800 Range: Family Offences (excluding 3852)	
4100, 4300 & 4500 Range: Dishonesty	
5100 Range: Property Damage	
6100, 6500 & 6800 Range: Property Abuses	
7100 Range: Administrative	
D200 Range: Driver Licence and Conduct	
Contravening a Protection Order	3
Combination of Categories with Equal Severity	4

Furthermore, the most severe occurrence offence codes were retained in a separate spreadsheet in order to enable a descriptive analysis of range of offences pre- and post-course completion. A count of each separate offence code was recorded to enable a specific description of offences, and the codes were combined into ranges to enable a more general description of offending. In those instances where more than one offence had the same maximum penalty associated, both (or all) appropriate offence codes were recorded. Statistical tests and analyses were conducted in the statistical package SPSS Version 20 for Windows.

5.3 Data Analysis and Discussion

5.3.1 Re-Offending Analysis

Table 7 displays the total number of occurrences pre- and post-course completion for the sample

Table 7

Total Occurrences Pre- and Post-Course Completion

	Total Occurrences	Reduction (%)
Pre-Course Completion	463	
Post-Course Completion	244	47 %

As Table 7 shows, there was a 47% reduction in occurrences after course completion. A Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test indicated that this difference was significant ($p = .000$). Therefore, there is support that reported domestic violence occurrences reduced after the completion of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

Figure 1 displays the frequency of occurrences committed by men pre- and post-programme completion.

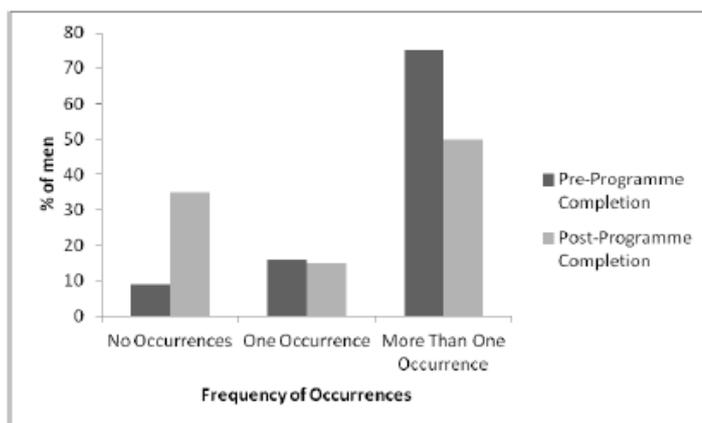


Figure 1. Frequency of occurrences pre- and post-course completion.

After completing the course, 35% of the sample had no further reported occurrences, 15% had one further occurrence and 50% had more than one occurrence reported. A greater percentage of men had no reported occurrences after course completion than before, and the percentage of those with more than one recorded occurrence also reduced post-course completion. This suggests that the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was effective in reducing the frequency of domestic violence related offences. However, 65% of the sample still had reported domestic violence related occurrences after completing the course. Therefore, whilst the Programme appears to reduce offending behaviour, the majority of the sample still engaged in domestic violence after course completion. The

frequency of recidivism is higher than previous research indicates (Coombes et al., 2007; Dutton, 1986; Gondolf, 2004; Walters, 2010). However occurrence frequency may be elevated by the inclusion of all offending data (incidents, offences and arrests) instead of focussing on offences and/or arrests only. This may also be a product of the longer follow-up time period, as Klein and Tobins (2008) reported that while the minority of men in their research reported occurrences of domestic violence within 1 year after programme completion, the majority (60%) had re-offended after 1 year post-course. Figure 2 shows the pattern of occurrences across the sample time-frame

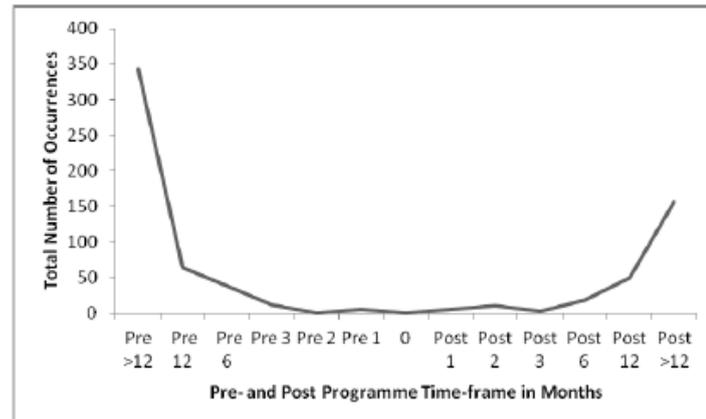


Figure 2. Total occurrences across the pre- and post-programme time-frame in months.

As can be seen in Figure 2, occurrences were highest at more than 1 year prior to course completion and gradually decrease towards course completion. 1-3 months before course completion, the men were actively attending the Men Living Free from Violence Programme; therefore the low number of occurrences suggests that while men were engaged with the course, offending was minimal. Occurrence rates remained low until 6 months after course completion, suggesting the course is effective in maintaining a change in abusive behaviour 6 months post-course. Occurrences began to gradually increase past the 6 month mark, indicating the positive effects of the course may be difficult to maintain long-term. It must be noted that while the rise in occurrences is steep after 1 year, this may be a product of the large range of dates that fall under the '1 year after course-completion' category. Therefore, attention should be paid to the overall pattern of gradually increasing occurrences, as opposed to the total number of occurrences in any specific time-frame. In order to explore whether the number of occurrences after 1 year was affected by a small number of repeat offenders (in particular, those who may have completed the course much earlier than others), the number of clients offending at the 'after 1 year' mark were examined. 51% of the sample had no recorded offence after 1 year post-course completion. Therefore, 49% of the sample was responsible for all the occurrences 1 year after Programme completion.

Since the general pattern of occurrences across the time-frame suggests that re-offending begins to increase 6 months after Programme completion, it may be important to review women and children's safety, and re-engage with the men, 6 months after course

completion. The data indicates that a form of post-course service provision may be needed to maintain a reduction in occurrences in the long-term.

Re-Offending by Occurrence Category

Table 8 displays the total number, and percentage reduction, of all incidents, offences and arrests pre- and post-course completion.

Table 8
Frequency of Incidents, Offences and Arrests Pre- and Post-Course Completion

	Frequency	Size of Reduction (%) and P Value
Incidents		
Pre- Course	170	32%* ($p = .006$)
Completion	115	
Post-Course Completion		
Offences		
Pre-Course	112	51%* ($p = .000$)
Completion	55	
Post-Course Completion		
Arrests		
Pre-Course	181	59%* ($p = .000$)
Completion	74	
Post-Course Completion		

**indicates significant result according to Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test*

As can be seen in Table 8, there was a reduction in incidents, offences and arrests post-course completion, with arrests showing the largest reduction. The statistically significant reduction in all occurrence categories suggests the Men Living Free from Violence Programme is effective in reducing instances of reported domestic violence.

Figure 3 shows the percentage of re-offending pre- and post-course completion by occurrence category.

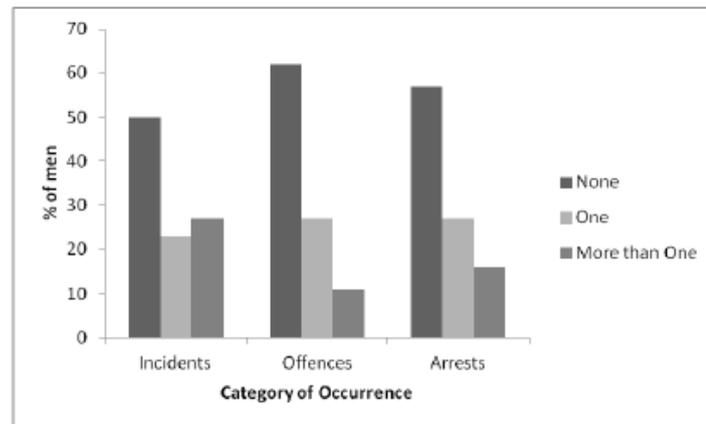


Figure 3. Percentage of men offending by occurrence category.

50% of the sample had no further reported incidents, 62% of the sample had no further offences, and 57% of the sample had no further arrests. Of the 43% of clients who reported at least one further arrest, 63% had one further reported arrest and 37% were arrested more than once. The majority of men who had further reported arrests were arrested once or twice post course completion (86%). 7% were arrested 3 times and 7% were arrested 6 times after the Programme. The results for arrest rates are similar to Walters (2010) findings, where 38% of ManAlive clients were re-arrested post-programme admission, and higher than the post-course arrest rate reported in Coombes et al. (2007) study, where only 27.5% were re-arrested post-course. While the breakdown of occurrence categories enables a deeper understanding of recidivism and offending behaviour, it also highlights the limitations of utilising only arrest data to explore issues of re-offending. Looking at incident rates in Figure 3, we can see half of the men sampled are still involved in reported domestic violence related incidents, despite the reduction in arrests and offences.

Re-offending Rates and Client Variables

Pre- and post-course total occurrence rates for referral type, multiple attendance and children variables are presented in figure 4.

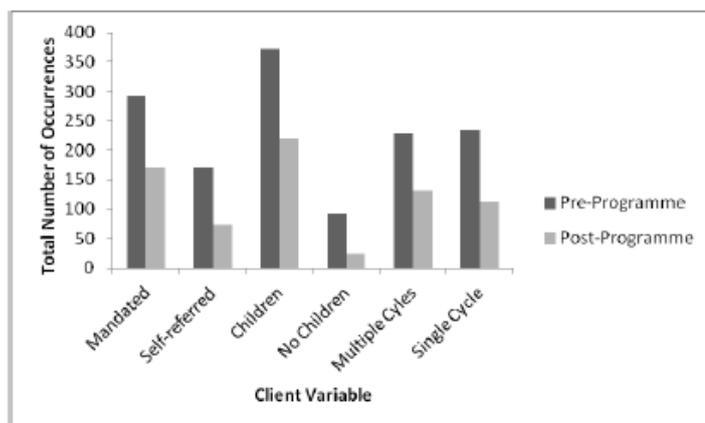


Figure 4. Total number of occurrences for client variables.

A reduction in occurrence rates is related to all client variables and Wilcoxon Signed Rank Tests indicate the lower recidivism rates for all client subsets were significant (see Table 9). This supports the effectiveness of the Programme in reducing rates of domestic violence for all subsets of clients examined in this study.

Table 9

Size of Occurrence Reduction (%) and Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test P Values for Client Variables

Client Variable	Size of Reduction (%)	P value
Referral Type		
Mandated	41%	$P = .000$
Self-referred	57%	$P = .001$
Children		
Children	41%	$P = .000$
No Children	74%	$P = .025$
Programme Attendance		
Multiple	43%	$P = .001$
Single	52%	$P = .000$

Clients who were mandated to attend the Men Living Free from Violence Programme displayed a 41% reduction in occurrences post-course completion and those who self-referred reduced their offending by 57%. As can be seen in Figure 4, mandated clients had offended more frequently both pre- and post-course completion than those who self-referred. Mann Whitney U Tests indicated the difference between occurrence rates for mandated and self-referred clients was not significant before course completion ($p = .225$), but was significant post-course completion ($p = .017$). The results of these tests suggest that, whilst there was no significant difference between the offending rates of mandated and self-referred clients prior to course completion, mandated clients had offended more frequently after completion of the course. This may indicate that mandated clients are not benefitting as much from participation in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme

as their self-referred counterparts. Higher recidivism rates for mandated clients is supported by previous research (Walters, 2010), therefore concerns may be raised about how effective court mandated treatment is in relation to reducing levels of domestic violence in the community.

Clients who indicated they had children reduced their offending by 41%, and those without children showed a 74% reduction in occurrences. Whilst those with children reported more frequent offending both pre- and post-course completion, Mann-Whitney U Tests indicated that differences in offending between those with and without children are not significant (Pre course $p = .896$; Post course $p = .907$). This suggests that having children is not related to frequency of re-offending. However, given that 86% of the sample had children, compared to 14% without children, the unequal sample distribution severely limits conclusions about the relationship between having children, frequency of offending and recidivism. Further research with equal sample sizes is needed to ascertain whether having children is related to programme effectiveness in reducing offending. However, the fact that 86% of the men have children is an important consideration to note. Recent domestic violence statistics (NZFVC, 2012b) report that in 2010, out of 53,316 reported family violence offences, 46,681 had children present, with 94,099 children reported in Family Violence Incident Reports. In that same year, 1351 total assaults on a child were reported (NZFVC, 2012c). Therefore, the large percentage of men with children in the sample highlights the importance of attending to the needs of children when responding to domestic violence in the community.

Clients who attended multiple cycles of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme showed a reduction in occurrences of 43% and those who attended only one cycle reduced their offending by 52%. Multiple programme attendees had higher offending rates both pre- and post-course completion. Mann-Whitney U Tests indicated that the difference in occurrence rates between multiple and single programme clients was significant both pre-course ($p = .005$) and post-course ($p = .028$) completion. This supports the observation that those who attend multiple programmes offend more frequently after programme completion. As 65% of those who attended multiple programmes withdrew from at least one other cycle of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, this finding may further support previous research that suggests programme non-completers reoffend more frequently than those who complete the programme (Coombes et al., 2007; Walters, 2010).

5.4 Severity Analysis

Table 10 illustrates the differences in severity of offences pre- and post-course completion.

Table 10
Reduction in Total Severity (Years) Pre- and Post-Programme Completion

	Total Severity (Years)	Size of Difference (Years)
Pre-Programme Completion	275.75	
Post-Programme Completion	315.5	40 (14% increase)

As can be seen in Table 10, the severity of offences increased slightly post-course completion. However, a Wilcoxon Signed Rank Test indicated that the difference between pre- and post course completion severity measures was not significant ($p = .209$). This

suggests that there was no significant change in severity of offences as a result of Programme completion. However, closer examination of the severity data reveals that the 1 year post-completion mark contained some of the most serious offences recorded in the overall time-frame. One offence had a maximum penalty of 20 years (the highest of all recorded offences), one had a maximum penalty of 14 years, 4 had a 10 year maximum penalty, and 4 had a 7 year penalty. Therefore, with an overall severity total of 146 years at the 1 year post-completion mark, 10 clients accounted for 70% of the total severity. In light of this examination, further research with a larger sample is needed to be able to confidently draw conclusions about the reduction in severity of occurrences for the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. However, the presence of such severe offences is still relevant in terms of safety outcomes for the victims of these severe offences. Given that some of the highest severity offences occurred 1 year post-completion, it may be important to review women and children’s safety in the long-term. Figure 5 displays the pattern of occurrence severity across the research time-frame.

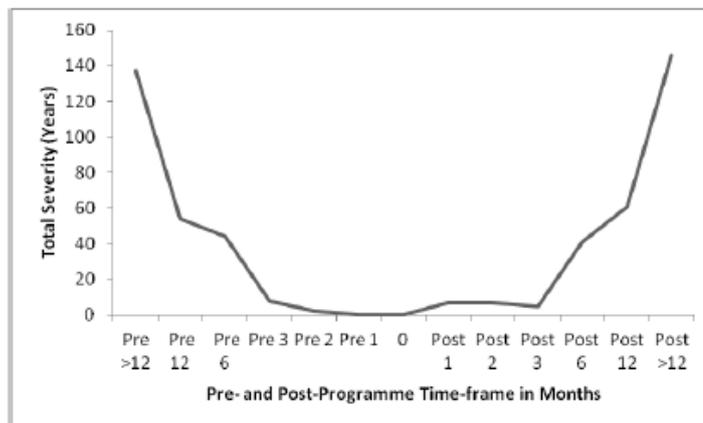


Figure 5. Total severity (years) of occurrences across the time-frame.

As can be seen in Figure 5, the pattern of total occurrence severity follows the same pattern seen in the total occurrence rates across the time-frame (Figure 2), where there is a decrease in severity closer to course completion. This decrease remains stable until 6 months after course completion, when it begins to increase again. Once again, there may be a need to re-engage with men after 6 months post-course completion to enhance sustainability of the improvements in severity of offending made during and immediately after programme engagement.

Severity Client Variables

Figure 6 shows the pattern of severity for offences pre- and post-course completion for the client variables.

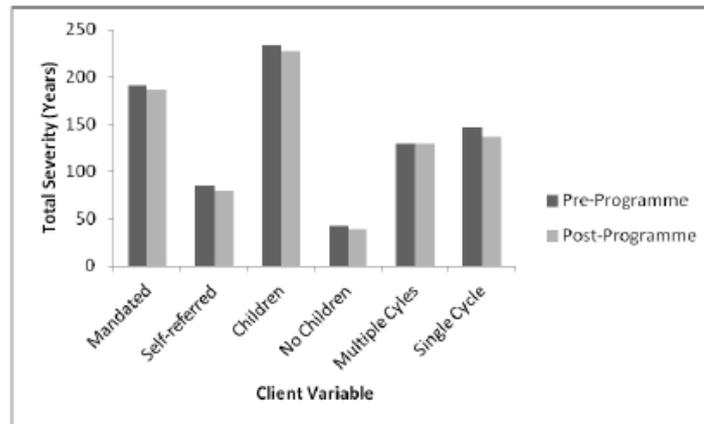


Figure 6. Total severity of offences for client variables pre- and post-course completion.

As can be seen in Figure 6, all client subsets showed minimal reduction in severity of offending after programme completion. To ascertain whether any of the client subsets showed a statistical significant difference in severity of offending pre- and post-course completion, Wilcoxon Signed Rank Tests were performed. No significant results were indicated, suggesting that there were no differences in the severity between pre- and post-course offences for any of the client subsets.

Mann-Whitney U Tests for client variables were conducted to ascertain whether there were any differences in the severity of offending between the subsets of clients sampled. The difference in severity post-course completion was significant for referral type ($p = .018$). This suggests that those who were mandated to attend the course committed more severe offences after course completion than those who were self-referred. However, on closer examination of the different time-frames, the difference in severity is only significant at the 1 year post-completion mark ($p = .017$), and may relate to the previously noted issue of a small number of high severity offences committed in this time-frame. 6 of the 10 high severity occurrences were committed by mandated clients. Further research with a larger sample is needed to draw more confident conclusions regarding referral type and severity of offending.

Also significant was the difference in severity of offending prior to course completion at the 3 month ($p = .043$) and 6 months to 1 year ($p = .033$) time periods for attendance type. This suggests that those who attend only one cycle of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme may exhibit more severe offending behaviour prior to course engagement than those who attend multiple cycles of the course.

Finally, the difference in severity of offending for those with and without children was significant at the 3 to 6 month post-course completion mark ($p = .026$). Given the dramatic inequality in sample distribution for this client variable, interpretations of this significant result are limited, however it may indicate there is a need to review children's safety after course-completion.

Discussion of Severity by Offence Type / Range

Despite the limited ability to draw confident conclusions in relation to the Men Living Free from Violence Programme’s effectiveness at reducing the severity of domestic violence offending, the retaining of offence code data enabled an examination of the ‘type’ of offending pre- and post-course completion that may increase understandings of, and ultimately responses to, domestic violence in the community.

Figure 7 displays the percentage of ‘types’ of severe offending pre- and post-course completion, showing a reduction in physical acts of domestic violence after the course and an increase in psychological forms of abuse. Physical offences reduced from 56% of most severe offences pre-course to 39% after Programme completion, whereas psychological offences showed an increase of 23%. This suggests whilst physical forms of violence are decreasing, psychological forms of abuse are increasing after the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

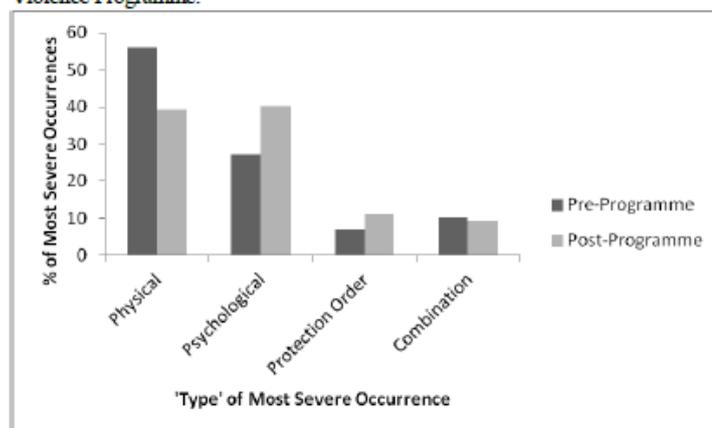


Figure 7. ‘Type’ of most severe occurrence pre- and post-programme.

Figure 8 shows the differences of distribution across all police offence code ranges for the most severe recorded occurrence pre- and post- course completion.

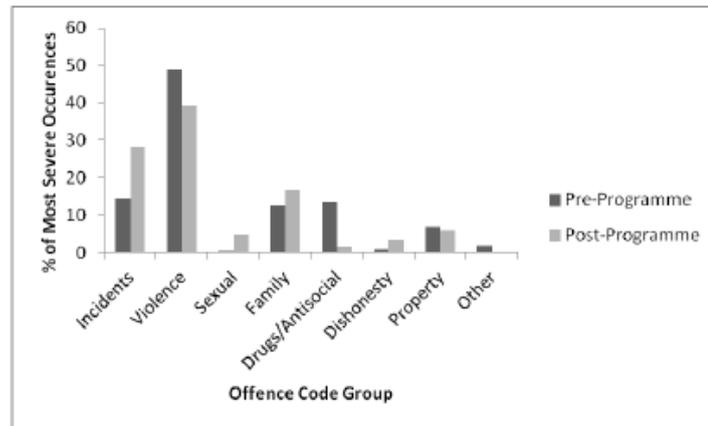


Figure 8. Distribution (%) of most severe occurrences by police code group.

Although most offence code ranges changed only minimally, there is a noteworthy reduction in the number of violent offences (by 17%) and a moderate increase in incidents (from 16% to 28%). This may be indicative of the pattern seen in Figure 7 where violent offending accounts for less of the reported domestic violence after Programme completion, whereas psychological offences account for more. It is also interesting to note that sexual offences increase from less than 1% pre-course completion to 5% after the men completed the Programme. As noted in section 1.1, sexual offences is the category of domestic violence that is most likely to be under-reported (NZFVC, 2012b). It is unclear whether the reporting of sexual offences increased post-programme completion due to a higher level of sexual attacks occurring, or whether women were more likely to report sexual offences after their (ex) partners' engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

In the reporting of domestic violence statistics, the offences of Male Assaults Female, Contravening a Protection Order and Assault on a Child are commonly used markers of domestic violence (Families Commission, 2009; NZFVC, 2012b). Therefore, to contribute to the body of knowledge for these offences, the percentage of these offences pre- and post-course completion was examined. Figure 9 shows the percentage of all severe offences these domestic violence markers accounted for.

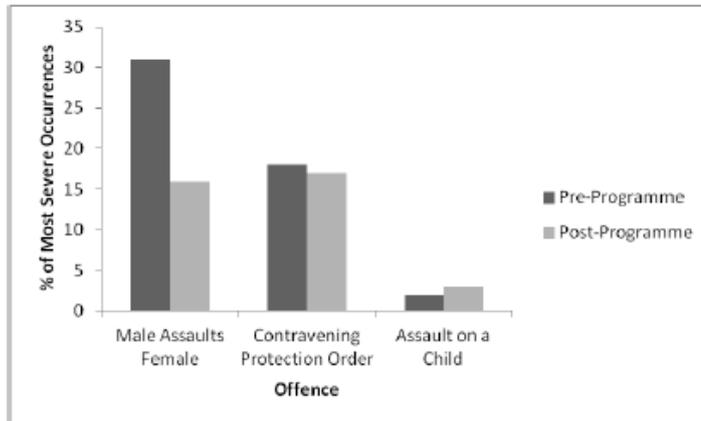


Figure 9. Percentage of most severe occurrences accounted for by domestic violence offence markers.

Before course completion, the offence of Male Assaults Female accounted for 31% of most severe occurrences, Contravening a Protection Order accounted for 18% and Assault on a Child accounted for 2%. Therefore, overall Male Assaults Female, Breach of Protection Orders and Assault on a Child accounted for just over half (51%) of the most severe occurrences. After programme completion, Male Assaults Female reduced by almost half to 16% of most severe occurrences, but Contravening a Protection Order remained relatively stable at 17% and Assault on a Child increased by 1%. This suggests that physical acts of violence against women may decrease as a result of engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, but that breaching protection orders and assaults on children show no change.

Because the majority of most severe occurrences both pre- and post-course completion fell under the violence range of police offence codes, further examination of the distribution of offence groups within this range is warranted. Figure 10 displays the distribution of most severe occurrences in the violence range pre- and post-course completion.

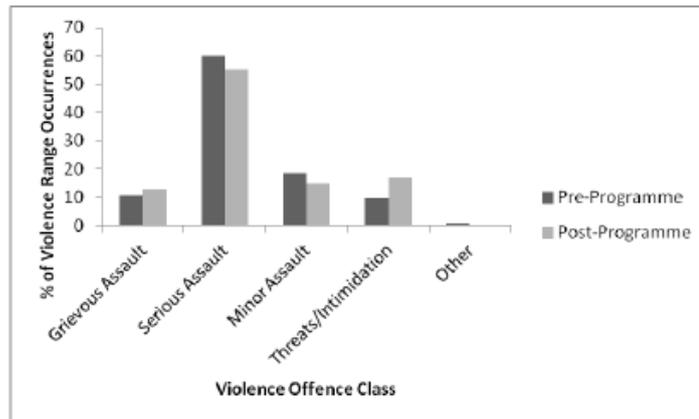


Figure 10. Distribution of most severe occurrences in the violence offence group pre- and post-programme.

While there does not appear to be much difference in the distribution of violence offence groups pre- and post-course completion, it may be important to note the increase in the Intimidation and Threats offence group from 10% to 17%. This increase may support the previous observed patterns of a decrease in more physical forms of domestic violence after course completion alongside an increase in psychological and emotional abuse

5.5 Summary of Data Analysis

In all categories of occurrences, there was a reduction in abuse and violence after men had completed the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services. This suggests the men's Programme may effectively reduce levels of criminal offending in the area of domestic violence. However, the majority (65%) of men who completed the Programme still displayed criminal domestic violence behaviour, with 50% of the client sample coming to police attention on more than one occasion after course completion.

By examining occurrences across time, a pattern of re-offending reducing to minimal levels during and immediately after programme attendance, but gradually increasing again 6 months after course completion emerged. This suggests the effects of the Programme may be stronger during and immediately after course completion, and over time the men begin to increase their offending behaviour again. Therefore, there may be a particular need to offer post-programme support services for men who have completed the course, alongside re-examining the safety of their (ex) partners and children over time.

Those who are mandated to attend the programme and who attend multiple cycles appear to have higher rates of offending both before and after course completion than those who self-refer and attend only one cycle at Te Manawa Services. Furthermore, those who are mandated are more likely than those who self-refer to exhibit more severe offending behaviour post-course completion. While still demonstrating a comparable reduction in offending to their counterparts, this does suggest that mandated and multiple attending clients may engage in more abusive and violent behaviours overall and may therefore

benefit from more focussed and intensive attention from Te Manawa Services during their time engaged on the course.

While there was no evidence that severity was reduced after course completion, it does appear that there was an increase in reporting of sexual offences and intimidation and threats. This could be due to clients committing higher levels of sexual offences and intimidating behaviour after the course, or the (ex) partners being more willing to report offences that occur. Evidence from the statistical analysis does not allow for conclusions to be drawn about the reasons for increased reporting following Programme completion. Despite the fact that severity of offending was not related to whether the men have children, the observed high level of severity in offending for clients with children indicates we need to pay particular attention to issues of child safety for clients of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

As this was an analysis of secondary data and data was not collected through an experimental design, it is not possible to draw direct causal relationships between the variables examined in this analysis. In fact, it may be impossible to conduct such definitive studies given the under-reporting of domestic violence, the social influences on reporting and responding to domestic violence, and, indeed, the unethical experimental requirement of a control or comparison group of men who receive no treatment. Therefore, we need to acknowledge, and be reflexive of, the limitations to research in this area, and complement statistical analysis with other methods and approaches that can safely address our questions regarding the effectiveness of living without violence Programmes.

6 Overall Summary

The present study sought to evaluate how effectively the Men Living Free from Violence Programme at Te Manawa Services enhances women and children's safety. Qualitative analysis was employed to explore processes and experiences of change and safety from participants' perspectives, and a statistical analysis was used to provide an empirical discussion of domestic violence re-offending after Programme completion. The advantage of mixed methods is that multiple perspectives on the effectiveness of the Programme are obtained. The men's accounts enabled an understanding of the processes of engagement and change with the various elements of the Programme, the women's accounts explored the impact of the Programme on victim safety and wellbeing, and the statistical analysis gave a snapshot of how well the Programme reduced reported violent and offending behaviour. These multiple vantage points are brought together to produce the following discussion that demonstrates Te Manawa Services are successful in their responsiveness to reducing violence and enhancing safety, and discusses potential issues and gaps in service delivery.

6.1 Cognitive Behavioural Efforts to Reduce Anger and Violence

The anger management component of Te Manawa Services' Men Living Free from Violence Programme was effective at improving the men's ability to control and reduce the level of anger and violence in their lives.

The men developed self-reflexive practices to identify their triggers for, and indicators of, escalating anger, enabling them to monitor and address rising emotions. The metaphor of traffic lights, or 'zones', assisted in this reflexive process. Once aware of the triggers and sensations related to various emotional states, the men were encouraged to find ways to actively reduce rising anger. The creation of space through 'off ramps' and 'time out' was an often utilised behavioural technique to manage anger.

Improvement in communication skills contributed to the management of anger. Constructive and positive communication enabled moments of tension and rising emotion to be diffused and managed.

Cognitive-behavioural techniques that encouraged ownership of feelings and actions, such as the use of 'I statements', facilitated a cognitive shift in how the men approached issues relating to anger, emphasising responsibility and accountability, and challenging provocation.

The variety of educational presentation and activities ensured that all learning styles and abilities could be accommodated. In particular, the provision of booklets assisted the men's educational development. They enabled those who had educational or learning difficulties to work through the Programme content at their own pace and could be used in the long-term as resources for living without violence.

The men and women's accounts showed reductions in overall levels of anger and violence as a result of the cognitive behavioural component of the course. The statistical analysis supported this reduction, with offending behaviour reducing significantly during and immediately after engagement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme for most clients, and re-offending reducing to almost half that of offending prior to programme completion. Furthermore, there was a reduction in violent offences and a decrease in the frequency of Male Assaults Female charges, suggesting better management and control of anger and violence.

Improved anger management enabled the men develop a new, positive cycle of behaviour for themselves, replacing the previous cycle of abuse. Increased control over anger, positive communication skills and active behavioural management combined to reduce feelings and expressions of tension and anger.

6.2 Strengthening Families

The Men Living Free from Violence Programme enabled families to be strengthened.

The combination of cognitive behavioural work and pro-feminist education worked together to produce positive, healthy and respectful relationships between family members and their extended social networks.

The development of social support networks, management of anger, improved communication skills, and openness to vulnerability/emotionality enabled more positive interactions between family members that strengthened connections, understanding, caring and support.

Challenging techniques of power and control enabled the men to develop respectful attitudes and behaviours towards their (ex) partner, facilitating trusting and positive interactions.

Partner Involvement with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, such as review systems and Family Support Services, enabled the development of a 'team approach' to reducing anger and violence in the home setting.

Positive parenting education strengthened the relationship between fathers and children. The opportunity to attend the Youth and Parenting Programme enabled the men and their children work through their experiences of abuse and violence together, further strengthening the development of positive parenting, alongside addressing and attending to the children's needs and concerns. For the men and women who had separated, the reduction in violence and improvements in inter-relational behaviour helped them develop strong and positive parenting relationships with their ex-partner. Furthermore, it enabled women to be confident their children were safe when in their ex-partners' care.

The improvements in parenting and relationships with children is significant given that Te Manawa Services privilege the safety and wellbeing of children, and the high number of children affected by abuse, both in reported statistics (Lievore et al., 2007; NZFVC, 2012b) and in the present study's client sample for the statistical analysis.

6.3 Community Development

The educational component of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme helped the men and women challenge their understandings of abuse and violence, shifting from definitions that centred on physical violence to incorporate underlying patterns of manipulation, power and control. Social and personal beliefs of what behaviour is 'normal' or acceptable in relationships and families were challenged, producing an attitude of non-tolerance/acceptance for all forms of abuse, and dedication to stop the cycle of violence for the future generation.

Men were enabled to adopt 'mentoring' or 'role model' positions, both within the Programme and the broader community, interacting with their community in a way that communicated supported intolerance of domestic violence. This included educating their wider social network on issues of domestic violence and actively referring men who struggled with violence in the community to Te Manawa Services.

Through personal development and social exposure, this resisting the normalisation of abuse and stereotypes of domestic violence has the potential to shift beliefs and understandings at the community level, reducing acceptance of domestic violence in the broader social context.

Provision of extensive, supportive and effective family support services enabled the dismantlement of barriers that women encounter when deciding to seek help for themselves and their families. The reputation of Te Manawa Services' ability to support families has the potential to extend beyond the women engaged with the service to the wider community as discussions of the services and benefits broaden.

The opportunity for children and their parent/caregiver to attend the Youth and Parenting Programme provides a future focus, enabling those at increased risk of repeating the cycle of violence to receive the professional support and guidance they need to actively challenge and eliminate the perpetuation of violence as they develop into adult community members.

The community has already shown considerable support and encouragement for the assistance and education Te Manawa Services provide for men, women and children living with domestic violence. Many service agencies and professionals are recommending the Programmes to those they believe could benefit from support, and local establishments advertise and promote Te Manawa Services' profile throughout the community.

The men and women suggested the Living Free from Violence Programmes be made available in more contexts within their community in the future. The provision of programmes in schools would enable young adults to learn how to develop respectful and non-violent relationships, whilst also supporting those with childhood histories of domestic violence to identify, resist and challenge issues of abuse and violence within their lives. Provision of Programmes in prisons would enable a rehabilitative, strengths-based approach to responding to domestic violence offenders, increasing the ability for positive and constructive relationships and behaviours after release back into the wider community.

6.4 Family Support

Te Manawa Services' point of difference is the provision of partner and family support services (Family Support Services; Women Living Free from Violence Programme; Youth and Parenting Programme) in addition to the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. By focussing on family systems, as opposed to only individual domestic violence offenders, Te Manawa Services are able to offer a comprehensive and holistic response to domestic violence in the community.

Family support addressed issues of isolation, exclusion and subjugation, prioritising victim safety and meeting the complex and specific needs of women and children living with domestic violence. In an area of service provision that often focuses solely on men's recovery and personal development, the inclusion of attention and assistance for the victims of abuse should not be under-estimated. The families of men attending the Programme were able to access the resources, support and assistance needed to increase their safety and wellbeing.

Family support services reduced the reliance on the men's ability change to facilitate good health and safety, enabling family systems to nurture wellbeing independently from the men. The strengths-based approach enabled families to develop resources and support structures in order to produce sustainable responses to domestic violence.

The Family Support Service increased women and children's safety through the development of safety plans, consistent monitoring and evaluation of goals and risk, and information sharing processes, enabling the men's Programme to be more responsive to individual needs and processes of change.

As a result of family support services, reduced numbers of women and children were continuing to live with abuse and violence in the home through the development of awareness, confidence and resources that strengthened their ability to resist tolerating violence and access support in times of need.

The various family support services offered at Te Manawa Services increased the women's safety and wellbeing significantly from their point of view. Therefore, we need to redefine our evaluations of the effectiveness of living without violence programmes beyond a focus on the men's re-offending behaviour and self-reports of change to include broader, more complex and holistic perspectives. Effectiveness can also be seen in the strengthening, healing and empowering of victims, confidently developing resources and support to respond to issues of domestic violence and sustain their safety and wellbeing in the future.

6.5 Meeting the Needs of Māori Clients

The inclusion of Māori health models work well to incorporate Māori worldview and beliefs within the set curriculum. Specifically, the inclusion of the Te Whare Tapa Wha model of health and wellbeing enabled Māori clients to relate to the goals and understandings contained within the wider curriculum meaningfully and spiritually, placing their engagement with the Programme in the context of their cultural beliefs, practices and approaches to health and wellbeing.

Flexibility with, and inclusion of, whānau can be vital for enabling the production of a safe and comfortable learning environment for Māori clients. However, whilst the review sessions enabled a whānau support person to be involved with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme, this support can be too peripheral, and there was a need for greater flexibility around whānau inclusion and participation within the weekly group sessions. Therefore, there is a need to explore how group processes can become more whānau inclusive.

It must be noted that Māori participants who felt comfortable and motivated to discuss cultural issues with the research team in the qualitative research component of the present study were few. Many said they saw no difference between Māori and Pākehā in relation to the Programme. Therefore, the discussion of meeting the needs of Māori clients in the current study is limited.

With 41% of the statistical analysis sample identifying as Māori, there is a need for further research in this area to explore the way in which Māori clients' needs are met in the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. It is recommended that this research be undertaken through a Kaupapa Māori Research methodology in order to ensure the research is culturally sensitive and the researchers are immersed in, and familiar with, cultural issues of service provision for Māori men.

6.6 Underlying Assumptions and Patterns of Abuse

The Men Living Free from Violence Programme effectively reduced, or eliminated, acts of physical violence and expressed anger, however psychological and emotional abuse was more difficult to address.

After programme completion, men still struggled with verbal assault, intimidation, emotional abuse and technologies of manipulation and control. Furthermore, issues of provocation and entitlement to anger (discussed further in sections 6.7 and 6.8) were still present in accounts after course completion.

Threats, intimidation and methods of control were used as an alternative to more physical forms of domestic violence post-programme completion, and the threat of physical abuse emerged when control and manipulation were not attainable by the men. For those men who had separated from their partners, control and intimidation was still realised through the manipulation of court processes, economic abuse and child contact.

The statistical analysis supports the men and women's accounts by showing an increase in incidents (ID) and intimidation offences after programme completion, and no change in Contravening Protection Orders.

Furthermore, there was the potential for the cognitive behavioural skills and education introduced on the Programme to be used abusively against the women, indicating that whilst the Programme facilitated management of anger and violence, more attention is needed to address the underlying assumptions and patterns of abuse in order to ensure that anger and violence are actively challenged in all forms.

The difficulty addressing the underlying patterns of control and abusive behaviour may relate to a reluctance and resistance towards the recognition of psychological and emotional forms of abuse. If psychological and emotional abuse is not understood as forms of 'violence', then men's motivation to address and challenge such behaviour may be limited.

The community development processes discussed in section 6.3 may, in the future, better equip the Programme to address the denial of psychological and emotional abuse more successfully as attitudes and tolerance of psychological abuse in the local community shift. As Boshier (2006) notes, social and community processes are vital to addressing and reducing domestic violence in all forms. A community shift towards recognising psychological and emotional abuse may increase reporting incidences of domestic violence and decrease women's reluctance to seek help for non-physical forms of abuse.

Instead of focussing on anger management, there may be a need to challenge entitlement to anger more directly. If the men are focussed on managing levels of anger, the anger itself is not challenged and is subtly legitimated as an inevitable emotional response to certain situations. Shepard and Pence (1999) argue that too much attention on cognitive behavioural work may emphasise relational interactions, while issues of provocation remain unchallenged. Because the majority of men were able to control their anger and violence in contexts outside their relationship, beliefs that encourage the acceptance of anger in the context of relationships may need to be addressed more directly.

Furthermore, 65% of men continued to re-offend after programme completion, indicating that while overall offences are reduced, the majority of men are still struggling to eliminate their abuse as a form of expressing their anger. Challenge the legitimacy of anger could possibly be incorporated into the cognitive behavioural educational work, such as the 'traffic light' metaphor, where men could explore the underlying beliefs and assumptions associated with their identified triggers.

There may be also be a need to more extensively incorporate discussions of control and power across the Programme, instead of confining this work to a limited number of modules within the set curriculum. Issues of power and control were identified in the accounts as key motivators for change, therefore it may be ideal to thread issues of power

and control into every session, opening up multiple points of possible engagement and challenges to underlying patterns of abuse.

The presence of psychological and emotional abuse after programme completion supports the Duluth approach's argument that in order to effectively reduce or eliminate domestic violence, there needs to be attention to pro-feminist issues of power, control and the politicisation of masculine entitlement (Shepard & Pence, 1999). However, these complexities may be difficult to challenge given the reluctance to recognise psychological abuse in common sense understandings of violence, suggesting a more concentrated, consistent and explicit emphasis on challenging the underlying assumptions and patterns of domestic violence is needed within every session of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme in order to see a substantial and meaningful reduction in patterns of ongoing psychological abuse.

It must also be noted that the men and women's accounts draw attention to the limitations of using police statistics and re-offending data to gain a comprehensive understanding of the nature and prevalence of domestic violence (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2012). Police have limited powers to arrest or detain an offender on the basis of psychological violence alone, and women are less likely to seek assistance for experiences of psychological or emotional abuse.

Furthermore, the current study shows the value of including incident (1D) offences that did not result in arrest, and other offences not normally understood as domestic violence markers. The inclusion of these occurrences allowed a more comprehensive statistical snapshot of the range of domestic violence behaviour, particularly attending to those that are more psychological or emotional.

6.7. Responsibility

Understandings of provocation were resistant to challenge, with the men continuing to rationalise their acts of abuse and violence after programme completion through appeals to provocation. Where entitlement to anger remains a legitimate response to provoking situations, it limits men's ability to take responsibility for their abusive behaviours. Therefore issues of provocation may demand more attention during the Men Living Free from Violence Programme.

The issue of intent may need to be explored further in order to avoid a rationalisation of abusive behaviour and subsequent avoidance of responsibility. The men were able to justify or deny their use of abuse through the understanding that the intention behind their actions was not to hurt or harm, but instead was a reaction to provocation, therefore limiting processes of responsibility and relocating blame on the women and children.

If the men continue to deny or minimise their abusive behaviour through appeals to provocation, processes of self-reflection and awareness can be constrained, limiting their motivation to address issues of abuse and violence in their lives.

In order to fully embrace issues of responsibility, a shift away from accounts of what may be 'causing' the men to get angry and use violence, and an explicit focus on challenging underlying assumptions of provocation may be necessary.

6.8 Accountability

During and after the Programme, the men struggled with accepting, addressing and coping with the consequences of their abusive and violent behaviour. Confronting consequences

was met with reluctance and resistance by the men, and had the potential to considerably decrease the safety and wellbeing of women and children.

While the supportive potential of the Programme is vital to men's engagement with change, it also suggests a tension between the non-judgemental and supportive environment that the Programme provides and the potential for processes of accountability to be strained and limited if the effects of domestic violence for victims are not explored and addressed.

Furthermore, as noted in section 6.7, addressing the issue of intent may be helpful for encouraging accountability. When men are able to deny or minimise their abuse through appeals to intent, understandings and processes of accountability become difficult to consolidate with the men's experiences. Therefore, actively challenging justifications based on intent may open up opportunities to hold men accountable for the harm they have inflicted.

Court processes that motivate the men to avoid criminal punishment by attending living without violence programmes may contribute to men's difficulties in accepting they are accountable to those they have harmed, especially if programme completion is the criteria for accountability. The men, in a sense, learn to become accountable to the justice system and not to their (ex) partners or family. This criminal accountability may be at odds with accountability to women and children, and concerns remain that court processes may not be sending a serious message about the tolerance and acceptance of domestic violence (Coombes et al., 2007).

Men who confronted the consequences of their abusive behaviour often exhibited robust changes, suggesting the ability to pro-actively work through consequences in a constructive and non-violent manner may increase women and children's safety in the future.

6.9 Motivation

Perhaps the most problematic issue when understanding the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence Programme was motivation.

In order for the Programme to be as effective as possible, the men had to be internally motivated to change. They needed to be aware they had a problem with violence and abuse, and be motivated to change for their own personal development and growth.

In comparison, those who remained externally motivated showed limited processes of engagement and change. Externally motivated men attended the Programme as a means of achieving a goal that was unrelated to personal change, and tended to engage toward obtaining that goal only.

External motivation introduces potential safety issues for women and children. If the men's external goal is unable to be achieved or is unsustainable, the potential for men to relapse into abusive and violent behaviour is increased. Confrontation in regards to consequences (as discussed in section 6.8) may reduce or eliminate this threat to safety through preparing the men to constructively respond to circumstances in which their goals are not achieved.

It may prove useful to assess client's motivations and identify those who demonstrate high levels of external motivation in order to more actively monitor the safety and wellbeing of their (ex) partners and children.

Assessing motivations throughout Programme attendance may also facilitate the revision of initial intake goals in order to be responsive to, and reflective of, the increasingly meaningful, complex and fluid ways the men are relating to the Programme.

The open door policy at Te Manawa Services allows the Programme to attend to issues of motivation. The opportunity to return and continue to engage with services enabled those who had begun to shift their external motivation to return for subsequent cycles with more internal sources of motivation, and the accounts showed that meaningful changes often occurred on subsequent cycles. However, those who were unable to shift towards more internal sources of motivation over the duration of the Programme were unlikely to return for subsequent cycles, particularly if they had successfully achieved their external goal.

There has been a recent body of research on how motivation impacts on men's experiences of living without violence programmes (Connors et al., 2011; Miller et al., 2005; Zalmanowitz et al., 2013). Motivational Interviewing, a treatment technique designed to increase internal sources of motivation, has been found to increase motivation and engagement. Therefore, it may be useful to consider processes that can help improve and shift motivation from external to more internal sources during programme attendance.

Future research to identify the various 'click moments' men experience on the course may enable a deeper understanding of what elements of the Programme support the development of, or provide pathways to, internal motivation. Monthly reviews provide an opportunity to identify and incorporate specific 'click moments' that can be explored more specifically for individual clients. Once identified, these elements could be incorporated into early sessions to facilitate engagement with the course. The inclusion of a pre-programme course centred around identified motivators that men could attend prior to admission to the full 16 week programme may also be useful for increasing levels of internal motivation.

The findings concerning motivation pose serious issues and concerns in relation to the effectiveness of mandated living without violence programmes. Previous research suggests a relationship between external motivation, mandated referral processes and limited programme effectiveness (Connors, 2011; Miller et al., 2005; Zalmanowitz et al., 2013).

The statistical analysis in the current study found that mandated clients show higher frequencies of re-offending behaviour and more severe re-offending post-course completion. Therefore, if men are able to use the Programme to avoid criminal responsibility and punishment, consideration may be needed to identify processes that increase their internal motivation in order to protect the safety and wellbeing of children.

6.10 Flexibility of Service Provision

Flexibility in service provision is vital due to the diversity and multiplicity of needs of the men, women and children receiving help and support at Te Manawa Services.

Echoing the concerns of Gondolf (2002), the men and women's accounts suggested the lack of flexibility in tightly structured curriculums may introduce barriers for engagement and change. When Programme sessions are driven by strict adherence to set curriculum content, the ability to attend to individual men's needs and variation in educational ability is limited, preventing maximum engagement with Programme content and processes of change.

Therefore, there may be a need to build in more opportunities to flexibly adapt the set curriculum in group sessions to more specifically meet the individual and specific needs of men enrolled in the course.

Flexibility may also be needed in regards to the presentation of modules over the course of the 16 week Programme. As mentioned in section 6.6, there may be advantages to threading certain key ideas or topics throughout the entire Programme, instead of containing particular themes within separate modules that are presented in a set order. If the themes and ideas within the modules are integrated at numerous points across the course, this

flexibility in content presentation may enable increased understanding of the curriculum at earlier, and multiple, points in Programme attendance.

Capitalising on the significance of situated perspectives may contribute to building more flexibility in the set curriculum. Creating more opportunities for the men to interact with each other may facilitate the transition of the abstracted course content meaningfully into their everyday lives. This may also enable the development of social support structures that can be sustained after Programme completion, an area both the men and women discussed was needed, but missing, from service provision.

Men attending living without violence programmes have multiple needs, such as mental health, educational, and substance abuse issues. A pre-course assessment that accounted for these issues may enable a referral pathway to external services, or provide an opportunity to bring external expertise into the Programme. Although it is unrealistic to expect one service provider to attend to the multiple needs of clients, there may need to be more consideration of how the men's multiple needs impact on the Programme's effectiveness to reduce levels of violence and abuse.

6.11 Supporting Sustainable Change

There was an identified need for continued services beyond the 16 week Men Living Free from Violence Programme. Both the qualitative and quantitative components of the present study support the notion that continued engagement with Te Manawa Services is needed to produce sustainable change in men's behaviour.

The men and women's accounts showed that changes made during the Programme were not always maintainable long-term, and after course completion there was potential for previous patterns of abuse and violence to return. The statistical analysis suggests that re-offending gradually increases 6 months post-course completion, and 49% of the client sample had re-offended at 1 year post-completion. Therefore, the evidence suggests the men require ongoing support to maintain a life of non-violence beyond the Programme.

The open door policy attempts to address the need for longer course engagement, however many men are unable to commit to another full cycle of the Programme. Furthermore, research suggests programmes that run for more than 16 weeks show limited, or no, additional benefits, and that resources would be better devoted to establishing forms of after-programme support (McMaster et al., 2000).

Therefore, graduated services built into Programme requirements may ensure that men remain in contact with Te Manawa Services, but do not need to attend weekly group sessions. The statistical analysis suggests the ideal time at which to re-engage with the men would be at the 6 month post-course mark, when re-offending begins to increase.

Graduated services could also provide a process of continual safety and risk assessment for the families of men attending the Programme. Retaining connection with programme completers may enable Te Manawa Services staff to re-assess women and children's safety regularly post-course completion. Furthermore, continued engagement with services may serve as an additional process of accountability for the men.

Graduated services may enable responsiveness to the lifelong issues of abuse and violence the men have experienced, both as victim and offender. Both the men and women were concerned that 16 weeks is not long enough to change a lifetime of violence and abuse, therefore the potential for building a sustainable shift in beliefs and behaviours relating to domestic violence may be facilitated by various forms of 'refreshers'.

6.12 Increasing Safety for Women and Children

The men and women's accounts highlighted various safety issues that are important to take into consideration when continuing to strengthen and refine the Programmes and service provision at Te Manawa Services.

During the review process there was potential for the men to enact further abuse, either through the explicit intention to hurt and agitate their (ex) partner, processes that reproduce blaming women for their own victimisation, or experiencing repercussions for what was said during review sessions. Furthermore, actively excluding women from the review process may result in further experiences of marginalisation and subjugation, or alternatively women may feel intimidated or coerced into attending the reviews.

Therefore, communication channels may need to be improved between Te Manawa Services staff and the (ex) partners to ensure that women know what to expect from the reviews and are able to decide whether to participate without coercion. There should always be a woman staff member present in review sessions, who is also responsible for assessing the safety of women's participation. Should (ex) partners decline to participate, their absence can be worked in the men's review session as a consequence of past behaviour.

Programme participation has the potential for women to feel coerced into reconciling the relationship, both through their (ex) partners promise of change and through the attention to goal achievement in the review process. Again, increased communication between staff and women may decrease the coercion felt in such instances. It may also be necessary to discourage men from setting goals that are contingent on reconciliation at intake. Such guidance in goal setting may decrease feelings of coercion for the women and also ensure men do not build expectations from the Programme they may be unable to achieve. As discussed in section 6.9, women were at increased danger of abuse when men are unable to achieve external goals, therefore setting goals that focus on the relationship may provide false expectations and increase risk to women's safety.

If (ex) partners are attending the Women Living Free from Violence Programme at the same time the men are attending their Programme, there is the potential for the comparison of curriculum content to result in conflict. Therefore, if staff are aware that (ex) partners are attending equivalent courses, it might be helpful to address the different focus within the Programmes with the men. This would enable the responsibility for addressing and working through concerns is placed safely with Te Manawa Services staff, ensuring that women are not fearful of the repercussions their participation on the women's Programme may produce.

The course content and materials have the potential to be used by the men to justify and reinforce understandings of provocation (as discussed in section 6.7), enabling them to identify, and instruct their (ex) partners on, how they are provoking them to become violent and abusive. To shift the burden of responsibility of victimisation away from women, and locate the responsibility with men, it is important that the women's Programme continually works to actively engage with women's awareness and identification of issues of provocation and responsibility.

6.13 Extension and External Support

Beyond the recommendations for Programmes offered in the wider community (Section 6.3), the accounts indicated a need for extensions to existing service provision at Te Manawa Services.

The women desired specialised counselling services to address the effects of abuse for their children and themselves. Many of these families are exhausted from bouncing from service agency to service agency and would prefer to have their needs met by the same organisation with staff they know, like and trust. Therefore, a family counselling service would be a valuable asset to current service provision. Family counselling would ensure the families are strengthened and recovery is possible for all family members, challenging the one child–one parent/caregiver criteria for the Youth and Parenting Programme.

While it is recognised that Te Manawa Services are unable to provide support for all presenting issues, such as learning difficulties and substance abuse (Section 6.10), there may be an opportunity to specialise service provision for men identified as having multiple needs, and to increase coordination with other agencies in the community who can contribute to helping these men meet their specific needs.

Staff and client relationships are integral to the effectiveness of the services provided at Te Manawa Services. Staff level of knowledge and skill, combined with their genuine compassion, were often cited as the key ingredient for change and safety in the women and men's accounts. Therefore, when existing staff members leave their position at Te Manawa Services and new staff members begin, there was the potential for men and women to disengage from, or reduce engagement with, the Programme and services. Future research needs to look at how we can sustain quality staff members in the domestic violence field to ensure as little disruption to the relationships between clients and staff as possible.

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Appendix B: Men's Information Sheet



Evaluating the Effectiveness of Programmes and Services Provided by Te Manawa Services

INFORMATION SHEET (Client participation)

Dear

I am sending this information to you through a contact person at Te Manawa Services because I would like to invite you to take part in some research I am doing to see how well the Men Living Free from Violence programme is working.

My name is Stephanie Denne. I am a student of psychology at Massey University and am in the first year of my PhD studies. I am undertaking research to evaluate the Men Living Free from Violence programme offered by Te Manawa Services. I will provide a report to Te Manawa and also include parts of the research in my PhD thesis. My research is being supervised by Dr Leigh Coombes from the School of Psychology at Massey University.

I would like to assure you at this stage that I do not have your contact details and will not be able to contact you directly unless you give me your details. If you do give me your contact details I will not tell anyone else that you have decided to participate. If you would like your contact person from Te Manawa to know that you are taking part then you may choose to tell them, but I will not be giving them this information.

Before deciding whether you wish to be involved in the research, please read this letter carefully to ensure you fully understand the nature of the research project and your rights should you choose to participate.

What is this study about?

This research seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa. It aims to identify the processes that are effective in eliminating violence in the community, and also where there may be gaps in the services. This will assist Te Manawa to develop the current programme further in order to best meet the community's needs.

To participate in this research, you need to have completed the full 16 week Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa.

What would you have to do?

If you agree to participate, you would need to be available for an interview to share your experiences of the Men Living Free from Violence programme offered at Te Manawa. Your experiences will help us to understand how effective the stopping violence programmes are, how they produce change in people's behaviour and where there are areas for improvement or development. I expect the interview will last between 1 to 2 hours. I will have some open ended questions I'd like to ask, but I am mainly concerned that you have an opportunity to tell me about your experiences of involvement with this programme. Interviews will be conducted privately in a place that is convenient for you. If you decide to take part in an interview you can discuss your needs for privacy with a contact person from Te Manawa, or with me.

If you agree, I will audio-tape the interview. The audio tape will be transcribed word for word so that I can analyse the information that you give me. I will not use your real name or the names of any of your family in the transcripts so that it is harder for you to be identified. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the transcripts. Audio-tapes will be destroyed after they are transcribed. I will also send you a transcript of your interview so that you can check it and make any changes you would like to make. In the final report I will not use any identifying information. I will do everything I can to ensure that you can speak openly with me, in confidence. However, it is impossible for me to guarantee that no-one will find out that you took part in this research, so please take account of this before you decide whether or not you would like to participate. All data collected will be stored in a secure location, accessible only to me and the research supervisor. After 5 years, all data collected for this research will be securely destroyed.

Appendices: Appendix B

At the completion of the research, everyone who takes part will be sent a summary of the research findings.

Safety and Support

It is important to us that your participation is a safe and respectful process for you and your family. I am committed to ensuring that you have no concerns for your own or your family's safety as a result of being a part of this research. If you decide to participate and at any time feel threatened or unsafe, you are encouraged to either contact me or the advocate family support worker from Te Manawa Services.

What can you expect?

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- Provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used, that no-one but the supervisor and myself will have access to this information and that the information gathered will not be used for any other purposes other than the research outlined above;
- Ask questions concerning the study at any time during participation;
- Decline to answer any particular question;
- Ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- Withdraw from the study up until 1 month after the interview;
- Be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

Please feel free to contact either me or my research supervisor if you have any questions or concerns regarding the research.

Contact details:

Stephanie Denne (researcher)

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Massey University

Palmerston North

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Dr Leigh Coombes (supervisor)

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This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 11/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Julie Boddy, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 2541, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix C: Women's Information Sheet



Evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services

INFORMATION SHEET (Partner/Ex-partner/Whānau Participants)

Dear

I am sending this information to you through a contact person at Te Manawa Services because I would like to invite you to take part in some research I am doing to see how well the Men Living Free from Violence programme is working.

My name is Stephanie Denne. I am a student of psychology at Massey University and am in the first year of my PhD studies. I am undertaking research to evaluate the Men Living Free from Violence programme offered by Te Manawa Services. I will provide a report to Te Manawa and also include parts of the research in my PhD thesis. My research is being supervised by Dr Leigh Coombes from the School of Psychology at Massey University.

I would like to assure you at this stage that I do not have your contact details and will not be able to contact you directly unless you give me your details. If you do give me your contact details I will not tell anyone else that you have decided to participate. If you would like your contact person from Te Manawa to know that you are taking part then you may choose to tell them, but I will not be giving them this information.

Before deciding whether you wish to be involved in the research, please read this letter carefully to ensure you fully understand the nature of the research project and your rights should you choose to participate.

Please feel free to contact either me or my research supervisor if you have any questions or concerns regarding the research.

What is this study about?

This research seeks to evaluate the effectiveness of the Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa. It aims to identify the processes that are effective in eliminating violence in the community, and also where there may be gaps in the services. This will assist Te Manawa to develop the current programme further in order to best meet the community's needs.

To participate in this research, you need to have a partner, ex-partner or whānau member who has completed the full 16 week Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa.

What would you have to do?

If you agree to participate you would need to be available for an interview to share your experiences of the Men Living Free from Violence programme offered at Te Manawa. Your experiences will help us to understand how effective the stopping violence programmes are, how they produce change in people's behaviour and where there are areas for improvement or development. Therefore, I am especially interested in talking to you about your thoughts, understandings and experiences of how the Living Free from Violence programme improved the degree to which you felt safer (or not) as a result of involvement with Te Manawa. I expect the interview will last between 1 to 2 hours. I will have some open ended questions I'd like to ask, but I am mainly concerned that you have an opportunity to tell me about your experiences of having a partner or family member that completed the Living Free from Violence programme. Interviews will be conducted privately in a place that is convenient and safe for you. If you decide to take part in an interview you can discuss your needs for safety and privacy with a contact person from Te Manawa, or with me.

If you agree, I will audio-tape the interview. The audio tape will be transcribed word for word so that I can analyse the information that you give me. I will not use your real name or the names of any of your family in the transcripts so that it is harder for you to be identified. Only myself and my supervisor will have access to the transcripts. Audio-tapes will be destroyed after they are transcribed. I will also send you a transcript of

your interview so that you can check it and make any changes you would like to make. In the final report I will not use any identifying information. I will do everything I can to ensure that you can speak openly with me, in confidence. However, it is impossible for me to guarantee that no-one will find out that you took part in this research, so please take account of this before you decide whether or not you would like to participate. All data collected will be stored in a secure location, accessible only to me and the research supervisor. After 5 years, all data collected for this research will be securely destroyed.

At the completion of the research everyone who takes part will be sent a summary of the research findings.

Safety and Support

It is important to us that your participation is a safe and respectful process for you and your family. I am committed to ensuring that you have no concerns for your own or your family's safety as a result of being a part of this research. If you decide to participate and at any time feel threatened or unsafe, you are encouraged to either contact me or the advocate family support worker from Te Manawa Services.

What can you expect?

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used, that no-one but the supervisor and myself will have access to this information and that the information gathered will not be used for any other purposes other than the research outlined above;
- ask questions concerning the study at any time during participation;
- decline to answer any particular question;
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview;
- withdraw from the study up until 1 month after the interview;
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded.

Thank you for reading this information sheet.

Contact details:

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Dr Leigh Coombes (supervisor)

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Phone: 06 350-5799, ext 2058

Email: L.Coombes@massey.ac.nz

This project has been reviewed and approved by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A, Application 11/25. If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research, please contact Professor Julie Boddy, Chair, Massey University Human Ethics Committee: Southern A telephone 06 350 5799 x 2541, email humanethicsoutha@massey.ac.nz.

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form



Evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet for this study and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions about the research have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree to the interview being audio taped.

I agree that the researchers may use brief direct quotations from the interview(s) in their reports of the study provided these do not identify me in any way.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Full Name – printed _____

Appendix E: Men's Interview Schedule



Evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Client Participants)

The following questions will be covered in the interview, but participants will be invited to tell their own stories of the events and how they have coped with them in their own way.

The interview is structured around a starter and prompt series of questions. Prompts are only used to ensure that all the issues of interest to the researchers are raised. The interviewer identifies appropriate responses within the participant's story as it is told from their own point of view and prompts are not used if the relevant information has been provided spontaneously.

Starter

Thank you for participating in this research. We are most interested in hearing your story of what happened to you when you were involved with the Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa. I'm interested in your experiences before, during and after you completed the programme.

Background Prompts

These background questions will invite participants to expand on the experiences that lead to them entering the programme and talk to the researcher about the whole background to their engagement with Te Manawa Services.

- What was the relationship with your [(ex) partner/family member(s)] like prior to the programme?
- What was the situation that prompted the initial approach/referral to the Men Living Free from Violence programme?
- What was it like for you when you first began the programme? How did you feel during this time?
- What did you know about Te Manawa Services and how it worked at the time? Who provided you with information? What were you told? How did you feel about this?

Processes Prompts

These questions invite the participant to talk about the services provided to them throughout Men Living Free from Violence programme. They will invite the participant to talk about how the stopping violence programme affected their behaviour and their wellbeing.

- What was it like for you going through the programme?
- How were the relationships between you and those you were [involved with or living with] while attending the Men Living Free from Violence programme? How did you feel about those relationships?
- What changes in yourself and/or your behaviour did you see as a result of engaging with the services?
- What was the most helpful thing that happened during this time?
- How did you feel at the time? [motivated? Positive about what you were learning/experiencing? supported? hopeful?]
- Who helped and what did they help with?
- Can you think of anything that would have made the process easier?

Outcomes Prompts

These questions invite the participants to talk to the researcher about their retrospective and global reflections on the whole process of being involved with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. They also affirm the value of the participants' contributions to providing feedback to Te Manawa Services through the research process.

- How has life changed for you?
- Do you think that the Men Living Free from Violence programme has changed your behaviour and/or relationships for the better? If so, how do you think it has achieved this?
- What would you most like us to tell the people who coordinate/supervise the Men Living Free from Violence programme?
- What would you most like us to tell people at Te Manawa Services?
- What advice would you give other men in a situation like yours?

Appendix F: Women's Interview Schedule



Evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE (Partner/Ex-partner/Whānau Participants)

The following questions will be covered in the interview, but participants will be invited to tell their own stories of the events and how they have coped with them in their own way.

The interview is structured around a starter and prompt series of questions. Prompts are only used to ensure that all the issues of interest to the researchers are raised. The interviewer identifies appropriate responses within the participant's story as it is told from their own point of view and prompts are not used if the relevant information has been provided spontaneously.

Starter

Thank you for participating in this research. We are most interested in hearing your story of what happened to you when [offender's name] was involved with the Men Living Free from Violence programme at Te Manawa. I'm interested in your experiences before, during and after [offender's name] completed the programme.

Background Prompts

These background questions will invite participants to expand on the experiences that lead to their (ex) partner/family member entering the programme and talk to the researcher about the whole background to their (ex) partner/family member's engagement with Te Manawa Services.

- What was the relationship with [client's name] like prior to the programme?
- What was the situation that prompted the initial approach/referral to the Men Living Free from Violence programme?
- Were you involved in the initial programme engagement process? How did you feel during this process?
- What did you know about Te Manawa Services and how it worked at the time? Who provided you with information? What were you told? How did you feel about this? Did you need more information?

Processes Prompts

These questions invite the participant to talk about what it was like for them having a (ex) partner/family member engaged with Te Manawa services/Men Living Free from Violence programme. They will invite the participant to talk about how the stopping violence programme affected their wellbeing.

- What was it like for you to have your [(ex) partner/family member] attend the programme?
- How were things for you while [offender's name] was attending the Men Living Free from Violence programme?
- What effects on your [(ex) partner/family member's] behaviour did you see as a result of engaging with the services?
- Did you attend any parts of the programme with [client's name]? What happened for you during these appearances? If you did not attend, why not?
- Did anyone discuss what was being covered in the programme with you?
- What support was offered to you to help you understand what the Men Living Free from Violence programme was about and how you might be affected by [client's name] attending the programme?
- What was the most helpful thing that happened during this time?
- How did you feel at the time? [safer? hopeful? supported?]
- Who helped and what did they help with?
- Can you think of anything that would have made the process easier?

Outcomes Prompts

Appendices: Appendix F

These questions invite the participants to talk to the researcher about their retrospective and global reflections on the whole process of being involved with the Men Living Free from Violence Programme. They also affirm the value of the participants' contributions to providing feedback to Te Manawa Services through the research process.

- How has life changed for you?
- Do you think that the Men Living Free from Violence programme has increased your safety? If so, how do you think it has achieved this?
- What would you most like us to tell the people who coordinate/supervise the Men Living Free from Violence programme?
- What would you most like us to tell people at Te Manawa Services?
- What advice would you give other women/men in a situation like yours?

Appendix G: Transcript Release Form



Evaluating the effectiveness of programmes and services provided by Te Manawa Services

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview conducted with me.

I agree that the edited transcript and extracts from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

Signature: _____ **Date:** _____

Full Name – printed _____