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**Voices from the family violence landscape:
Gifts of experiences, understandings and insights from the heart of
the sector**

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to those who have died from family violence, those still immersed within its clutches, and to the special New Zealanders who every day reach out to people, and in all sorts of amazing ways provide warmth in the bleakness. They are brave enough to stand with others in the fear and the danger, in the sadness and the despair with unwavering caring. Especially this thesis is dedicated to Raewyn, Bruce and Di who, with their kindness and generosity of heart, provide the light to reveal a path of hope for others.

ABSTRACT

Family violence continues with a ferocious tenacity to impact on the lives of many people. This study brings voices with insight and understanding, spanning decades of experience, that highlight how much work is still to be done to eliminate family violence from Aotearoa New Zealand. Yet it also testifies to exciting developments, tells stories of success and envisions futures that not only involve surviving but also dare to reach for thriving.

Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis was used to gather understandings from nine participants, who shared a common experience of facilitating stopping violence programmes as well as a diversity of other experiences regarding family violence, and five consultants with expert knowledge in areas related to family violence such as child advocacy, integrated practice and kaupapa Māori responses. A two-stage process took place where findings from stage one were shared with others in stage two for their feedback and elaboration. Qualitative interviews were conducted in both stages and analysed through an idiographic, iterative coding process focusing on meaning and interpretation to produce understandings of the research contributors' experiences. This process resulted in six superordinate themes with associated subordinate themes.

The first three superordinate themes elaborate understandings of the *conditions of abuse*, in environments of marginalisation; the particular experiences of children and young people *living the experience*, yet too often silenced despite the valuable lessons they can teach us; and the many barriers to seeking help faced by adults experiencing abuse *in the eye of the storm*.

The fourth theme highlights the way in which people impacted by abuse are *experiencing the disconnection of help, in the shadow of empire builders*. This manifests in a response system

that creates barriers to comprehensive support, excluding key people, agencies, or cultural contributions; silencing voices of experience, and consequently formulating disconnected, ineffective solutions. Yet contributors also recognise significant successes and how *going for gold* creates many effective strategies and innovations, achieved through the hard work of dedicated people. The final superordinate theme draws together learnings, articulating a process that opens up to *hermeneutics of the heart* in which it becomes possible to avoid hostile reactions, victim blaming and disconnection through *discovering the rhythm of families* and enabling responsive work at the heart of the matter.

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PREFACE

Family violence is a shadow that encroaches on the image of Aotearoa New Zealand as a safe and peaceful country. When I started working in the field of family violence in the 1990s and over the decades since, I have seen great work, progress and success yet, I remain ambitious for change. I have witnessed discord in knowledge and understandings. I have continued to hear similar stories to those I remember hearing when I began the work. The harsh realities and struggles of families and whānau seem to me to remain abundant, despite a legion of concerned and dedicated people motivated to help. It was the intersection of dedicated work for change and so many unchanged stories that inspired me to want to search for more meaning and understanding of the field of family violence through research. I embarked on this thesis journey, in the hope and the faith that, if only by a fraction, the study could contribute something to the conversation and insight into movement towards the elimination of violence in Aotearoa New Zealand.

This preface provides a road map and compass for understanding the construction of this thesis as its structure is somewhat unconventional. Here I provide an explanation of the scope, structure and style of the thesis. The rationale for my approach was inspired by the voices of the research contributors, their embracing of innovation and ambition for positive change. In the coming pages readers will hear from their vivid accounts, their metaphorical narratives and their passionate voices that balance a hopeful vision for the future with the lived realities of the present. Research contributors' use of metaphor inspired my use of metaphor. Quotes from other sources including the voices of children, not only those of research contributors, are also used in an effort to honour the work and voices of those who also join the conversations and offer insights into the field but are not directly involved in the research that I undertook. The predominant focus of the research is on Aotearoa New Zealand, acknowledging the context of

the research contributors, the communities they draw their knowledge from and the devastating impact that family violence has in this country.

Scope

Family violence is a vast and complex topic for a thesis and so the scope and aims needed to be given definition. Limits and parameters needed to be acknowledged. In the first chapter, I introduce the current study in the context of its original, narrower scope. I had intended to focus on the effectiveness of stopping violence programmes with the aim to offer insight into what strategies promoted positive change towards the elimination of violence from the perspective of those who had worked at the coalface of change over many years. As the research progressed, led by the insights of the research contributors, the scope I had imagined at the beginning of my research journey needed to be revisited. The narratives of the contributors were broader, and I realised that they understood my aim of gathering insight into the effectiveness of intervention in a different way to my initial assumptions about effectiveness of programmes or interventional strategies for change. So, I worked on redefining the research, broadening the scope to hear the contributors' diverse voices on issues that more broadly affected them and the people they worked with. This produced a shift in the process of the research, moving with the idea of exploring the effectiveness of programmes towards offering contributors' insights about their experiences across the response system to family violence. In effect, this created two interconnected stages in the research. More contributors' voices were added with specialist expertise to speak into experience broader than the initial focus and to elaborate on themes highlighted for further exploration. The thematic development of the thesis reflects this iterative process as understandings, meanings and interpretations deepen with reflection, convergence and divergence, expansion and elaboration. Yet, of course, limits to scope remain even after

redefinition and movement. These are acknowledged and discussed as the chapters of the thesis unfold.

To set the scene for the iterative process of understanding contributors' experiences, historical narratives are elaborated on to provide context for the study and focus on understanding the sector that involves intervention and service provision, while also bringing contemporary understandings to the fore. After this the chapters of the thematic analysis commence. The first thematic chapter provides exploration of the environments of marginalisation that support the continuation of abuse. This includes understandings of how people who use abuse employ strategies to capitalise on societal understandings that collude with abuse to justify, hide and condone their violence. The second chapter focuses on understandings of family violence from children and young people as seen through the eyes of their advocates. It speaks into their remarkable strength, bravery and knowledge to navigate through the chaos of family violence.

Chapter three elaborates on contributors' understandings of adults who experience family violence. It confirms all that a legacy of research has told us: that victim blaming is still a dominant feature in understandings of family violence and casts a dark shadow over how our society responds to people experiencing violence. Chapter four extends the metaphor of the shadow, to address how understanding children's, young people's and adults' experiences of family violence responses lead contributors to identify disconnections of help.

Taking another perspective, the fifth chapter celebrates what is working well and the successes that have been achieved. The sixth chapter draws together the learnings emerging from the research, anchoring the discoveries of this research in a place where we can launch a journey towards a brighter future.

Structure

The research literature is spread throughout the chapters, accompanying quotes, sense-making in the moment it is revealed to the reader, and providing an historical backdrop to understandings relating to family violence. The contemporary context of family violence is a fluid phenomenon with changes occurring spontaneously and dynamically. Interwoven in the pages ahead is information and recent literature to bring voice to a modern stance that builds upon history, situating the current study within both an historical and contemporary context. The literature used is positioned to amplify the voices of the participants by supporting their narratives. This is done in consideration of the context of power differentials in which their voices exist and avoids disruption of their stories through critical analysis of literature and their narratives. The epilogue provides some critical analysis of the literature in relation to key issues raised by participants.

The reflexive nature and flexibility of the research methodology, expanded upon in the methodology chapter, meant that the research process was able to continue to develop and be refined through the transition from stage one to stage two. The stages were interconnected since changes in stage two reflected insights from research contributors of stage one.

The emergence, convergence and divergence of the voices of the research are addressed through referring to previous, as well as upcoming, understandings throughout the body of the text. This takes the form of reminding the reader of previous thematic insights and alluding to how understandings may be elaborated upon later in the research story.

Information about contributors is dispersed throughout the thesis at places where the specificity of their experiences, including work experiences, accompany hermeneutic interpretation and facilitate the understanding process. Recommendations are also placed throughout the thesis

rather than located within a concluding chapter. This allows for an iteratively developed knowledge to flow through the thesis, amongst the quotes and interpretations. While one chapter (chapter five) is devoted to what is working well and seen as effective, the shifting of narratives between effective strategies and responses, and responses that are ineffective, unsatisfactory or unsafe is explored throughout the thesis and accounts of contributors. Hence, they are discussed at other places in the thesis, not exclusively in chapter five. This allows for a contrasting discussion of various tensions, and tentative, possible and already implemented solutions throughout the thesis. The last chapter is my interpretation of some of the learnings, and their implications for the future. This connects the spheres of knowledge across the family violence sector, in the spirit of hearing a breadth of voices in their diversity and gathering the voices' knowledge for the collective action required to eradicate family violence.

Style, lens and audience

In acknowledgement of the complex problem of family violence, this research applies multiple layers and lenses, most notably situated within the layers of the self of all those involved in the research, including the supervisors and myself. The notion of 'layers of the self' is first introduced in relation to the research methodology. Here, I draw attention to the idea that these layers explore the many facets of a person, the professional, the personal and lived experiences that form the basis of their sense making and understanding of the world. The gifted contribution of survivor poetry also compliments this vision of multiple lenses and layers. I acknowledge that the reader will also have their own interpretation and evaluation of the research that is situated within their worldview, knowledge and experience.

Some explanation is required here regarding the writing style and the reasoning for its choice. As the research journey progressed, the stories of the research contributors, their voices and their narratives, began to unfold. In their voices, I heard passion, struggle and hope. When writing up the thesis, much consideration was given to how to try to convey my interpretation of their experiences and understandings. While there are standardised formats, instead it was decided to tell the story of this research in a narrative way. It is with great gratitude that I acknowledge the research contributors who bravely gifted their understandings of family violence (rooted in stories of their experiences both personal and professional), anecdotes, insights and metaphors, that helped to create the story of this research. It is hoped by using this narrative storytelling some of the emotion, passion and hope that the research contributors conveyed is represented in the tone and style of the thesis writing, perhaps presenting some knowledge about family violence in a different way that opens possibilities for new narratives to be heard. The Family Violence Death Review Committee report (FVDRC) (2016) focuses on changing the narrative concerning family violence. They assert that if we continue to have the same narrative, it is unlikely that things will change. The report challenges us to think differently and change the story of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand. So, I take up this challenge in the pages ahead and invite the reader to join me as I weave the voices from the coalface, government and academia, their connections and their dissensions, through the tapestry that this research creates.

In this regard the writing style of the thesis needed to achieve several aims. The intended audience was one of government, non-government *and* academia. It needed to reflect the tone and nature of the research contributors to stay grounded in their insights, since they are relevant for all three sectors. The thesis needed to be applicable to the practice-based lens of the frontline, understand insights within the governmental context, and meet the necessary requirements for academic writing. So, in the pages ahead the tone is not solely academic, it reflects the language

of the frontline practice-based content and an applicability for government policy as well. It is hoped by doing this that the learnings from the research will reach a wider audience and have practical application. It reflects where I stand myself, in an experiential place within all three sectors, having travelled in them all. It is my hope that this work brings potential for more connected understandings, alliances, collaboration and a strategically well-informed direction for the future. Taking account of multiple understandings brought into the light even when these have been controversial, challenging as well as affirming, rekindles hope that we are able to work together, amidst our differences, in a space united by our work towards the elimination of violence.

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IN THE BEGINNING...

In consideration of the diversity of knowledge about family violence, I begin with setting the context for the voices that this research explores, acknowledging, at first, I predominately cite voices that are familiar with or derived from governmental research and policy contexts. As I continue, reports, quotes from children, small research studies done in provincial Aotearoa New Zealand, and other information that may not meet ‘traditionally, dominant benchmarks’ for robust literature, join the voices of this story. This is done in the spirit of expanding commonly held research and knowledge relationships of ‘novice and expert’, acknowledging that voices may be gathered and heard in different ways. Voices and knowledge derived from community compliments the experiences of participants of this research within community. Expanding systems of sense-making, both community and government, opens opportunities for complexity and diversity of experiences to connect and enrich knowledge (Boonzaier & van Schalkwyk, 2011). Seeking to understand a multiplicity of voices, especially those that have been marginalised, can build receptive environments where alliances and collaborations create connections, strategic direction and collective action (Campbell, Cornish, Gibbs & Scott, 2010). This can be particularly advantageous in promoting positive change in relation to family violence, as the pages of this thesis will reveal the power of the collective to reduce fragmentation and polarisation.

The literature drawn upon for this research is largely focused on Aotearoa New Zealand in recognition of the local context of responses to a high incidence of family violence.

Approximately one in three ever-partnered women have experienced at least one physical or sexual act of violence by an intimate partner (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004). In 2018, 133,022 family harm investigations were conducted by police in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand Police, 2019). The New Zealand Crime and Victims Survey Cycle 1 (2018) results showed

almost 80, 000 adults experienced more than 190, 000 incidents of family violence over the last 12 months. More than 40% of all family violence victims were between 15 and 29 years old with 71% of all family violence victims being female (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2019). It is clear the tenaciousness of the violence within our homes remains of grave concern.

The impacts of family violence ricochet through our families. They deserve to be safe and thriving yet in too many of our homes this is not the case. Family violence has multiple impacts including jeopardising employment and therefore financial security through economic control and intimidation. Family violence is a major cause of women's and children's homelessness (Zorza, 1991; Browne, 1993). Pouwhare (1999) found Māori women's ability to seek, undertake and retain employment can be seriously compromised by the sabotaging and entrapment tactics of their intimate partner abusers. Women who experience intimate family violence have a greater risk of experiencing depression and anxiety, post-traumatic stress disorder and suicidal thoughts (Pico-Alfonso, Garcia-Linares, Celda-Navarro, Blasco-Ros, Echeburúa & Martinez, 2006).

We have a wealth of understanding and diversity of experience in Aotearoa New Zealand and this research sought to illuminate some of the knowledge of this experience and bring it from the coalface to the research arena. From these first beginnings unfolded a methodological framework and research process chosen to be a good fit for the aim of exploring expert understandings and experiences from those working at the grassroots of intervention.

I acknowledge that this story is not told in isolation. It is told within the influences of both an historical and contemporary context. I now explore these contexts before delving further into the journey of this research.

Historical narratives

This story would not be complete without exploring some historical narratives that create a backdrop to this research. The convergence and emergence of contemporary and historical narratives of understandings of family violence provide a story within itself: one of innovation, repeating patterns, debate, dissention and diversity.

Firstly, I will explore the historical and contemporary landscape of family violence and the theme of the diversity of understanding about how we conceptualise, and therefore how we respond, to family violence. Diverse understandings about which actions are most effective, the language and terminologies that are used, and the parameters of support and intervention, have created polarisation and fragmentation across the family violence landscape in ways that sometimes persist. These differences strongly influence how responses to family violence have been shaped. They persist with tenacity through the story of this research as well, and they are explored further in the chapters ahead. They can create division, form barriers to effective support and divert energy away from collaboration. Yet they also provide us with a kaleidoscope of perspectives, a diversity of knowledge and intervention choices. I take a deeper look at this issue because overcoming divisions and barriers can facilitate coordinated and collaborative responses that result in better outcomes for family and whānau, reduction in violence and improvement in service provision (Murphy & Fanslow, 2012). Herbert and Mackenzie (2014) highlight the problematic fragmentation of a dysfunctional family violence system alongside their visionary perspective of an integrated system for Aotearoa New Zealand. The systemic dysfunction they analyse connects with the experiences of the research contributors as they recount shortcomings in the functioning of the current system. The integration and coordination held in high esteem as a way forward may be found in the place between our differing

perspectives, and as this research story continues it unfolds ways for achieving more synchronised collaboration.

Sexual violence provides us with one specific example of how differing understandings can influence responses. Sexual violence can occur within the context of family violence and violence within whānau. In Australia, for instance, one in six women have experienced sexual violence by a man they know, with the most common and recent person that has abused them being an ex-partner (Australian Bureau of Statistics, 2017). In Aotearoa New Zealand, it was not until 1985 that there was a major amendment to the Crimes Act 1961 and it became a crime for husbands to rape their wives. Earlier assumptions about rape in marriage were set within the traditional context of heterosexual relationships that have been structured affording privilege to men, giving their voice authority, credibility and truth value above the voice of women who could be ignored or discredited (Jordan, 2004). The legal and social context fed rape myths such as a woman cannot be raped in her own home or by her husband. In the 1980s, with a primary governmental focus on ‘family’ violence, issues that arose for the sector included the silencing of sexual violence within the context of ‘family’ violence, with funding diverted to ‘family’ violence, and ‘discomfort’ in directly focusing on sexual violence (McDonald, 2017). The discomfort of talking about intimate incidents of violence contributes to sexual violence being hidden under the broader umbrella of family violence. Sexual violence often occurs within the context of intimate relationships, therefore collaboration between family and sexual violence services is needed to fully support people experiencing abuse. However, victims still face barriers in disclosing sexual violence, meeting their needs and seeking resolutions (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2018a).

Historical context is particularly important to understanding experiences for Māori and violence within whānau. The impacts of colonisation and its ripple effects of urbanisation and disintegration of some traditional support structures provide the context for contemporary issues, including structural inequalities, institutionalised racism and discrimination. Higher levels of whānau violence are found within the context of lower socio-economic status for Māori, however this dynamic is not apparent for Pākehā, whose violence is more evenly distributed across the spectrum of socio-economic levels (FVDRC, 2014). The significance of high rates of whānau violence intersects with our colonial history. Wāhine, the bearers of life, and mokopuna¹ were held in high esteem, and strong traditional Māori values and practices promoted respectful relationships and the care and protection of women and children (FVDRC, 2013). Violence against wāhine² and tamariki³ is not traditional and the reclaiming of tikanga⁴, rebuilding of mana⁵ and affirmation of cultural identity provide the foundation for positive change (E Tū Whānau, 2013).

Family violence and violence within whānau are not interchangeable concepts. Family and whānau are also not interchangeable. Whānau violence compromises Te Ao Māori⁶ values, transgresses whakapapa⁷ and disturbs tikanga, whereas family violence is commonly understood within a more Western nuclear family context that does not take account of Te Ao Māori (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2010). Interventions can mirror the nuclear family understanding of family violence and can also be constrained by resourcing issues that limit their scope. This has had the effect of producing a response system that privileges Pākehā understandings of family violence and

¹ Mokopuna – grandchild (Wilson, Mikahere-Hall, Sherwood, Cootes & Jackson, 2019)

² Wāhine - Women (Wilson et al., 2019)

³ Tamariki - Māori children (Wilson et al., 2019)

⁴ Tikanga – correct procedure, customary processes and practises (Wilson et al., 2019)

⁵ Mana – status, authority, prestige (Wilson et al., 2019)

⁶ Te Ao Māori - Māori world (Wilson et al., 2019)

⁷ Whakapapa – genealogy (Wilson et al., 2019)

pathologises the individual or takes a punitive approach that punishes the person who has abused and isolated the person experiencing the abuse. Individualising violence and reducing whānau violence to criminal and deviant behaviour effectively removes the individual offending from the whānau, iwi and⁸ hapū⁹ cultural context in which violence occurs. In doing so, opportunities for constructive and comprehensive solutions, as well as sustained healing are lost (Kruger et al., 2004).

Understanding the difference between whānau and family has very important implications in terms of policies, legislation, intervention and prevention. Alternatives to violence, the transformation of behaviour, as well as enhanced well-being can be informed by engaging with cultural imperatives such as whakapapa, tapu¹⁰, mauri¹¹, wairua,¹² mana, and tikanga (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). This approach is supported by research identifying that resilience and protective factors for tamariki and rangatahi¹³ who experience violence include the importance of having support people, strong positive Māori identity, and wairua connection (Walters & Seymour, 2017). So, there is an historical privileging of Pākehā and power imbalances in systemic responses dominated by a particular Western worldview. This is a mismatch for the realities of Māori.

⁸ Iwi – extended kinship group, tribe, nation, people, nationality, race - often refers to a large group of people descended from a common ancestor and associated with a distinct territory (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=iwi>)

⁹ Hapū - Constellations of whānau (Wilson et al., 2019)

¹⁰ Tapu – sacred, prohibited, restricted, set apart, forbidden, under *atua* protection (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=tapu>)

¹¹ Mauri – life principle, life force, vital essence, special nature, a material symbol of a life principle, source of emotions – the essential quality and vitality of a being or entity. Also used for a physical object, individual, ecosystem or social group in which this essence is located. (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=Mauri>)

¹² Wairua – spirit, soul (Wilson et al., 2019)

¹³ Rangatahi -younger generation, youth (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=rangatahi>)

Professor Angus Macfarlane explains that there is more than one stream of knowledge and Te Ao Māori and Western knowledge streams can have equal status. Through the metaphor of braided rivers, streams can start at the same place, running alongside one another, spending time apart, coming together at the riverbed where learning but not assimilation takes place (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (SUPERU), 2018). In terms of the current research, I am conscious of my Pākehā ancestry and I have no connection to whakapapa. Therefore, this research is conceived within a Pākehā worldview. However, I am lucky enough to have listened to some of the wisdom of contributors of this research who are Māori, and others I have been privileged to spend time with in my personal and professional life. My hope is that perhaps we meet in the pages ahead through the narratives, like the braided rivers, in the learning place between our worldviews.

The use of language

As the pages of this thesis unfold, it reaches into the corners of understanding of the hundreds of voices that have been heard by the contributors to this research. The many stories told to them over many years form the basis of some journeys through what may be best described as the family violence landscape. Landscape envisions a broad view, one that acknowledges the unique and diverse experiences and places we visit in solitude, such as those that are hidden from others, as well as the places where we can meet together. It acknowledges those who walk alone, and the groups of people, family, community, whānau, iwi and hapu who travel together. The valleys of despair and mountains to be climbed, and sometimes the triumph of finding an easier path to tread, are all implied in the metaphor of landscape. This story represents but a glimpse of the landscape. It is not a complete picture. It sits amongst the work of those who have come before and those who will follow.

The language used in the family violence landscape represents diversity of understanding. How terminologies are used is multifaceted, even in what we call the phenomenon, with new terminologies emerging over time. Domestic violence, intimate partner violence (IPV) and a newer term of family harm, for example, each carry meanings and understandings that may not necessarily be consistent. How each term is conceptualised varies according to different understandings across the landscape. FVDRC (2016) interpret family violence to mean IPV and child abuse and neglect (CAN) but acknowledge other forms of family violence such as elder and sibling abuse. For the purposes of this story, I have focused on family or domestic violence in the same way, recognising that abuse definitions vary according to the person being abused or their position within the family or whānau, and all forms need to be acknowledged and addressed in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Batterer is older terminology for someone who has committed acts of domestic violence that can emphasise physical violence; the physical battering or hitting of a victim. This terminology aligns with some historical perceptions of domestic violence that did not recognise forms of abuse other than physical assault; patterns of abuse involving emotional, psychological, spiritual or economic abuse. Later in discussion on the history of legislation changes, there is a redefining of domestic violence with its legal definition broadening to include a greater number of abusive behaviours including patterns of abuse and a movement for the phenomenon to be renamed family violence. Perpetrator or offender terminology is also used in an enduring way within a contemporary context, with the latter linked strongly to criminal justice interventions. The Family Violence Death Review Committee report (2020), in its exploration of men who use violence, recommends a reframing of the use of ‘abuser’ or ‘perpetrator’ as these terms can remove men’s agency for change. The term ‘violent men’ is also not recommended in the report

as this infers a one-dimensional and beyond redeemable notion of men. The report advocates for the term ‘men who use violence’ as this acknowledges the capacity of men to change.

However, Tolmie (2020) highlights the importance of remembering the danger men who use violence can pose to those around them. While some seek help voluntarily, many of the men in Aotearoa New Zealand family violence death reviews had to be mandated to attend programmes.

Particularly emotive and controversial is the term we use for people who have experienced abuse such as victim or survivor. Both continue to be used in varying forums currently. The issue of whether we use a gender neutral or gender specific pronoun for describing victims is explored by the FVDRC (2016) who use a feminine pronoun to describe victims of intimate partner violence with the rationale that women are the predominant group affected as victims while acknowledging also that men can be victims of their partners. Some prefer to avoid this type of terminology, focusing on the behaviour instead. For example, making reference to “someone who has been abusive”, or “someone who has experienced abuse”. Some ‘perpetrators’ are ‘victims’ and some ‘victims’ are ‘perpetrators’ in terms of their life experiences spanning both the using of abusive behaviour and the experiencing abusive behaviour. We need to examine how language can be used in a way that does not condone abusive behaviour, minimise it or render the inequalities of gender invisible, yet also recognises that men and those who identify as non-binary also experience violence, and leaves open the space for men who use violence to have the capacity and capability to change. We need to explore the effects of language use and sense-making related to language, recognising the diversity of meaning we may attribute to the words we use across the contexts of government, academia and community voice. There is also diversity of understanding about what we mean by the family violence system. Is this just the government system? Is this the non-government service provider response? Is this the entire

community response incorporating community, family, whānau, iwi, hapu and government and non-government service responses?

This leaves open the question of what language should be used in this story. When immersed in people's accounts during research analysis, a discovery of their language and their meaning occurs. It is from this place that I gather the narrative for this story. It is the language of the personal experience of people, the language of professionals, the language of the historical and contemporary narratives, the voices from research and my language that combine to tell the story. It is not about the 'right' language, polite language or the 'best' language, as this can lead down divisive paths towards polarisation. Rather, the endeavour is to honour the voices of the contributors of the research and convey their experiences, rooted in their own use of language, meanings and depth of experience. Consequently, terms used are not static and can change throughout the thesis, recognising there is more than one voice of the research contributors, more than one narrative of sense making and meaning attributed to the use of language. The story now explores attributions of meaning relating to the phenomenon of family violence and expands on the exploration of diversity in our understanding.

Family violence and gender analysis

Historically a huge debate emerged across the landscape regarding whether a gender analysis should be applied to the conceptualisation of domestic violence, and how this shaped the interventions of support that were implemented. In discussing the gender analysis debate, I acknowledge the limitations of my interpretations. There are many conceptualisations within the framework of gender analysis and this story does not explore the numerous understandings of the topic since this diversity would, in itself, expand beyond the scope of a single thesis. The current discussion provides a snapshot narrative set within my bigger story.

The research literature documents a long history of polarisation of views concerning whether a gender analysis should be applied to our understanding of domestic violence. Dutton and Nicholls (2005) promote the viewpoint that there should be a greater recognition of the prevalence of women's violence towards men and critique the feminist perspective of domestic violence centring on ideologies of male privilege and gender inequality. Dutton and Corvo (2006) propose that a gender analysis of domestic violence that privileges women's voices is an ineffective way of addressing the issue and discounts the severity and level of abusive behaviour perpetrated by women. However, women are six times more likely than men to be killed by an intimate partner (Stöckl et al., 2013). Girls were more likely than boys to be killed by family violence (FVDRC, 2014). The lethality of family violence for women and girls is disproportionately skewed and appears to lend support to a gender analysis of the issues.

The gender debate encased in the polar opposites of asymmetry (women as primary targets of violence) and gender symmetry (both genders perpetrate and experience violence at similar rates) presents an opportunity to discuss the role of data in this contentious issue. Feminist researchers of an asymmetric understanding of family violence apply a wider contextual power and control lens to the issue. They may consider motivation, victims' outcomes and impacts, and patterns of abuse. Symmetry ideologies may focus more narrowly on actor-based surveys such as the Conflict Tactics Scale, with less attention to intent or outcome. Drawing upon two different data collection methodologies determines the data that is produced and paradoxically generates two different analytical pictures. In balancing the strengths and weaknesses of both, it appears that confidence can be placed in the claims associated with asymmetry (Braff & Barrett Meyering, 2013), given the relevance of context and intent in family violence. Acts of resistance, self-defence and the impacts of ongoing abuse can be intrinsically intertwined in family violence

experiences. To take away the intention and context simplifies, but in doing so also strips away pathways to deeper understanding and the ability to tailor support to meet needs.

There are different ways that a gender analysis can be applied to understanding family violence. A gender analysis of family violence that emphasises the dynamics of male privilege and inequality towards women may inform what is perceived as appropriate intervention for domestic violence. This has historically taken shape as feminist psycho-educational approach. A contrary gender analysis provides an understanding of family violence where women's violence is underestimated, evokes a different type of response to intervention, with greater focus on inequality towards men and a dominant framework of addressing women's violence. A gender-neutral approach that rejects the importance of the dynamics of gender in family violence interventions and responses can incorporate yet another understanding that avoids a gendered approach at all. So, the way the problem is conceptualised has bearing on the interventions and responses brought to it. Therapeutic modalities are informed by these understandings, as are understandings of effective or ineffective interventions. Discussion of gender in the literature and dominant responses to family violence, commonly does not explore understandings of IPV that extends beyond a binary conception of gender. The invisibility of transgender people in the family violence landscape contrasts with the estimate that up to one in two transgender persons being victims of family violence. There are many barriers to them receiving support and help, and their invisibility compounds the inability of the response system to respond in effective ways (Yerke & DeFeo, 2016). The commonality of 'men's' intervention programmes and 'women's' programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand speaks into how the response system is making assumptions about gender categorisation and identification. Gay, queer and bisexual (GBQ) men experience significant rates of intimate partner violence. Survey data from 895 GBQ men in Australia has indicated three in five had experienced an abusive or unhealthy relationship in the past (Salter, Robinson, Ullman, Denson, Ovenden, Noonan, Bansel & Huppertz, 2020). Individualist or group paradigms also present in the family violence landscape in a kaleidoscope

of diversity that impact on ideologies of effectiveness are discussed next.

Conceptualisation of the individual and the group

Understandings relating to interventions being individualistic or more holistic, including or excluding family and whānau involvement, have created divided opinions. In conceptualising domestic violence as a systemic, socio-political and familial problem responses may be broader than a more individualistic framework offers.

Consequently, ideas around intervention may reflect these different understandings of response. Historically there has been dissent and variation across the family violence landscape regarding the place of family work, meaning work with families and not solely individuals is important to interventions and responses. There are different understandings of how this may or may not be safely achieved. The continuum of understanding varies from rejecting family work from interventions totally, to seeing them as a vital part of all responses. Funding can also affect the family work (or lack of) that is undertaken. Family work needs to acknowledge the potential for victim blaming attitudes such as casting victims as provocateurs and seeing family violence as a matter to be dealt with privately within the family (Sack, 2004). This can be problematic if dynamics of control and dominance are hidden and family work results in the matter being 'dealt with' by the person being abusive. Therefore, a paramountcy of safety and robust safety assessment is critical when considering and/or engaging with family work within the context of family violence.

What is understood as family work or whānau-centred approaches can differ. Family work can constitute various aspects such as work with the person experiencing abuse and their family, work with children, work with the person first and then the couple if it is safe and, if they wish to

stay together, co-parent or/and work with the person who is abusive and their family. 'Family' could include support people not necessarily biologically related but who could contribute to safety enhancement and support. The difficulty is establishing what is safe, especially in the presence of coercive control by the abuser. Assessment that has not uncovered some of the hidden dynamics and tactics of abuse being used is unsafe. Unexamined coercive control can make some dynamics that appear safe at first glance not safe for the person victimised. Divorce mediation in the context of family violence has raised concerns because of both the potential to increase risk and because of inherent power imbalances that exists between participants meaning 'equal' participation is thwarted and sometimes not possible. This places particular importance on the skills and ability of the mediator to identify family violence, know its dynamics and make safe decisions within its context and is complicated by the complex nature of domestic violence where things may not be clear and open (Utzig, 1999).

Such difficulties mean that some responders advocate for focusing on work with people experiencing abuse and avoid family work. A counter perspective is that even if a person leaves a relationship, someone who has been abusive may continue onto another relationship in which they abuse their new partner. Their behaviour still needs to be addressed, regardless of separation from their current partner. They may also continue to have some type of relationship with their current partner together or through care arrangements with children despite separation. It has been highlighted that fragmentation of the family for intervention poses reoffending risk. Vital information and feedback from people experiencing abuse can be left out of safety and relapse planning with people using abuse. Gaps in risk assessment may therefore be present and re-offending could go undetected (Cagney & McMaster, 2013).

Whānau-centred approaches embody working with whānau. The person/people who have experienced the abuse, and who they identify as safe within their whānau may drive who is safe to be involved in the process. Work with the person who has been abusive and their whānau is also important to help support them to become non-abusive. The experience of kaimahi¹⁴ specialised in violence within whānau can also help to determine what process is safe and support the whānau with safety planning. Five key themes have been identified as essential for whānau-centred approaches. They involve *effective relationships* that are of benefit for the whānau, *whānau rangatiratanga*, building whānau capability to support whānau self-management, independence and autonomy, *capable workforce* to implement an holistic, safe, culturally competent and supportive approach, *whānau needs and aspirations at the centre of services and programmes*, and *supportive environments* including effective leadership from iwi and government, and conducive funding and contracting arrangements (Te Puni Kōkiri, 2015).

A different kind of group focus is involved in restorative justice processes. Justice is understood as attempting to *address harms done* and crime is seen as a violation of relationship. Restorative justice processes seek to give voice to those impacted by the offending in terms of how best to deal with it. There has been debate as to whether restorative justice processes can be of benefit in the circumstance of family violence offending. Serious concerns have been raised from some feminist anti-violence activists regarding victim re-victimisation and the dangers of a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to interventions (Hayden, Gelsthorpe, Kingi & Morris, 2014). The gendered harms within a feminist perspective of domestic violence can mean that an approach to restorative justice practices in the context of family violence requires drawing upon both a restorative justice approach and criminal justice processes. In particular, there needs to be an acknowledgement that victims of domestic violence may not always find apology and

¹⁴ Kaimahi- worker, employee (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=kaimahi>)

forgiveness an appealing resolution (Stubbs, 2007). Here too, the primary consideration needs to be ensuring the safety of the people experiencing abuse (Martin, 1996). Restorative justice practice standards for family violence cases have been developed in Aotearoa New Zealand (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2018b).

In terms of Family Group Conferences as a practice of Restorative Justice, the potential to put survivors at greater risk during the process is balanced against the risk of denying family and whānau opportunities for alternative solutions to, for example, state care. Such examples show the importance of specialist knowledge about family violence to safely guide these processes. There may be complex issues implicit in such work. Understanding the potential for the perpetration of institutional racism by denying alternative options is also crucial. The Restorative Justice process can increase the chance that the voices of people experiencing violence will be heard and children's family and whānau connections enhanced if managed safely. Thorough safety planning and follow up as highlighted is important (Pennell, 2007).

The debate concerning whether an individual or group intervention produces the best results has continued throughout the history of interventions. Challenge in a group setting could be met with less resistance, group members could learn from one another and they could reconstruct positively some of the maladaptive social constructions they have learned (Blacklock, 2001). There are also advocates for individualising treatment. They promote the viewpoint that there are diverse offender typologies that need individual rather than generic treatment in order to produce effective positive behavioural change (Kelly & Johnson, 2008). Later in this story the groups and individual paradigms for interventions are explored further, as the research contributors bring forth their understandings from the landscape regarding tensions between the approaches.

The historical landscape of family violence provides multiple understandings that combine to produce dissent and an unclear picture of what is effective. Later, the research story delves further into implications of gender on family violence arising from the research contributors' experiences and expands notions of the ideology of effectiveness. For now, however, I continue with an historical focus and look at intention and implementation as this provides an intersection with the way the problem is conceptualised.

Historical intention and implementation

Often, the strong intention and excitement of a new initiative or strategy sweeps over the family violence landscape and it may be enthusiastically welcomed as a new wave of thinking and for its apparent potential to solve this complex issue. There is another viewpoint that conceptualises the problem differently and proposes that it requires avoidance of any quick fix or, simplistic approach (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014). There is no one straightforward cause of family violence. Many complexities may interact to result in violence. Influences of societal attitudes and individual, relationship and community factors may all contribute to occurrence or reduction of family violence. Consequently, a multifaceted approach needs to be taken to address it. There is still a tendency to oversimplify and draw singular causal attributions relating to violence perpetration, illustrating a gap between intention and implementation (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2016).

Historically the pairing of intention and implementation has sometimes been fraught and uncertain rather than simple and definitive. This is outlined where problems as well as successful ventures characterised the implementation of some initiatives. Government family violence strategies between 2002 and 2006 included *Te Rito: New Zealand Family Violence Prevention Strategy*, *The Care and Protection Blueprint* and *The First Report of the Taskforce for Action on*

Violence within Families (Ministry of Social Development, 2014a; Ministry of Social Development, 2014b; Ministry of Social Development, 2014c). These strategies comprised over 100 actions and initiatives to address family violence. However, research indicated that fewer than 50% of these actions were fully implemented six months after the stated completion date (Herbert, 2008). Herbert (2008) concluded that the break down in implementation of the actions was due to lack of expertise and resourcing, and this was compounded by a lack of coordination particularly at national and strategic levels.

Some initiatives were successful in promoting public awareness through media campaigns such as the “Violence is not OK” campaign implemented by the Campaign for Action on Family Violence (2007). The campaign helped to encourage the reporting of family violence in the media in a more accurate way, drawing attention to its seriousness (Point Research, 2010).

This interaction between intention and implementation suggests it cannot be assumed a strategy and plan will be applied in the way that was initially envisaged, and effectiveness of its impact may not be assured. However, we can take heart that some initiatives have had successes and have helped to shape the landscape in positive ways as my discussion on the contemporary landscape begins.

The contemporary landscape

Many facets make up the contemporary landscape of family violence. This introductory story takes two key issues and examines them in closer depth. The issues involve the relationship between child abuse and neglect and intimate partner violence, and how to conceptualise consequences and sanctions for behaviour associated with family violence.

Child abuse and intimate partner violence

Often seen is the dynamic of powerful adult voices, talking of adult experiences in the family violence landscape. Yet when a look closer at the landscape is taken, many children are experiencing family violence as well. Children's experiences intertwine with the experiences of the adults in their lives. Despite this, the separation of the response to CAN and IPV remains in Aotearoa, New Zealand. Consequently, it has been recommended there is a greater recognition of the link between IPV and child maltreatment (Murphy, Paton, Gulliver & Fanslow, 2013). Children's resilience, well-being and development is intrinsically linked with their primary caregiver. If a mother, for example, is unsafe then this means children are also unsafe (Groves & Gewirtz, 2006). The Family Violence Death Review Committee's 2017 position paper that highlighted the need for intergenerational responses in order to address these issues outlined six reasons why it is not effective to address CAN and IPV separately. When one parent abuses a child's other parent, the one who abuses is also unsafely parenting. Approaches that hold non-abusive parents to account for failure to protect their children from an abusive parent keep neither adult victims nor children safe. Yet protecting adult victims helps keep children safer. There is an important need to work with the people using violence and to understand that safety is a collective responsibility, not only one of people especially children experiencing violence (FVDRC, 2017).

When exploring how the interconnection between CAN and IPV manifests itself in the response system, an interesting phenomenon occurs. At times, the interconnection is acknowledged and sometimes it is not. Sometimes other, apparently more dominant, discourses about protecting children eclipse the importance of IPV in relation to CAN. The strong correlation between IPV and CAN is not universally understood by the system responding to family violence (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014). Concerns have been raised about minimising the significance of domestic

violence in custody arrangements. This minimisation seems based on the perception that partner abuse can be isolated from the parent-child relationship, and it is possible for a parent to abuse their partner and still be a 'good' parent. Unfortunately, domestic violence that occurs within a family affects everyone from babies to adults. People who use violence make poor role models and, the abuse does not end with separation. The legal system can be used to further control, intimidate and undermine non-abusive parents (Jaffe, Lemon & Poisson, 2003). Parental expectations to protect children in family violence situations need to acknowledge the relationship of CAN/IPV. When the focus of the custody arrangement is on parental rights, this can overshadow the interconnection of these two types of abuse. This is illustrated through the conflicting demands that can be placed on mothers who are expected by society, and expect themselves, to protect their children from harm in family violence situations. Yet paradoxically they may have to relinquish their children's care to men who are abusive and who are using the court system to inflict another form of coercive control over their partner, through a court system that may not understand the nuances and tactics of abuse (Elizabeth, 2015).

The peril of underestimating the connection between CAN and IPV is an increase in risk and danger for children. An opportunity is lost to act on 'red flags' that indicate precursors of violence, and also to respond to indicators of violence at the intersection of these two types of abuse. The experiences of young people, post-separation, when the father has been violent to the mother illustrate that, some fathers can have an over-punitive parenting style with a number of them continuing to be physically and emotionally abusive to their children. Sometimes fathers were found to be neglectful with limited effort to bond or provide quality care and an inability to cooperate with the children's mother. An emphasis away from a parental right to contact and more emphasis on children's right to live free from abuse is therefore recommended (Nelson, 2017). This of course does not serve to discredit the vital and valuable place that non-abusive

fathers have in their children's lives. Later in the story of this thesis, contributors provide compelling accounts of the devastating misguided assumptions and the lack of understanding of the connection between CAN and IPV creates for children and young people as they continue to endure abuse in the gaps where there was no response to acknowledge the interwoven layers of these forms of abuse. A long shadow is cast over the contemporary family violence landscape for children enduring abuse, and the lack of consistency of understanding relating to the IPV/CAN correlation is indicative of the work that is still to be done to honour children and keep them safe.

This story now focuses on the responses to people who have been or are abusive and the way the aftermath of abusive behaviour is dealt with, which affects both children and adults. It leads into the second part of the contemporary landscape discussion focusing on the issue of sanctions, restoration and reparation for violent and abusive behaviour.

Sanctions, restoration and reparation

Legislative pathways provide one part of the story addressing and promoting accountability for abusive behaviour, but many other pathways based on different conceptualisations also exist. Initially I focus on legislative interventions and then provide an exploration of some cultural understandings, but in doing so acknowledge the small scope of this discussion as existing within the limits of this story and aligning with the knowledge of its contributors.

In Aotearoa New Zealand legislative measures were taken to address domestic violence from the early 1980s. The Domestic Protection Act (1982) was implemented to resolve 'marital conflict' through such endeavours as court ordered marriage counselling. Unfortunately, this had the potential of putting women at risk of further abuse because conflict resolution and reconciliation could be prioritised over women's safety and their well-being could be compromised. One

woman was killed by a former partner as she left court-ordered counselling (Swarbrick, 2012). The Domestic Violence Act (1995) replaced the Domestic Protection Act (1982) and was deemed better equipped than the earlier legislation to address violence through more focus on victim safety and perpetrator re-education. Significantly, it re-defined domestic violence in broader terms with the inclusion of psychological as well as physical and sexual abuse, and the inclusion of child abuse that occurs when children experience IPV in their homes. The Act aimed to reduce violence through mandating offenders to attend government funded intervention programmes where the objective was to help them stop violent behaviour. Protection Orders were a fundamental part of the Act. Their aim was to prevent the offender from physically, sexually or emotionally abusing the protected person(s) and any children covered by the order (Pond & Morgan, 2008). Sanctions could be implemented for breaches of Protection Orders including imprisonment of the offender. However, there were problems with the enforcement of sanctions for breaches. In 2007, a review of the Domestic Violence Act took place. This review indicated that implementation of the Act was inadequate; breaches of Protection Orders were not consistently followed up and neither was the mandated attendance at re-education programmes for people who had used abusive behaviours (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2007). The Domestic Violence (Enhancing Safety) Act 2009 increased penalties for non-attendance at mandated stopping violence programmes that were intended to help rectify the problem. Sadly, between the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act (1995) and 2007, over 200 New Zealand women and children died in domestic violence related homicides (Swarbrick, 2012). Later in this story, new developments in legislation aimed at improving responses to family violence will be highlighted and discussed in the theme *going for gold*. In this theme some new initiatives and interventions that contributors see as promising are discussed.

Criminal justice responses have included modifying district court procedures to provide more effective, safe responses to crimes relating to family violence. Family Violence Courts aimed to provide a holistic response to family violence in the court setting, seeking to provide timely safety enhanced responses through referrals and mandates to intervention services. The Waitakere and the Manukau Family Violence Courts are examples of these. An evaluation of the Waitakere Family Violence Court Protocols indicated strong commitment and willingness to help meet the needs of families affected by family violence (Morgan, Coombes & McGray, 2007). An evaluation of the Manukau Family Violence Court indicated commitment to a holistic response to family violence (Knaggs, Leahy & Soboleva, 2008). While Family Violence Courts represent some responses aimed to addressing family violence there are many other understandings that exist in the family violence landscape.

These include different perspectives that explore and expand concepts of responding to people who use abuse through ideologies of reparation, accountability and the restoration of social balance. The Māori process of utu provides a different way to deal with abuse. Utu is about paying the price, recompense, making amends for transgressions and restoring mana. Mead (2003) describes a three-stage process when a breach of tikanga Māori has occurred through a transgression or wrong action as take, utu and ea. Take is the issue that needs to be resolved. Utu is the agreed price, action or recompense needed to be paid and ea refers to the restoring of harmony. To simplify the three stages to a prescribed protocol is not possible. It is about a process; a deliberation and reparation. Utu can also be about the good and the reciprocation of generosity and giving, not only about penalty (Ahu, Hoare & Stephens, 2011).

Repeat family violence offending suggests that there is a need to revisit conventional sentencing methodologies in criminal justice contexts. An indigenous legal system such as tikanga Māori is

recommended to be effective for Māori, recognising a Māori worldview (Toki, 2009). Ngā Kooti Rangatahi was established to encourage strong cultural links and involvement of whānau, iwi and hapu in the youth justice process, leading to part of the Youth Court process being on marae to help reconnect young Māori with their culture and reduce their risk of reoffending. In 2012, an evaluation of the Rangatahi Courts was submitted to the New Zealand Ministry of Justice and found positive outcomes had been achieved, including high levels of attendance, positive relationship building, improved attitudes and behaviour, and responsibility and connection with marae and mentoring. The role of kaumātua¹⁵ was key to achieving positive outcomes (Kaipuke, 2012).

Where accountability and restoration of well-being is elusive, there is a widely recognised problem of re-victimisation and re-traumatisation of those experiencing violence. People who use abuse can remain unaccountable to those of whom they abused, hampering the well-being of survivors (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). So, more needs to be done to safely bring the understandings and needs of survivors to the forefront of actions and responses to the issues of accountability, restoration and reparation. It is clearly evident there is much work to do to honour and understand the perspectives of people experiencing violence, whānau, hapu, iwi, families and communities that have been impacted by violence, and to understand and honour the cultural paradigms influencing responses. This remains a contemporary challenge facing the family violence landscape. Therefore, a focus on Pacific people's responses within contemporary Aotearoa New Zealand is explored next in an effort to further understand the influences of cultural paradigms within the family violence landscape.

¹⁵ Kaumātua- adult, elder, elderly man, elderly woman, old man – a person of status within the whānau (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=kaumātua>)

Within the contemporary family violence landscape, Pacific peoples' initiatives for preventing family violence are aimed at paving the way for improving family violence statistics within Pacific communities. Again, a broader, holistic perspective is taken when addressing family violence. Such initiatives include Pasefika Proud, which is a campaign for family violence prevention. It aims to encourage Pacific communities to take responsibility, find solutions and implement them in order to prevent and address violence. This entails building strong healthy families, changing attitudes and behaviour. Pasefika Proud runs training including Pacific Family Violence training to build workforce capability and development, provide support and resources. They also convene community fono and work to dispel myths that act as excuses for violence (Pasefika Proud, 2019). Sexual violence, which can occur within the context of family violence, is viewed as a breach of the sacred value of women. Sexual violence disrupts balance holistically: from a mental, physical, emotional, spiritual and psychological perspective and the relationships between God, the environment and other people. This may lead to shaming of the person who has used abuse through social disapproval. A restoration process needs to occur to restore the balance needed for well-being (Percival et al., 2010).

There are extensive gaps in literature concerning the philosophical worldviews of seven Pacific cultures (Peteru, 2012). A particular concern is a lack of literature focusing on how violence can enter families and the cultural pathways that may be taken to lead towards restoration of well-being and harmony. The assumption that the Pacific nations are a homogeneous ethnic group is compounded by predominately Eurocentric theories through which family violence is articulated in many forums. This presumption silences the ethnically specific worldviews of each of the Pacific cultures. Silencing serves to distance people from a more comprehensive understanding of family violence available within the rich conceptual framework of each of these cultures. The ability to reach for solutions to the problem, and effective, culturally sensitive interventions may

be hampered, meaning our responses may fall short of the mark. Nga vaka o Kāiga tapu is a Pacific conceptual framework to address family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand. It is translated as “The Sailing Vessels of Sacred Families”. Vaka represents the knowledge, values and concepts of each of the nations that strengthen well-being. Kāiga symbolises living and past families inscribed in genealogies in which roles and familial obligations are understood and it is about the legacy that is left behind for future generations. It incorporates understandings from seven Pacific Island nations/groups including Cook Islands, Niue, Samoa, Fiji, Tuvalu, Tonga and Tokelau. Within the different frameworks of each group are their own ethnic specific worldviews and these inform each framework and their understandings relating to family violence (Ministry of Social Development, 2012).

Some understandings serve to further isolate and distort specific cultural worldviews. While violence is sometimes enacted, its practice is not supported by the authority of cultural foundations of Pacific communities. Further research is needed to understand more fully how core concepts and cultural principles of respectful relationships can be distorted and misinterpreted to justify family violence. Future areas for exploration and development include the impact of stereotypes on self and collective conceptualisations; what is meant by well-being and its restoration; obligations and duties, covenantal relationships and matriarchal roles. Further exploration of spirituality, Christianity, colonisation, migration, inequalities, tapu relationships and identity could help to strengthen understanding of how best to respond to the needs of Pacific peoples and provide an informed and effective intervention concerning family violence as we move from the contemporary landscape into the future (Peteru, 2012).

There are gaps in research on family violence in some Asian communities in Aotearoa New Zealand. Triggers for family violence in some Asian communities including difficulty for

migrants from China South and South East Asia adjusting to life in Aotearoa New Zealand, particularly if financial hardship brought upon by unemployment is involved. There could also be a backlash for women wanting to find work and becoming financially independent, resulting in extreme abuse and violence. Barriers to intervention include the belief that family violence is a private matter, women having no one to support them and there could be issues with extended family and unresponsiveness when seeking help. Sometimes there is a tendency to hide family violence and a desire to keep marriages intact (Tse, 2007). Many agencies are currently not equipped to respond comprehensively to the needs of youth from Asian and Middle Eastern ethnic backgrounds (Mayeda & Vijaykumar, 2015). Research from the United States also highlights gaps in research exploring family violence occurring in Asian migrant communities, yet responses must be culturally appropriate. Collaborating with religious institutions to understand how education and prevention programmes and initiatives may be developed and a focus on service integration could be some steps in response enhancement (Lee & Hadeed, 2009). Taking into consideration Asian values, attitudes and beliefs in responding to family violence and developing interventions is also needed (Weil & Lee, 2004). Research found barriers for South Asian women in America experiencing family violence are compounded by cultural, class and institutional marginalisation (Dasgupta, 2000). Family violence in ethnic and migrant communities in Aotearoa New Zealand is underreported. Language barriers, isolation and limited pathways for safe disclosure compound this issue (Simon-Kumar, 2019). Leaving a relationship can also be made more difficult by the prospect of men withdrawing their sponsorship of women into Aotearoa New Zealand, making deportation a threat (Nair, 2017). So not only may our responses to family violence in diverse ethnic communities be deficient, there are also compounding barriers to intervention that need to be better understood in order to respond effectively.

Historically and enduringly in the contemporary family landscape, responses, support and interventions have been predominately set up to service family violence as men's violence against women in binary sex/gender categories of either male or female and immutable (not changing after birth). This means trans or gender diverse people can be misgendered regularly and experience a lack of service responsiveness. A limited resource base is likely to have contributed to limited support. However, research recommendations include incorporating gender diverse people's experiences of partner violence at strategic, policy and service planning levels, increasing training of mainstream service and rainbow communities' agencies, and increasing knowledge of how to help within friends, family and community (Dickson, 2016). The little research in the field of violence and gender diversity suggests in the contemporary landscape there is a gap of knowledge from the people experiencing family violence in these communities.

I acknowledge in my discussion of the historical and contemporary landscape of family violence that many other cultures and minority groups also journey through this landscape and this story does not delve deeply into multiple cultural or minority perspectives due to the limits of scope and the experiences of collaborating participants. I acknowledge these limitations as I conclude the discussion on the historical and contemporary landscape and move into articulating the methodological process for the current project.

THE METHODOLOGY STORY

The stories of the methodology and the research journey are interwoven. The journey that began with me, gathered momentum as the methodology evolved and other voices joined mine. This chapter combines both a reflexive and descriptive approach to articulate the process of methodology in a connected way as it flows through the research journey and thematic discoveries. Hence, I include some thematic information to help bring the methodology to life and connect its story with the rest of the thesis.

The ideology of this research began with thoughts of probing deep inside the complex phenomenon of family violence, searching in the experiences and understandings in the family violence landscape in the hope of offering suggestions and contributions to knowledge in the movement towards the elimination of violence. My journey through this landscape had illuminated different areas where voices brought forth their stories. I believed there was a wealth of understanding and diversity of experience within the frontline of domestic violence responders and among the layers of lived experience that sometimes resided within their voices. Their knowledge had not flowed into the research arena to be documented in the research literature, and indeed had not flowed into all places within the government sector to help inform policy and investment. It was sometimes lost when people left the landscape or when their understandings were not widely known. It concerned me that this knowledge could hold potential to illuminate some understandings of what could really help to strengthen effective support for families and whānau. While many people worked tirelessly and effectively to reduce violence and abuse, I thought that more could be done, and done better, to address the problem. I still heard voices of people experiencing violence and using violence that indicated their needs were sometimes not met by responses, or responses were lacking for them. In my experience, the family violence landscape could have a rough and arduous terrain that makes it hard for people to journey

through it to a more peaceful destination. It was this understanding that motivated me to begin the research journey, to travel down its route gathering voices of people and their understandings from the landscape; to try to understand relationships between the ‘dominant voices’ and voices that were not heard as loudly or were silenced, and existing alliances and collaborations that did connect the understanding of needs with understandings of responses. The goal was also bringing voices together to understand them more fully and benefit from the knowledge they brought to inform movement towards the elimination of violence. From these first beginnings emerged a methodological framework and a collaborative understanding of the potential benefit of such a research endeavour. The project drew support from Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga as a first step in the collaborative approach of the research methodology (Appendices A and B).

The research methodology that was chosen had to be a good fit for the aim of exploring the understandings and experiences of frontline workers. It had to gather understandings from the rich knowledge within the family violence landscape and provide insights into what were effective approaches, strategies and initiatives to address family violence. I investigated the methodological issues of different approaches to help me decide the methodology that would best suit the vision of the research. Historically, if intervention effectiveness and its measurement is explored, recidivism, and predominately physical violence recidivism aligning with legislative systems, is a dominant voice (Edleson, 2012). Methodological issues have contributed to a kaleidoscope of results. They involve lack of agreed definitions and appropriate measures, and differences between intervention and research paradigms. For instance, the literature highlights measures for recidivism including self-report, official statistics and victim reports. Self-report and administrative data often underestimate recidivism rates, and problems with lack of attention to victim feedback and victim reporting of recidivism make measuring

reoffending a complex task (Palmer, Brown & Barrera, 1992; Stringer, 2010; Lievore & Mayhew, 2007).

Definitions of recidivism have not been standardised, meaning that studies differ in relation to what counts as recidivism; whether this includes only physical abuse, some emotional abuse or the full spectrum of abusive behaviours. Westmarland, Kelly and Chalder-Mills (2010) caution against reducing measures of recidivism to single occurrences of physical abuse because this does not take into consideration the myriad of coercive abusive tactics that may be used by perpetrators, such as threats and put downs. Such tactics have been found to be the primary risk factor associated with domestic violence homicides and reported by women to be more depleting than physical abuse. Eckhardt, Murphy, Black and Suhr (2006) highlight that only infrequent attention has been paid to psychological abuse when measuring recidivism and recommend the inclusion of both psychological and physical abuse outcome variables. Disagreement about what constitutes a suitable follow up period across studies also complicates recidivism measurement (Laing, 2002). The natural process of diminishing rates of domestic violence recidivism as a function of aging is also a factor to consider when assessing programme effectiveness (Nelson, 2013), but it is rarely taken into account in a consistent way.

Risk assessment can provide a picture of the predicted likelihood and level of severity for future and realised perpetration of abusive behaviours. In this approach, risk relates to expected severity of recidivism. Measurement of risk is commonly undertaken at an initial intake assessment when an offender is admitted to an intervention programme. Sometimes there is no further formal assessment of risk throughout the programme. Risk is not a static phenomenon but fluid and changeable, so measurement of risk should be continual (Cagney & McMaster 2013). This can complicate the picture of effectiveness. If risk increases but is not measured again,

appropriate intervention and response may not occur which could compound the likelihood of reoccurrence of abusive behaviour and mean that support to strengthen relapse prevention strategies may not be provided. The picture of 'measured' effectiveness influenced by understandings of risk may remain static and not reflect changes in the risk of severe perpetration of abuse, potentially meaning recidivism is also hidden.

When measuring perpetrator attitude and behaviour in an effort to determine effectiveness of interventional support, Jackson et al., (2003) tell us that there is a lack of valid and reliable measures for offender attitude and behaviour and makes particular reference to the Conflict Tactics Scale. Although the measure has sometimes been used, it was not designed to be used over time, so it was not an appropriate tool to measure before and after changes in attitude and behaviour. However, it was used for this purpose in some domestic violence research. It is also a highly controversial scale in the literature because it treats violent acts as discrete and does not take account of the way they are interrelated into an ongoing pattern of behaviour. Not only measurement is a difficulty for evaluative research projects. Additionally, an historical lack of governmental evaluation of programmes or investment in evaluation may also contributed to the shortage of robust programme evaluations (Denne, Coombes & Morgan, 2013). These difficulties may be compounded by the nuance that the population being investigated may be transient or stressed. In some cases, mental health issues and safety implications may decrease the chances of comprehensive, long term participation in research. The difficulty in obtaining consensus regarding standardisation of measurements and terminologies, combined with complexities relating to the populations being studied, has resulted in a problematic research profile with lack of clarity and cohesion regarding research findings.

Qualitative research and Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Qualitative research contrasts with the quantitative measurement paradigm and offers a different epistemological foundation. It can provide flexibility to centre the participant as the driver of the research process rather than the hypothesis of the researcher. This has the potential to expand the research knowledge base as the participant may have the opportunity to contribute their experience, understandings and knowledge in a broader way. Some qualitative research methodologies view subjectivity as an integral part of the human condition. This subjectivity, when acknowledged and explored through reflexivity, produces a richness and transparency in the research findings. The dynamics of family violence lend themselves to qualitative exploration on a number of grounds. The experience of family violence, its complexity and diversity, its layers of covert and overt, static and changeable risks, and the uniqueness and commonalities found across people's experiences fit a qualitative framework that makes allowance for the complexity of the phenomenon. As I searched within qualitative methodologies, I found one methodology that I considered fitted my aims: The qualitative methodology of Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA). The reasons for this choice are provided in the following paragraphs where both the critiques and advantages of IPA are discussed. IPA is a useful methodology for this research because it attends to personal lived experience, and the hopes and dreams for change that can be lived. Accounts of lived experience can provide a depth of knowledge that can transcend simplicity, enabling exploration of sense-making and understandings and the ability to enrich findings. IPA is valuable in that it can examine complex and emotionally laden topics. When the researcher has a strong empathic engagement and an interest in probing further into important interest areas, they can strengthen the value of IPA (Smith & Osborn, 2015).

IPA is a qualitative research method and contemporary approach in psychology that provides an alternative to quantitative and other qualitative research methodologies in that it draws upon earlier qualitative theoretical underpinnings. Particularly it draws upon Martin Heidegger's hermeneutic theorising (Heidegger, 2008) and Edmund Husserl's phenomenological reasoning (Husserl, 1970). IPA offers the possibility of exploring the rich emotional meanings related to people's experiences and of revealing new insights (Gill, 2015). Smith (1996) emphasised IPA's view of the process of research being dynamic. An ability to change and adapt during a research process is advantageous when exploring family violence as some of its dynamics can be more readily brought into view. Husserl's phenomenology emphasises lived experience (Van Manen, 2007). Heidegger's focus on the meanings of humans in the world suggested the priority given to personal thought was over emphasised in the Western worldview, he instead emphasised 'person-in context' (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). These approaches of Heidegger and Husserl fit comfortably within the context of the phenomenon of family violence that is rooted in experience and its aftermath. Additionally, IPA draws on Gadamer's (1960) *Truth and Method* which developed philosophical hermeneutics and established the hermeneutical as a distinctive philosophical inquiry, promoting its use which is still applicable over fifty years on (Malpas & Zabala, 2010). Informed by hermeneutic phenomenology, IPA gained popularity in health psychology, though its influence expands beyond this to other disciplines such as education and management; its applicability can be far reaching (Smith, 2017).

The primary goal of IPA researchers can be understood as an exploration of people's sense-making and how they bring sense to their experiences, to try to "*stand in the shoes of someone else*" and endeavour to understand their perspective. By engaging with participants, the researcher is able to formulate critical questions relating to the emerging information they share, such as those concerning what people were trying to achieve in their communication and what

was their intention. The process of IPA is both descriptive and interpretative. It is also ideographic. IPA contrasts with nomothetic principles concerned with the probability of phenomena occurring under certain conditions, by taking an idiographic focus on the individual's experiences, and also a focus on how the individual is understood within the context of other voices and how these voices together can have combined understandings and a collective voice as well. Semi-structured in-depth individual interviews are the popularised way of data gathering for an IPA approach and this was followed for this research. A warm-up discussion can be used that flows into key questions or prompts which can be prepared beforehand and can act as a conversation starter (see Appendix C which outlines the interview prompts formulated for stage one of this research). The researcher should be comfortable with moments of silence during an interview to allow for reflective space. The researcher should try to be aware of non-verbal as well as verbal communication and monitor how the participant feels and how the interview may be affecting them (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012). In this research, a risk of emotional impact was apparent due to the nature of the issue being discussed and explored. Consequently, Pietkiewicz and Smith's (2012) emphasis on awareness of non-verbal clues and monitoring was particularly important to incorporate into the research process. Fortunately given my background I had the ability to offer some on the spot initial support if needed and the ability to refer contributors to support services if required.

For analysis, recordings of interactions with participants support the researcher's experience of interviewing. Transforming data through a coding process into emergent themes and then clustering themes into relationships is a key IPA process (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012). The process results in a themes table that represents them. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) tell us emotional experience is one of the strongest themes in IPA literature. Emotions and their multiple dimensions are an important aspect of IPA work. Smith (2004) recognises levels of

interpretation are present in IPA ideology such as social comparison and use of metaphor. This research draws upon the use of metaphor that characterised narrative understandings of the research contributors. While fitting the purpose of this research, not all of the research community is in agreement with the purported virtues of IPA.

Critique of IPA

IPA's reliability and validity have been questioned and concerns raised when it was demonstrated in some cases that two researchers analysing the same data, would not replicate the analysis (Golsworthy & Coyle, 2001). Although a counter to this may be that IPA does not aim for replication and generalisability, Salmon (2003) was concerned with the kind of validity criteria that should be used in the absence of generalisability. There is a need for widespread understanding that IPA does not assume that the process of interpretation is a matter of merely a recounting, repeating or replicating the content of participants' narratives. Since it is based on hermeneutic phenomenological principles, it should not be evaluated through post-positivist epistemological assumptions. Researchers have argued that the process of IPA analysis involves shifting focuses between idiographic sense-making, and interpretations. They suggest there would be little room left for repetition of analytic findings if the essence of this conceptualisation of IPA was adhered to (Pietkiewicz & Smith, 2012). When I considered Golsworthy and Coyle's (2001) concern regarding replication, and whether choosing IPA could jeopardise the comprehensiveness of this research - perhaps through readers calling into question the validity of the themes if my interpretation did not match theirs - I concluded that diversity of interpretation is an important aspect of understanding others' experiences, rather than a problem. We can have different viewpoints, each of which may be meaningful, so this does not present a problem for validity. It may represent breadth of knowledge. Perhaps in sameness, we find consensus, but in diversity there is room for expanding our knowledge and an opportunity can present itself for a

deeper, broader understanding for all. I hope that perhaps this research can act as a conversation starter, a place where different views to my own can be shared to reach further along the road to the destination of non-violence that so many of us are seeking to achieve.

Some applicable and flexible principles for assessing IPA's own terms have been suggested. There were the four criteria as set out by Yardley (2000): *sensitivity to context, commitment to rigour, transparency and coherence, and impact and importance*. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) explore how we may understand these criteria as principles if they are applied within the context of IPA research. *Sensitivity to context* refers to an awareness of contextual influences impinging on the research. This sensitivity should be evident at the design stage of the research, where consideration of context will influence the choice of methodology. Choosing IPA for this research enabled specific contextual and experiential influences that impacted understandings to be brought to light. The context, both historical and contemporary that contributors brought to the research process and their unique lived experiences, could be explored through choosing IPA and so could be understood as sensitivity to multiple contexts: The context of the voices as they were understood on their own terms, and together as alliances, as collaborators, as advocates, as activists, as dissenters, as relationships. Each voice and the sense-making it brought to the research is also embedded in context, as is the research itself. The context in which the research took place and the research voices talking about the social context upon which their understandings of family violence were built, all produced a contextual sensitivity. Throughout the research journey, the interplay between the researcher and the researched is acknowledged and demonstrates sensitivity to context. Experiences and environmental dynamics cannot be isolated from the research within the paradigm of IPA. Successful IPA demonstrates the researcher's sensitivity to the research experience of contributors. Efforts to make them comfortable, for example the contributors choosing the place for the interviews to take place and

being offered support if needed, demonstrate a certain level of sensitivity in this research. Handling the data in a sensitive way such as verifying initial analysis so thematic structures were informed by contributors' feedback, could be viewed in the same light. The environment is immersed in a complexity of societal and personal dynamics, power structures and diverse conceptualisations of family violence, so sensitivity to these issues was essential. *Commitment to rigour* refers to robust research processes. In this research multiple iterations were involved in the data analysis process including an idiographic focus on individual contributions, and then comparison across multiple cases. From the attentive listening and explorative probing of the interview process, through reflective line-by-line initial coding, to the final reiterated and refined thematic summary, IPA demonstrates a commitment to comprehensive data gathering and analysis. Purposefully choosing a suitable sample that befits the research issue under exploration and then further refining and adding to this sample based on the emerging data, with a constant checking of sense-making related to the data, was rigorous. *Transparency and coherence* refer to how easily others can understand and follow the interpretative and sense-making pathway of the researcher. Describing my background provides for a certain transparency that allows the reader to understand some of my influences in the research process. *Impact and importance* suggest how useful, interesting or informative a study may be; an assessment that readers, rather than the researcher will make.

Salmon (2003) raised a concern that IPA research could reflect more about the researcher than the participant. The researcher interprets through their own lens and therefore influences the research with their own analytical priorities. Therefore, a clear acknowledgement of the positioning, interests and previous experiential influences relating to the researcher is vital for the endeavour of research transparency (Brocki & Wearden, 2006). I acknowledge that my interests and influences resonate in the research journey and resulting findings. Given another

researcher, the journey, data analysis and data collection would likely have been different. What seemed important to me or significant thematically may have been interpreted differently by others. Perhaps a way forward to help to allay these concerns is through Hefferon and Gil-Rodriguez (2011), who recommended use of good quality research supervision to help avoid misapplication of IPA. This can act as a peer review mechanism and facilitator of movement of IPA research that is broadly descriptive compared to in-depth analysis, reflexivity and interpretation. In this research I engaged a process of consultant feedback on initial analyses and stage one participant themes, as well as supervision review. These components are discussed in greater depth in the paragraphs that follow. Also, I was still immersed as a worker and advocate in the community space of the family violence landscape during the research process, and so the voices of those I continued to hear during this time helped to ground and centre the research themes in some of the realities and complexities experienced by people impacted by family violence. Later in the research process, I also walked in the government landscape which contrasted with the community and heightened my sensitivity to differences in context as well as the significance of the contributors' voices in another setting.

The IPA process

To understand more about IPA, we can look to the specifics of the process and how they have been applied in this research. Essentially, the researcher engages in an idiographic focus on participants' experiences and understanding participants' experiences using an interpretative, reflective and subjective practice. This allows for interpretations to be drawn from theoretical perspectives derived from research voices (Reid, Flowers & Larkin, 2005). A double hermeneutic is created by the researcher's efforts to make sense of the participants endeavour to make sense of their own experience (Giddens, 1987). In this research I endeavoured to understand the sense-making of the participants in relation to their experiences in the family

violence landscape and the broader social relationships they were embedded in. What impacted on their thinking? How might their own previous experiences have influenced the narratives that were created in the research process? We see one aspect of this exploration in the articulation of the layers of the self. The explicit surface and visible layers and the complexity of self are explained in more depth later in this section.

IPA attempts to identify the participants' 'objects of concern' and their 'experiential claims.' In this research what they found important, their concerns and experiences are a central focus of the research endeavour. IPA acknowledges that it is not possible to grasp the internal experience of a participant, to depict this exactly as they have experienced it. I also acknowledge my sense-making is not an exact replication of participants; we are different in our life experiences, embedded in diverse social and cultural contexts and our sense-making is related to this. The researcher's interpretations can only be based on the 'participant-in-context' amidst an environment of existing meaningful objects and experiences, including those of the researcher such as the researcher's pre-existing understanding, their experience throughout the research journey, and in the moment of sense-making. Researchers using IPA attempt to balance representation with interpretation. They seek to honour participants' particular voices while also making interpretations and conclusions that may or may not be congruent with those of the participants. This is significant because it is not assumed both are the same (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). The researcher interprets the meaning participants attribute to their experience while reflecting on their own experience influencing this process. In an effort to bring my sense-making closer to participants, the research process was refined along the way. Later I discuss how this transpired in detail. In brief, the refinement involved undertaking a different process for consultants in stage two of the research where a grouping of themes and related quotes were given to them after their interviews, rather than a direct transcript of their contributions. So

perhaps this could be understood as affording the research process a degree of transparency of sense-making. Consultants had the opportunity to see my initial sense-making of their stories. They could then comment on these first thematic ideas to see if they aligned with their sense-making and meaning or not.

IPA is an approach and process rather than a ridged set of analytic steps. It is a methodology not a prescribed method. In this respect IPA is evolving with understandings of what it is evolving, building upon previous work and incorporating contemporary meaning into its phenomenological roots. Future understanding of IPA is likely to change as this evolving process continues (Laverty, 2003). This compliments the acknowledgement in IPA of dynamic fluidity and that we cannot fully capture and understand the experiences and understandings of others as they are influenced by our own uniquely constructed phenomenological reasoning, meaning flexibility is needed as each person's experience and implementation of IPA will be unique. At the commencement of the research, a researcher has preconceptions that shape the interpretative exploration of the phenomenon yet as the research continues their standpoint is influenced and may be revised or expanded on by their interaction with the phenomenon. The researcher may evaluate their original position and then refine it based on their most recent experience and understanding in the research process. This is described as the hermeneutic circle (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). We have heard my positioning experience that motivated me to engage in the research. In the paragraphs ahead, we see my learning of research develops as the research progresses. My understanding of the family violence landscape is different at the beginning and at the end of my research journey because within this journey I have listened and learnt from the voices of others. We see the experiences of the research contributors reshape, and indeed redefine, the research scope and vision along the journey of the research. Together in this

synergy of the participants and myself that the experience of the research is built. Iteration upon iteration. It is the hermeneutic circle in motion.

An IPA research study may use either semi-structured or unstructured interview methods, accommodating flexibility and a conversational approach. Transcripts may be read through several times to identify common themes, further coding produces a deepening understanding of the data and more detail to themes as they move from generic to the ‘core essence’ of the participants’ account expressions (Alase, 2017).

The overall analysis process, therefore, involves an initial coding followed by an initial development of themes, enhanced by a feedback process, which leads to a final structure of themes that make up the research conclusions. Researcher reflexivity explores the impact of researcher preconceptions, experiences and understandings and challenges the researcher to see and explore alternative versions of the thematic structure that may present new understandings they have not experienced before. Transparency is a cornerstone of the IPA process and researcher disclosure of preconceptions is just part of this process. It provides the reader of the research with a background that highlights the factors that may impact on the research such as the researcher’s experience and sense-making which the reader can then consider when they are evaluating the research conclusions. It is important to note that the inherent flexibility of the IPA approach is not aligned with lack of applicability or rigour. In fact, an extremely detailed analysis of the participants’ accounts is the central foundation of the IPA process (Larkin, Watts & Clifton, 2006). In this research, reflexivity was also about the movement of the parts of the research, the voices and relationships between these voices including the relationship between the research contributors and myself, the understandings and sense-making that were built during

the research process, and the multi-layered influences of society, culture and gender.

Understandings that connected in a collective voice, understandings that were unique.

IPA does not impose boundaries on the research but instead it opens up the possibilities of exploration of the phenomenon, opening spaces for learning and the potential of IPA to encourage, through this process, motivation for collective action. This has potential benefits applicable to this research by increasing the spectrum of possibilities available to find workable solutions to the domestic violence problem. IPA's epistemological focus on idiographic investigation meant that a detailed analysis of each case took place which thoroughly investigated the participant experience honouring their unique contribution, and then compared and contrasted this with multiple cases. This is a way IPA has potential to challenge static systems of meaning imposed by structures and institutions that may work to silence diversity and uniqueness of experience. This process is ideally suited for exploration of 'hidden voices' and is a way to strengthen these voices because they are not lost in the generalness of broader and less detailed approaches to analysis. IPA is respectful of participant involvement that is aware of the dynamics of power and control that permeate the sector; IPA lends itself toward projects that seek to practice ethical relationships and value reciprocity. Positioning the participants, the voices of the research, where their stories inform the thematic outcomes of the research enables a collaboration of expertise to emerge. I also acknowledge the complicated nature of power, its many layers, effects and influences and realise as a researcher I occupy a place of privilege. I reflect on and remember the voices of the many survivors I have been privileged to meet and hope I represent these relationships between us, that inform my understandings, within this research.

In the next section I explain the research process as it unfolded. Smith, Flowers and Larkin (2009) propose IPA is an iteratively evolving process that promotes creativity and innovative possibilities, opening up a wonderful window of opportunity to explore voices of participants in an exciting way. The methodology I have used evolves as it is transformed by the voices and influences of those partaking in the research. Smith (2004) encourages us to extend data collection methods from the commonly used IPA semi-structured interview approach. In the following sections we see this research was gifted a vignette, written understandings and poetry that formed part of the meaningful contributions that fed and enriched the story of this research.

The research contributors' recruitment, data collection and analysis

This research involved two stages. From an ethical perspective potential risks, conflicts of interests, benefits and sensitivities needed to be considered for both stages especially given the subject under exploration. Participants were trained/specialised professionals with their own supervision/support in place. In consultation with the research supervisors, the ethical issues were discussed, and the research was peer reviewed and assessed to be low risk, given all the professional experience and support that potential participants could access. Previous or current clients of mine and children were excluded from the recruitment process, as was anyone who, due to professional relationships, may feel coerced into participating through social power relations such as any of my supervisees. Participants' experiential knowledge was gathered via semi-structured interviews.

Stage one

Potential contributors were sent an information sheet (Appendix D) describing the research and inviting them to participate, ask further questions or decline the invitation to participate.

Contributors were also given a consent form regarding the research. They had the opportunity to ask further questions about the research before providing their informed written consent by signing the consent form (Appendix E) to participate if they wished to do so. All contributors chose where they wished to be interviewed. A flexible interview structure was used to ensure that participants were able to lead the conversation with the interviewer and that their narratives were not limited by the interviewer's prior knowledge. An initial preliminary interview schedule of prompts acted as a conversation starter if this was needed (Appendix C).

A participant sample of nine was recruited for the first stage. This was consistent with IPA research methods that characteristically use small sample sizes to enable an intensive idiographic, interpretative and comparative focus aimed at understanding the experiential accounts of participants. The research participants were purposefully recruited for their experience in facilitating stopping violence programmes, through my own personal knowledge of workers from my years in the field and through snowballing. Snowballing is a process by which people who have already been approached to be participants can offer suggestions of others who they recommend will bring valuable knowledge to the research project. Snowballing means that participants can impact on the recruitment process, further influencing the research beyond the researcher's understanding (Noy, 2008). Most participants had extensive experience in the field of family violence with many having spent several decades working to reduce family violence, enabling them to provide an historical perspective to their understandings. However, not all participants had lengthy experience and therefore some provided a solely contemporary narrative which brought a fresh perspective to the understandings that emerged. While the majority had worked in stopping violence intervention programmes with perpetrators, some had also worked with victims, couples, youth, children and families. Some of them had moved into other roles with related focuses, for example managerial positions and strategic development, integrated

response participation, counselling, child advocacy or social change areas. Some had worked for both non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and governmental agencies during their career. Their transitioning of career roles provided multiple lenses of experience even within individual cases and broadened the pathways of understandings that unfolded about the family violence landscape. Some also had personal lived experience of family violence. This brought diversity to their voices.

The interviews were recorded on digital recorders and transcribed to include both researcher and participant contributions, with only identifying information being omitted. The transcribed text was returned to participants for checking, and any changes they suggested were incorporated in the finalised transcript. All but one of the participants released their transcripts for use in reporting the research (Appendix F). One participant felt their contribution was not coherent, expert enough and would not add value so they chose not to release it. This issue led to reflection upon the process of transcript approval being used and resulted in an amendment to the procedure for stage two of the research (discussed below). Some people involved in the research came with a hesitancy about the value of their contribution, and doubt that their experience and knowledge would be ‘good enough’ to be taken from the frontline into the academic arena. This could be interpreted as an apprehensiveness to step over and into a different sectoral space; one that was perhaps perceived as holding a different perspective. Their accounts confirmed that their contributions were very valuable. Perhaps we can understand this dynamic when we set it in context. Sometimes their voices had not been heard in the past, there had been barriers and frustrations that hampered their work and silenced their understandings. In the story ahead, we see this experience described as “a whipping to nowhere”. A sometimes harsh and unrelenting environment provided context to their experiences in the family violence landscape and likely

formed part of their sense-making about the value of the contribution if their experiences and knowledge that were not valued in the wider context of their work.

Merging participants' knowledge into research pathways was a key element of the project. It brought their extensive experience into the light of research analysis and was a way to record their perspectives so these could be available to others to reflect on and build on. The process for some was described as cathartic in terms of providing a platform upon which to convey their viewpoints. In confidence and privacy, some participants gained freedom to express their concerns more openly than their overt roles might have accommodated. In this respect perhaps, confidentiality may be seen as a benefit of the research and suggesting the potential to bring some 'hidden voices' into the open. Then we may consider again the previous discussion on power dynamics, historical and contemporary context, and other influences, and reflect that despite the accommodating that IPA methodology allows, some participants may still have been limited to fully express all their perspectives and insights.

As a first step in stage one analysis the transcripts were read multiple times. Then the ideographic coding stage commenced, and extensive notes were taken during the process of coding significant objects of concern, experiential claims, and specific understandings. An iterative process of thickening interpretative notes and comparisons across transcripts for a final analysis resulted in the formation of both superordinate and subordinate themes. Interestingly, the analysis revealed that in participants' accounts there was an expanded vision that looked at the entire response to family violence, focusing on problematic as well as functional responses. The research project expanded, being led by this knowledge, from an initial intention to investigate effective strategies in perpetrator intervention programmes to an investigation of the wider response to family violence, and an exploration of both effective and ineffective responses.

Tellingly, the research also indicated the voices of children and survivors were silenced, and there was fragmentation of responses and understandings. The key findings that were developed from thematic analysis in stage one were identified and they are reproduced in Table 1, below.

Table 1

KEY FINDINGS – STAGE ONE
Fragmentation, polarisation and a lack of unified vision has impacted negatively on the response to domestic violence and therefore this needs to be addressed to improve effectiveness in dealing with family violence
A gender analysis should be applied to our understanding of domestic violence
Voices of children and survivors need to be strengthened
Perceptions and stereotypes about domestic violence have a significant impact on responses to the problem
Victim blaming perceptions continue to create obstacles for survivors and strategies that focus on the elimination of these perceptions is advisable
Some initiatives and strategies have not been implemented well and sufficient monitoring and evaluation has not taken place so current and future initiatives need to remedy this
Comprehensive, long term investment approaches are preferable to perceived ‘magic solution’ short term approaches to the issue
More research is needed to understand the nuances of the problem in marginalised groups and aid better resourcing in these areas
Some effective strategies have been implemented successfully. In particular social change messages and initiatives such as <i>White Ribbon</i> and the <i>It’s Not OK</i> campaign
Expanding prevention and education work is advisable
‘Affordable safety’ needs to be able to be accessible to all survivors
A systemic approach from a governmental, community, family and whānau perspective needs to occur
Pro social environments are a key factor in the maintenance and prevention of violence
An eclectic approach to intervention work with the application of dynamic and interactive techniques is recommended
The sector needs to be rethought and creative ways of addressing family violence incorporated in responses

Stage two

The expert experiential knowledge analysed in stage one is, predominately that of workers in stopping violence intervention programmes. Yet their experiences extended the scope of the research project by opening up concerns I had not expected. Since participants in stage one had more homogenous experience of domestic violence responses, the second stage of the research was carefully managed to compliment the broadened scope of the project. Firstly, potential areas for elaboration and expansion of understandings emerging from the analysis of stage one were identified. In turn, this informed the recruitment process for the second stage of the research involving consultants purposely recruited for particular expertise in specialisations such as cultural, child and youth and family, gender analysis, adult victim, and systemic coordination. As with stage one, stage two contributors were recruited via snowballing and my knowledge of workers in the field. Potential contributors were also given an information sheet regarding the research. They had the opportunity to ask further questions about the research before providing their written consent to participate (Appendix H) if they wished to do so. The themes from stage one and information about the research were shared with five consultants from diverse professional backgrounds connected with the response to family violence (Appendix G). All the consultants choose to contribute and chose where they wished to be interviewed. Consultation discussions took place with these professionals to obtain their feedback on stage one analysis and to elaborate on issues of interest to them. The aim of this process was to strengthen the thematic analysis of stage one, through expert, rich accounts that involved elaboration, diversification, confirmation and expansion of the earlier analysis. It allowed for thematic data to be triangulated, strengthening reliability and validity. Consultants also had the opportunity to share any further insights to ensure that they did not feel constrained by my focus on the key findings of stage one.

A different process for data checking was followed with consultants. This arose out of the ambivalence in some stage one participants that their word-for-word transcripts were not coherent enough; essentially, they felt their words lacked coherence and succinctness. We revisit that one participant does not release their transcript due to this reason and, in reflection of this a new iteration of the research process occurred. When providing data back to consultants, it was presented by consultant discussion quotes and initial thematic analysis, which were returned to them for amendment before they approved the release of specific quotes to be used in the research. Through this process consultants had the chance to see the initial analysis and determine whether it matched their vision of a thematic structure of their accounts. The process gave them an opportunity to confirm whether or not the researcher interpretation of their understandings was consistent with their understanding. They had no reticence regarding their contributions, and all consented to their quotes being part of reporting the research (Appendix I). All except one of the conversations with consultants were digitally recorded. One consultant chose not to be digitally recorded. The IPA process in this case allowed for self-determination and autonomy for a contributor to present their knowledge and contribution to the research in the way they wanted to and, in this way, attempted to acknowledge the principles of rangatiratanga¹⁶ significant in their cultural identity. This contributor instead provided a case vignette, reflection piece and poetry. The consultants' discussions that were recorded were listened to many times and coded identifying specific understandings and experiential claims that formulated the initial theme analysis with accompanying discussion quotes. This was the initial analysis that was returned to consultants for their consent to release. An iterative process of thickening interpretative understanding and comparisons across narratives, from both participants and consultants enabled a final analysis resulting in the formation- including both

¹⁶ Rangatiratanga – chieftainship, right to exercise authority, chiefly autonomy, chiefly authority, ownership, leadership of a social group, domain of the *rangatira*, noble birth, attributes of a chief. Kingdom, realm, sovereignty, principality, self-determination, self-management. (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=rangatiratanga>)

superordinate and subordinate themes - contained in the final thematic structure that was informed by both stages of the research. The data from consultants strengthened the themes from stage one, adding experiential diversity and depth of understandings into the nuances of these themes. Consultants' narratives expanded upon concerns as well as effective strategies presented by the stage one participants. Both stages strongly affirmed the presence of victim blaming and that dominant understandings influenced responses, silencing some voices including children and young people. The consultant data provided more detail about how this silencing was reflected in responses. This was expected because of their purposeful recruitment to expand on the findings of stage one. Implementation issues and fragmentation emerging from stage one was expanded upon by consultants with them providing specific examples from their experiences of the impacts and disconnections this caused. Funding criteria of services in both stages' data identified funding was problematic and limiting to the work that was envisaged by the research contributors which could be long term. The implications of gender analysis were woven through both consultant and participant narratives. Both stages data highlighted the importance of relationship, connection and caring. The theme table for the analysis combining stages' one and two is provided at the end of the chapter.

The layers of self

When asked who the contributors to this research story are, we need to explore their layers of self, not only their professional roles that informed their recruitment for the study. Their voices bring forth understandings about children's, adult victims', field workers' and perpetrators' experiences which creates a rich tapestry upon which the thematic formulations arising from the research analysis were constructed. The research story is multidimensional. The layers of self of the participants, consultants, supervisors and researcher shift and interconnect in a dynamic orchestra of the personal and professional, the iterative, reflective and analytic, the theoretical head and emotional heart spaces. The symphony that is created brings together some of the voices across the family violence landscape so we can hear their concerns and their triumphs and learn from them, through this interplay together, helping to create the collective knowledge and movement needed to forge a future way that builds non-violence, feeds a collective passion for change, and ignites dreams, aspirations and healing. The research methodology used acknowledged that people are not 'blank slates'. We all come with our own experiences and understandings to whatever endeavour we undertake, so the layers of the self are not ignored or denied in this research. They are acknowledged, explored and become part of the story.

We see these layers of self in me with a process of dual interpretation occurring. I was informed by my experience in the field, and by my role as a researcher. I carried with me into the research my experiences of the voices of survivors and perpetrators and their families gained from my work in the field over many years, listening to their stories. Some of these voices wanted their stories to be spoken out even though they were not 'direct' participants or consultants in the research. I was conscious of honouring those voices as well as the voices of participants and consultants. This was achieved, for example, through the choice of literature for citation and was an influence in the analytic process through their understandings adding to my analytical process.

However, I also realised the importance of setting aside pre-conceptions and hypotheses to really listen, learn and engage with what the participants and consultants were sharing, whether this was consistent with my own experiences, the voices that I had previously listened to, my beliefs and opinions or not. This enabled me to expand the scope of experiential data and understandings I was able to incorporate into the research themes.

Highlighted in participants' and consultants' layers of self was evidence of personal and professional experiences being sometimes interwoven in their accounts, with a fluid movement between life experiences. Some contributors were recruited with me already being aware of their experiential knowledge, however during the research process sometimes another, more personal layer of the self became apparent. Their personal experience enriched participants' and consultants' narratives rather than invalidating them. It connected the 'head and heart' layers of self, bringing out the tones and rhythms of their voices, adding depth to the symphony. When contributors engaged in their 'heart space' I saw an openness and bravery to share controversial and emotional stories that were a testimony to their passion to help promote understanding and pathways to eliminate violence. Sharing things within the heart space involved a process of connection, empathy and listening. It was a shared process in relationship between the participant and me, connecting the heart spaces between us. When contributors engaged in an analytical and theoretical 'head' space level they opened up many pathways and innovative understandings for change. Both the head and heart spaces were sometimes connected in the narratives as emotion and relationship met with theorising potential action solutions. The implications of our in-depth sharing resulted in an important need for maintaining and protecting confidentiality beyond just changing names and omitting places when reproducing participants' quotes. In consideration of the relatively small workforce with the decades of experience specialising in family violence and the sharing of personal experiences that in some cases needed

to remain separate from professional roles, depersonalising of some information when reporting the thematic analysis was essential. Implicit and explicit narratives in some participants' layers of self were related to experiences as survivor, abuser, service provider and advocate. Ensuring identification of people could not be made by giving due consideration to factors such as the uniqueness of their role, characteristics, story-telling style and language or experience was paramount. Sometimes the highly controversial and sensitive nature of the information they shared meant they requested some of their stories and understandings not to be overtly used in the research. However, their expert knowledge had important implications that impinged on the effectiveness of responses to family violence. Fortunately, during the process of analysis, there were often ways to relay their perspective without compromising or disclosing confidential data. Three ways this was achieved were linking their information to other relevant contributions by different participants and consultants, allowing their accounts to help guide the analytical process influencing the thematic structure and including research literature that mirrored the concerns they had expressed and thereby maintaining the voice that needed to be heard. Consequently, as discussed in the preface, a separate literature review was not included in the thesis. This allowed the literature to flow through the research story, and as is fitting for the goals of IPA and this project, enabled the participants and consultants to influence the literature included in reporting the research. At first the literature is engaged for setting the scene in the historical and contemporary landscape narratives. Subsequently, it is presented where it is centred around contributors' narratives. This strategy enabled me to avoid fragmentation of the hermeneutic circle between me and the research participants from the moment of storytelling where it could most easily add to thematic understanding.

As the more personal layers of self emerged during the research process, care and attention to the needs of contributors was important. Offering further support, lengthening the interview time so

that contributors could continue to talk and process their thoughts and emotions if they wanted, to ensure they felt comfortable after the interview was completed were all important to empathetic listening and care. The emotional themes being explored could evoke distress and so it was important to monitor whether assistance and support was required. Largely, contributors told me that they found the experience of our interview cathartic and it provided a mechanism for them to express their insights, learnings and recommendations.

Relationships

As the research process progressed it became apparent that the importance of some of the characteristics participants and consultants identified as desirable in their therapeutic relationships were also valuable to implement in the research process. So, in a sense, engagement in the research relationship began to form a parallel process that mirrored the findings of the research. Participants and consultants identified that what was important to them was relationships: warm connections with people and, ethical heart relationships. A connection that did not belittle people was significant. A relationship dynamic was needed rather than an 'objective' positioning. The researcher and participant immersed in the research process together. Initially I understood the principles of IPA were to let the participants almost entirely lead the interviews, however as the process continued, I began to envisage the research process differently. I experienced a movement beyond understandings of 'participant led' as remediating objective stances where relationships with participants are distant and they have little influence on the research. As relationships became more central in my research process, I gained more confidence to guide the research process where necessary and encourage an environment of deep exploration. One of the ways I identified it was useful to guide the process was in the movement between the head and the heart space and the emotional and theoretical levels by positioning

questions that allowed consideration of all these spaces of exploration. Another way to guide the process, where appropriate, was to endeavour to overcome the dilemma of the question “*how much shall I tell you?*” providing it was safe to do so, and participants and consultants felt comfortable to do so. This was achieved sometimes through more probing questions or simply encouragement or the provision of space for people to process (sometimes verbally) how much they wished to disclose. However, as we revisit my reflection relating to power balance and openness for expression for which IPA allows, not all social conditions that may limit voices could be ‘managed’ within the research project. This is because the research is not isolated from the external environment in which we were all also embedded. So, we cannot say that research participants had the liberty of freely contributing their experiences. Indeed, the question of how much they were able to freely tell was not always articulated in the interviews, and some of the research contributors’ considerations likely involved balancing consequences, impacts and/or benefits of disclosing further. For some participants, the privacy of the research appeared robust enough, or perhaps they considered the impacts of disclosure were not negative while, for others it was more likely that they were. In this speculative reflection we meet with a limit that has been acknowledged in IPA of a researcher’s sense making limits to fully understand the internal experience of a participant and therefore to fully articulate it. So, I leave it as a question to consider as we journey through the pages of this thesis. Later perhaps I bring another understanding to it encased in the theme of *in the eye of the storm*, which centres on the silencing of voice that victims can experience and conditions that make this silencing thrive.

The project and the knowledge that emerges from it tell a story; one of many about the family violence landscape. It is offered here, in the hope that the passionate voices expressed by its participants and consultants are not the last chapter but just the beginning of a larger story filled with great triumphs over abuse and violence. I invite you to consider your own positioning

regarding domestic violence as you read through the thesis and what forms the basis of the perspectives and understandings you have about the issue. This process of self-reflection accompanied me on my journey throughout the research project. I realised it was not necessary to compartmentalise or derive a particular principle for a safe and assured pathway to non-violence. There are many routes to that desired destination and each of our families who are experiencing domestic violence may find their own pathway. This research however aims to share some of the participants' accounts of how non-violence could be achieved, and I acknowledge the gift of their experience which informs the findings.

Limitations of the research

The research methodology used in this project meant that findings could not be translated into statistical data and generalised at a population level. The complexity of family violence meant that the scope of the research limits inclusion of all perspectives and issues across the family violence landscape. For instance, the study did not explore in depth all the cultural and marginalised group layers of understanding present in the family violence landscape. Markedly, it did not delve into issues of elder abuse or violence within disability, and rainbow communities. An exploration of knowledge from within many cultural communities and their unique understandings regarding family violence was not feasible. Findings gained from the research indicated that we need to know more about the nuances of family violence particularly within marginalised communities and this is a recommended emphasis for future research. The research did not specifically look at sexual violence outside the context of family violence although some of the participants had a robust knowledge of experience in the sexual violence landscape which if seen within the context of the layers of the self could bring this meaning and experience into their understandings of the family violence landscape. Some narratives brought understanding of the marginalising conditions and prejudice victims of rape can experience within and outside of a familial context. All participants were interviewed individually so this did not afford a whānau unit the opportunity to express their views together at the same time. However, some advocate insights of wāhine experiences in violent situations did highlight the context of whānau within these understandings. The sometimes hidden nature of family violence means we need to be creative and innovative about research methodologies to ensure we fill gaps in knowledge and bring to light the blight and needs of people experiencing family violence who do not engage through traditional service provision pathways. Among participants and consultants, there is a strong understanding that those who are disenfranchised by traditional service provision still

need effective and appropriate support. In this way we can better understand the nuances of issues pertaining to people hidden far within the depths of the landscape.

Children and youth were not interviewed. It would be my ambition in the future to add their voices to the story, beyond how they have been represented in this thesis. Some child advocates were interviewed, and some case examples perhaps helped to bring the youth positioning in the family violence landscape closer to focus through their adult lens. However, it was not the direct voice of youth captured through youth interviewing youth. Some of the layers of self presented adult self-reflection of personal lived experience of family violence as children which was also valuable and enriching to the research. The challenge remains for future research to grow the body of work relating to tamariki and youth in the family violence landscape that has been gathered by youth themselves.

The dynamic movement of the current environment concerning family violence means that although attempts to update and include new initiatives, changes and innovations were made as they arose, the constantly changing dynamics meant that when some of the thesis was written up, further changes had already taken place. In this respect the thesis is relevant to a specific time and place as well as presenting thematic discoveries that endure throughout and beyond the timeframe of the research process.

Although the research took place in multiple locations within Aotearoa New Zealand, it did not gather data from all regions and therefore could not uncover the unique understandings from all geographical locations in Aotearoa New Zealand. The recruitment process gathered participants and consultants largely from a snowballing, agency-initiated and personal contact methodology. This has limits as it is restrained by a specific sphere of knowledge and social familiarity.

The characteristics of the family violence landscape, the sometimes comparatively small and close-knit communities, and the familiarity of some stakeholders in the landscape meant that to protect confidentiality, the regions of data collection remain undisclosed. This limited the research's ability to be explicit about the locality of participants' understandings. The layers of the self were also used as a way to protect confidentiality and the sometimes frank, vital and controversial nature of disclosure. Participants or consultants could have layers of identification as a victim, perpetrator and/or worker with focuses of interest within the landscape that needed to be conveyed either implicitly or explicitly. The way that they were conveyed was led by the participants and consultants themselves to ensure knowledge from the data gathering was used safely and comfortably for them. However, this process lacked the kind of explicit disclosure that could pinpoint and identify some understandings to particular people and their orientation and experience as a victim, perpetrator and/or worker.

Despite the limits of this research, when we set it against other research and information about family violence there is some consistency in understandings. In particular, we see the theme of fragmentation, the understandings of systemic dysfunction, the hardships experienced by victims and the gaps in service provision span a breadth of research literature as well as unfolding in the pages of this thesis. So 'generalisations' as coined in a quantitative paradigm can have a different meaning within a qualitative paradigm. Connections of understandings, intersection of meaning and consistency of narratives are all present in this story and the broader story brought forth in the literature. So, having considered the study's limitations, it is time for the thematic analysis section to begin. The first theme expands the notions of context set out in the beginning, looking at societal influences and attitudes that create *conditions for abuse*.

THEMATIC TABLE

<u>Superordinate themes</u>	<u>Subordinate themes</u>
CONDITIONS OF ABUSE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Environments of Marginalisation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <i>Cultural marginalisation</i> <i>Men's cultural environments</i> <i>Marginalisation of women</i> <i>Gender marginalisation in interventional responses</i> ➤ Institutional, whānau and family grooming
LIVING THE EXPERIENCE: Children and young people as navigators of safety and experiencers of abuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Children's silencing and the intersection constructing child 'passive witnessing' of family violence
IN THE EYE OF THE STORM: Understandings of adult experiences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Victim blaming ➤ Affordable safety
IN THE SHADOW OF EMPIRE BUILDERS: Experiencing the disconnection of help	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Empire building, fragmentation and disconnection of help ➤ Train journey
GOING FOR GOLD	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Initiatives, strategies and innovations ➤ Relationships ➤ Measuring outcomes and effectiveness
HERMENEUTICS OF THE HEART: Discovering the rhythm of families	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ Journeying beyond our current landscape of family violence: laying a place at the table for others ➤ From surviving to thriving

CHAPTER ONE: CONDITIONS OF ABUSE

I have chosen to start the thematic analysis section of this story with the theme *conditions of abuse*. There has been a long-held acknowledgment of the occurrence of family violence in Aotearoa New Zealand and this theme explores how it is possible that the terror of family violence still continues despite decades of recognition and innovative interventions. It discusses the conditions that set up an environment, a society that creates opportunity for violence. From the superordinate theme of *conditions of abuse* emerged two subordinate themes. *Environments of marginalisation* investigates the impact of inequality, perceptions, stereotypes and prejudice and how these establish conditions that foster family violence. The second subordinate theme, *institutional, whānau and family grooming*, highlights the impact of the conditions of abuse when perpetrators capitalise on them to influence systemic responses to victims, including children. The culmination of understandings from these subordinate themes highlights powerful and influential forces that hamper safety and well-being. It is indeed understood as providing the foundation upon which family violence thrives.

Environments of Marginalisation

In the subordinate theme of *environments of marginalisation*, understandings of the societal layers of discrimination, condemnation, inequality, prejudice, poverty and marginalisation that exacerbate and perpetuate violence within our homes emerged. In particular, some of the threads of understandings relating to gender, culture and socio-economic status as conditions that have potential to create opportunity for abuse and violence were identified. The interconnection between intimate partner violence (IPV), structural abuse and institutional discrimination has been highlighted in Aotearoa New Zealand (Taylor, Carswell, Haldane & Taylor, 2014) and will

be explored from contributors' perspectives here. Structural inequalities and oppression limit people's autonomy and aid their inability to escape violence (Allen, 2011).

Economic abuse provides an illustration of the complexity of environments of marginalisation; how they are interlayered and encompass many areas of people's lives. The complexities that culminate in the financial abuse of women impact on children and interrelate with societal conditions that foster the oppression of women. For example, gender stereotypes privileging men, male domination, myths of female inferiority and male 'ownership of women' can aid perpetrators to justify their behaviour in terms of economic abuse. The gendered nature of economic abuse, drawing upon male privilege, enables a systematic degrading of women. It can jeopardise women's financial autonomy and interdependence as well as their overall well-being in an expansive plethora of impacts from social isolation imposed by financial barriers, sexual abuse and barriers to obtaining basic amenities for women and their children (Jury, Thorburn & Weatherall, 2017). Gender stereotypes allow male perpetrators to 'rationalise' what they are doing and have this reinforced by societal power structures. A compounding issue is the gender expectation constructing men as 'the provider'. Being 'the provider' can be accompanied by expectations of entitlement. Such constructs may include 'men are entitled to control finances and make demands'. Conversely, if some men are unemployed or experiencing financial stress this is effectively in conflict with the expectation of being a provider. The entitlement can remain but there may be an underlying sense of failure for men not conforming to this expectation. This can impact mood, contributing to conditions that foster abuse (Peralta & Tuttle, 2013).

Sandra's story provides a thematic positioning that aligns with a gender analysis. Her insight highlights how we set up our society in a way that breeds gender inequality, injustice and discrimination, creating isolation and sowing the seeds for conditions that foster abuse and

violence. This understanding stems from her experiences of over twenty years at the coalface of family violence and societal inequalities, and her work with people who have used and experienced abuse, both men and women. Societal gender positioning and the accompanying resourcing, in her understanding, is skewed towards men.

Putting people first ummm money is not the main thing. People in communities are the main thing. I see that as being huge. So, it's political, I see that as being political. Domestic violence is a political problem. Yeah, a socio-political and it really, that's where you have to start working. You know poverty and people feeling hopeless, under pressure. All those issues are really fundamental and they also, they also ummm they also feed the gender issues. You know in a society where women and children are economically disadvantaged what does that say about how we treat women and children? What does that tell men when they see that? Umm so yeah that's where I think, the issues, that's the source yeah of it. Ummm what does it say when most of the CEOs of the companies are men? (Sandra)

Men's violence can be supported by the wider social structure that operates within a framework of inequalities based on gender (Lombard & McMillan, 2013). In Aotearoa New Zealand women are overrepresented in low-paying jobs and have lower median wages than men (Stats NZ, 2014). Stereotypes of women within a patriarchal paradigm expect them to be looking after children with limited capability to 'manage finances', even though this may be contradictory because they can be more likely to honour debt than men (Milne, Maury, Gulliver & Eccleton, 2018).

Yeah that's really where all the gender issues come from. Yeah, our family systems are just mirrors, of that wider social system. Yeah it would be really interesting to find out wouldn't it how in societies where ummm they are more collectivist and more focused on the health and well-being of the people to see whether there's less domestic violence.
(Sandra)

Sandra connects the family and societal systems and suggests a prioritised focus on well-being and health could reduce family violence. Societal values, community structures and laws can impact families, helping or hindering people to be safe. Societal beliefs influence whether violence is tolerated or not (Government of Canada, 2018). Supportive social networks and good, secure attachment bonds are protective factors relating to child abuse and neglect (Smart, 2017). This suggests if our societal and family systems, our community structures, support and provide security for members of our communities in most need including those experiencing family violence, perhaps less domestic violence may be perpetrated. So, Sandra's connection between family and society seems to be pertinently supported by both research and policy.

Especially where women and children are treated as you know equal citizens not marginalised. I guess in a society where, where there is a lot of marginalisation happening with all sorts of different groups. Racist, ummm sexism all those sorts of things, ageism you're going to get people being violent and yeah you know to those groups yeah. (Sandra)

As Sandra elaborates, we see an expansion of her understanding of marginalisation remembering that gender discrimination is one of many forms of prejudice experienced within society. Māori continue to endure racism in their lived experience. An example of this is lower teacher

academic expectation of Māori tamariki than other groups (Blank, Houkamau & Kingi, 2016). The nature of unconscious bias born out of our affinity to the familiar and our difficulty in understanding people who are different from ourselves presents an opportunity to understand our own biases. They can shape and impact our decision-making and interaction with others, creating patterns of discrimination and the very marginalisation that Sandra refers to (Blank, Houkamau & Kingi, 2016). Consequently, we may lack awareness of the biases we hold about family violence, violence within whānau and racism, and the ways such biases influence how we respond. However, this is not an excuse and does not negate the presence of deliberate racism.

Sandra's perspective sees that policy has a role in setting up societal priorities. We see this in her experience of funding allocation priorities and the frustration of funding cuts to services designed to help marginalised and victimised members of our society.

The privatisation of state assets. So, it's like what we have at the moment is a trickle up policy where wealth is going from the poorest people up into the richest people... The really wealthy 1% that own three quarters of the resources are getting more all the time. So, percentage wage increases things like that. Umm yeah privatisation of assets so that people end up paying more for basic services ummm. Things like ummm you know doctor's fees and cutting subsidies on things, [...]all those non-governmental organisations that are struggling you know at the coalface to help and they've all had their funding cut. Stopping counselling sessions for couples ummm oh there's so many isn't there? Ummm yeah. (Sandra)

In her account, Sandra is concerned about the gap between the wealthier and the poorer members of our society. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the wealthiest two men own as much as 30% of the

wealth compared to the poorest New Zealanders (Oxfam, 2017). This demonstrates the skewed distribution of wealth lending support to Sandra's view. The size of the gender pay gap that disadvantages women ranges from 12 to 12.7% (Pacheco, Li & Cochrane, 2017). This creates a picture of gender wage inequality and that in itself can be understood as a form of economic abuse of women (Milne, Maury, Gulliver & Eccleton, 2018). Certainly, this can have implications for some victims of domestic violence especially if they must relocate, leave their jobs and homes, and become a single income family to achieve safety for their children. The wage gap could act as the barrier to not only financial independence but financial survival post-separation. However, some governmental policies such as increasing the age that children can receive free doctors' visits have been a positive step in helping lower income families and supporting health and well-being for children.

Susie also emphasises the importance of supporting people in need and yet some societal responses to family violence continue to fall short of what Susie understands her and her colleagues are advocating for.

We have a role in supporting the vulnerable in society.

Family violence isn't really going to be addressed until some of those fundamentals are addressed and I don't see any willing to do that at the moment so in the meanwhile we just have to cobble together and do the best we can. (Susie)

Susie sees herself as part of a minority doing what they can, realising that fundamental changes are still needed. This suggests there is a lack of collective action. Some are "cobbling together" to make change and provide support, some are not. These "other people" could be understood as bystanders watching from the side-lines as Susie and her colleagues continue the work that is

needing to be done and providing support. There is a substantial literature exploring the barriers and enablers of bystander action in relation to family violence. Increasing the likelihood of responding to violence can be linked with whether people feel their peers and communities would support them to act (Powell, 2014). This suggests a notion of collective responsibility is important, a community spirit of taking action against violence and supporting those experiencing it, a shared social condition and vision that supports and endorses non-violence, helping to make a fundamental change. Research has indicated people can want to act if they know violence is occurring but are unsure what action to take especially if ‘the incident’ does not appear to warrant police or refuge intervention (McLaren, 2010).

Societal conditions make it hard for people experiencing violence to disclose abuse and receive support (Garcia, 2004). Public education and awareness to facilitate social responsibility regarding family violence is important (Garcia & Herrero, 2007). If all of us came together, not just the passionate contributors of this research and other caring and generous people, to condemn and address abhorrent violence by supporting families impacted by abuse, the possibility of its elimination could be increased; a community action spirit. In support of community action, a foundation of caring that encourages policies and attitudes that help people in need, narrowing the gap between poverty and wealth, and reducing discrimination and injustice is needed. Tom joins Sandra and Susie in the belief that more can be done to look after one another, our whānau, family and community fostered by his experiences with communities, whānau, families and children.

So, there's lots of things combining and we may be doing ourselves a disfavour of not looking after our community, looking after our whānau, looking after our own personal relationship. (Tom)

The broad expanse of human interaction is included from our most intimate relationships outward to communities in the broadest sense, including government, industry, business and NGOs. A foundation of caring and emotional investment in one another is seen as paramount. It is the deficit of caring relationships that sets up the conditions of abuse. Internationally, community mobilisation aimed at preventing family violence has been shown to result in substantial reductions in violence (Hann & Trewartha, 2015). This ‘community spirit’ should therefore not be underestimated.

Cultural marginalisation

From this broad perspective on social conditions in general, I turn to concentrate specifically on marginalisation in relation to culture. The research contributors’ narratives now speak to a lack of consultation, disrespectful cultural practices, and the implications of cultural disconnection. Aotearoa New Zealand continues to explore the issue of how best we may work with the diversity of cultures we have in our country in our endeavours to eliminate family violence, how best to prioritise our obligations to te Tiriti o Waitangi/the Treaty of Waitangi and tangata whenua¹⁷. When we look to Māori perspectives, the kaupapa Māori well-being framework highlights the consideration that should be given to the impact of colonisation on whānau violence (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). Tom’s understanding of the effects of urbanisation and colonisation are evident as he reflects on how little te reo is spoken and how few people are involved at gatherings where opportunities for cultural connection can be made.

¹⁷ Tangata whenua – local people, hosts, indigenous people- people born of the whenua, i.e of the placenta and of the land where the people’s ancestors have lived and where their placenta are buried (Māori dictionary. [https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search/keyword=tangata whenua](https://maoridictionary.co.nz/search/keyword=tangata%20whenua))

We're also segregating ourselves with cultural parts even with te reo. The reo, the language is being less spoken, is being less understood...And even a big marae is dwindling in numbers...If I would go back to the marae and I'm always welcome there we would have half the people turn up...And it's a very strong marae...Maraes are closing down or they're being dormant because no one is going. (Tom)

Tom's cultural background brings understanding from experiences within Māori as well as Pākehā¹⁸ culture. His upbringing incorporates influences from both cultural worldviews. He brings his personal experience of fewer people going to the marae and speaking te reo and then understands the consequences as the lost opportunity of connecting and bonding in a way that is adaptive. He saw these lost opportunities as possibly connected in some way to growing violence because some people may be more isolated from the supports of whānau and iwi and disconnected from their culture. In a sense he is speaking about environments of belonging, inclusion, of support, community and cultural togetherness.

If we talk about the violence the stats are huge in Māori. In this area alone, we have quite a cultural area...I definitely think that's a connection that men again gather around, have a few beers put down the hangi 'cos that's quite a manly thing to do, women are in the kitchen obviously and doing their thing, but the men get outside you know... That again is that male bonding part that we're not seeing as much now. (Tom)

Men having a place to gather and do things together in a culturally enriching way is seen by Tom as an important feature of promoting the reduction of violence. Māori cultural relatedness has experienced disruption as a result of colonisation. It is these cultural ways of being, Māori

¹⁸ Pākehā – New Zealand European (Wilson et al., 2019)

knowledge and practices that help to protect against domestic violence and that can enhance intimate relationships and maintain whānau and community life and well-being (King & Robertson, 2017).

Tikanga Māori provide the basis to understand, analyse and transform whānau violence and is therefore seen as an effective way to work with Māori. Kaupapa Māori approaches strengthen whānau well-being, promote understanding the impacts of abuse and knowing what to do if abuse has occurred or if there was a risk it will occur (Dobbs & Eruera, 2014). While there has been a focus on offender-oriented domestic violence research involving Māori men, this can reinforce negative constructions and constitutes a deficit focus. It has not highlighted the relationship practices of Māori men who do not exhibit violent behaviour. Research focusing on Māori men who are non-violent provides insight into how Māori cultural practices can prevent and protect against domestic violence through the transmission of cultural knowledge and values, and the learning of how these are lived out in everyday practices within an intergenerational group social setting (King & Robertson, 2017). Susie outlines her viewpoint.

I'm a real advocate for Māori processes and the way of working with Māori, I'm absolutely convinced that that's the right way. (Susie)

Renata highlighted effective ways of working with Māori. Her understanding emphasised that training Māori and employing Māori for Māori agencies increased effectiveness and ability to relate. Her understanding stemmed from her many years of work with her people especially with Māori wāhine experiencing family violence.

Māori for Māori based agencies [...] Train Māori for Māori as Māori really only relate to Māori. (Renata)

The importance of training was also emphasised by Dobbs and Eruera (2014), particularly the ability to identify and respond to early warning signs. Renata saw that resourcing Māori participation in addressing violence is a benefit not only for Māori well-being but the well-being of all people.

Funding for all the appropriate programmes that encourage all Māori to actively participate in the wellness of our people and all people. (Renata)

However, so far as a nation we have fallen short in terms of consulting with and participating with Māori in the development of general population responses to the problem of domestic violence (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2014). Renee highlighted the importance of inviting Māori and other cultural groups such as Pacific communities for their contribution, consultation, participation and knowledge in community efforts, strategies and plans to address family violence. Her understanding was that this was not occurring consistently or appropriately. Her understanding stemmed from over a decade of work with people who use violence, both men and women, her multiple other roles within the community and her cultural identity.

Cultures not gelling because we're not invited, or they're not invited. (Renee)

Not inviting tangata whenua, Pacific and other cultural communities into the planning and strategy development makes cultural togetherness unachievable.

Where's cultural togetherness? Builds distrust. Very disrespectful. (Renee)

Lack of consultation and participation in community initiatives could have serious impacts and implications. When we look to an example provided by Natalie of how culpability for abusive behaviours could be seen in different ways by different cultures; we see Pākehā culture appear to dominate most court processes. Her understanding came from her experiences of the court system and her work with people using family violence.

That whole different cultural way of seeing ummm responsibility yeah whose culpable and where does the responsibility lie and of course the Māori way is very whānau so it's them as a whānau should come, should come together to court and all put their hand up and say yes we're gonna all play a part in getting this young man or older man right again and everyone be part of it versus the European way is like individually on your shoulders "sort your crap 'cos you did that". You know what I mean. I just think our court system is very white middle class isn't it? (Natalie)

Natalie's perspective raises a concern that when a whole society must adhere to a dominant approach, largely based on one cultural worldview, there are other pathways and cultural worldviews that are not brought to light. Cribb (1999) highlights the importance of cultural and familial support in helping to attain safety, providing an intersection with Tom's understanding that disconnection with culture may be related to increasing harm from violence. Cribb provides a survivor focus and found Western Samoan women's ability to escape violent partners was facilitated by their connection with kin where they could find refuge within extended family. However, if these alliances were not available and they were isolated in nuclear family environments their ability to leave violent relationships may be hampered. Availability of kin

support where social networks were not weakened by dominant nuclear family norms may strengthen likelihood of being able to lead lives free from violence. This has implications for Samoan women who immigrate to Aotearoa New Zealand if their traditional kin support is weakened through distance and reinforces the important contribution cultural supports can have in eliminating of violence. Taking a Māori perspective, traditionally grandmothers played an important role in nurturing young wāhine. The impacts of colonisation have meant young wāhine today can be disconnected from their cultural supports and relationships that can help restore well-being and offer the protectiveness of cultural traditions (Wilson, 2016).

So, the research contributors clearly understand that environments of cultural marginalisation continue to persist in the family violence landscape and within our society. Disrespectful practices hamper potential to effectively address and respond to family violence yet embracing cultural connectedness and belonging can enhance safety. There are other layers to marginalisation and some of these are discussed in relationship to men and the environments they engage in, below.

Men's cultural environments

Another way of understanding cultural environments could be seen in contributors' understandings relating to men's social environments and recognising the perceptions and attitudes perpetuated in these environments as men's cultures. Research contributors' accounts highlighted the influence of a culture specific to men on the incidence of domestic violence. Peter, who had decades of experiences in the field, posed a significant question regarding this theme.

How do we create environments where men get good support, not get pumped up to be more dangerous or reinforce that bad belief? (Peter)

Implicit in this quote is that idea that there are social conditions that enable men to become “more dangerous” through strengthening beliefs that justify violence towards their partners. Simultaneously, the social conditions that would enable men to have “good” support, supports for non-violence, still need to be created. How it is possible to create them forms the core of Peter’s key question. Insights gained from participants’ experiences and understandings address this question and are discussed in the following sections. Peter provides a detailed and personal account of his experience of men’s culture and its impact on his journey to non-violence. His account also includes his understanding of the impacts of men’s cultural environments he experienced in his relationships with other men.

Peter and Tom provide two understandings of what it is to be men occurring concurrently in our communities and they explore the implications of particular embodiments of maleness. In a sense, theirs is an understanding of dual faces of masculinity as the cultures that protect against or promote the perpetration of partner abuse. I begin with an exploration of the culture that engages men in discourses of men’s dominance and enhances perceptions of having to control women in an attempt to get their needs met. Control and dominance are seen as increasing the likelihood of acts of abuse, with masculinity viewed as embodying dominance and control. Masculinity and violence can be closely related. Characteristics of masculinity such as dominance and aggression can be associated with a male dominated culture of violence (Bozkurt, Tartanoğlu & Dawes, 2015). Men who strongly conform with masculine norms are more likely to be accepting of violence (Omar, 2011). A culture of hegemonic masculinity understands gender relationships of men to women as oppressive. It questions how particular groups of men

may hold power and dominance, and critically also control men by undermining their abilities to nurture and care for children seeing this as contravening ‘maleness’ (Donaldson, 1993). There may be pressure on boys to conform with normative ideals of masculinity being tough and not displaying emotional sensitivity. This could be addressed by encouraging change in gender norms, parents supporting this change, and men actively working to change patriarchal structures (American Psychological Association, 2018).

Peter explained discourses of men’s dominance in terms of broad systemic conceptualisations about how men should think and behave. He labelled these conceptualisations as scripts and understood that they ultimately contributed to his abusive behaviour.

I kept thinking as men we've been sold a whole lot of bullshit. We've been sold a whole script about how to be men. We certainly had in my family that was really struggling because I looked around my family and there was violence. I think at last count seven men in my wider kind of family had been through stopping violence programmes because we had a real family script that not all families, but I think lots of families share around men and dominance. (Peter)

In part, Peter drew upon his own familial experiences and the strong presence within his context of controlling and abusive behaviour by men to demonstrate a script of dominance. Despite recognising that not all families share this particular script, he acknowledges the presence of dominating scripts about men within a wider societal context, seeing this as a commonly held societal perception. There is a script not only about men but about also a system of understanding how to be men. Towns, Adams and Gavey (2003) examine the social context of these scripts in relation to silencing talk about men’s violence against their partners. The

discursive contexts, or as described in Peter's terminology 'scripts', that support silencing are critical to understanding the discursive tactics including the employment of 'common-sense understandings' that have ability to silence talk about violence amongst perpetrators, family and friends. The scripts of men's dominance serve as powerful mechanisms to stop speaking out, to position abuse within 'normal' behaviour, and to hide the violence. They also serve to accommodate and envelop violence in a cloak of protection that makes it hard for victims to reach safety. The social, familial learning that embeds violence into family life as a norm may not change until new experiences create a dissonance and offer an opportunity for expansion of knowledge about how to behave safely and respectfully (Point Research, 2010). Peter elaborates on this idea by providing insight into how dominance had embedded in his understandings of men, the way they were meant to act and the behaviour they should use.

I had a lot of rules about men being in charge and people can do what you want. You know you scared them to do what you wanted. (Peter)

So, perceptions of men's rightful domination expanded into controlling rules and resulted in abusive behaviour that evoked fear in the people it targeted, meaning men's domination was 'normalised' through particular traits. Peter's account of his personal experiences testifies to the interplay between perceptions and behaviour which supports the perpetration of abuse.

Rhetorical devices can enable men's dominance and power entitlement, and resource men's violence towards women. This highlights the importance of understanding how rhetoric is used to justify, hide and maintain some men's dominant positions within their relationships with women, illuminating a need to address these strategies in interventions (Adams, Towns & Gavey, 1995). Attitudes towards violence against women, and men's cultures relating to this influence responses to violence and the perpetration of violence so it is not only in interventions

that these need to be targeted. It is important via other avenues such as violence prevention campaigns. Violence-supportive attitudes are maintained through a variety of settings including certain men's and boys' peer cultures, both formal and informal (Flood & Pease, 2009).

The stereotypical 'pub culture' where men are encouraged to be staunch and get drunk is a forum in which perceptions of men's dominance and control could be fostered. This culture may not provide men with opportunities to connect on an emotional level with their male peers. The absence of emotional and positive peer social connection is seen by contributors as significantly linked to partner abuse. Such cultures can objectify women and shame men who date women who do not conform to certain stereotypes of sexual attractiveness (Waite & Warren, 2008). Social environments that include alcohol-related male bonding activities have sometimes demonstrated hegemonic masculinities that may involve talk of subordination of women (Gough & Edwards, 1998). Risk factors associated with perpetrating IPV include negative peer association, social isolation and anti-social personality problems, while good quality friendships and social supports act as protective factors (Capaldi et al., 2012). This suggests that social conditions and cultures of masculinity that embrace non-violence and provide men with support to lead lives free from violence are important. Peter's account demonstrates how an inability to combat isolation through making demands on his partner to fulfil his needs, ironically impedes the consistent, warm emotional connections he is seeking. This can escalate controlling behaviours as a result, if an expectation of providing emotional support is perceived to have not been met.

I think men are desperate to have those conversations. I think they may often, might feel fearful and uncertain about having those conversations but because they're fearful and uncertain doesn't mean they don't experience the anxiety, the loneliness and isolation and

I think that men are often really isolated people because we all need to connect emotionally and often we look for that from our female partners and if we don't get that that's when we get into that controlling behaviour crap. (Peter)

In their experiences of working with men, Peter and Susan found the way men tried to fulfil their needs to be close and emotionally connected in intimate relationships was sometimes to use control and intimidation.

"I need to feel close to my partner, so I don't let her have friends." (Susan quotes one of her clients)

I met bloody hundreds of guys like that and they're wanting the same things in their relationships that I did. They wanted intimacy, they wanted closeness, they wanted friendship, they wanted a sexual relationship that was enjoyable and far more (inaudible) so they didn't want anything different in their desires for relationship and some of the ways that I had and they had about holding people close were hopeless and dangerous and they were often fearful about losing relationship, really fearful about losing relationship. (Peter)

Violence is a strategy that can be used to increase relationship engagement and emotional proximity, forcing a focus on a partner using abuse (Allison, Bartholomew, Maysless & Dutton 2008). Peter understands men abusing their partners to achieve intimacy was unsuccessful because it fostered fear in both the men and women. Men were afraid of losing the relationship and women feared the dangerous way men tried to hold onto the relationship. This has been described as a clashing of men's *project of intimacy* (seeking to be part of a loving home) and

their *project of empire* (being in charge of those homes through domination and control) (Adams, 2012). Empire can be understood from the point of view of empire building within families where men can exert control to build their empires of domination. Such a clash can force men to have to choose one project instead of both because of their perception of them being incompatible. An illustration of this clash is that the fear evoked through control and dominance within the 'masculine empire' framework is at odds with the fostering of closeness within a project of intimacy. A crucial element in reducing violence against women is that the masculine empire is defeated. A collective approach by men is needed to achieve its defeat (Adams, 2012). Later in this story the thematic significance of empire building elaborates this understanding of empire to show there are many forms of empires that thwart efforts towards non-violence.

The dominance of the masculine empire contributed to Peter's experiences of the absence of positive role models and non-violent men's culture, which facilitated his violence against his partner. So other forms of masculinity were not available to him and/or demonstrated by role models in his life. The opportunity to learn about other forms of masculinity came about later in his life through his engagement as a perpetrator in change programmes.

I didn't have other, very few role models as a young man growing up doing it differently in relationships. You know being respectful and being safe so when I did the programme a whole lot of light bulbs went off for me and I thought geez if I'd known about some of this stuff umm I wouldn't have got into these behaviours. I would have been much happier. I would have been a much safer guy to be around. (Peter)

Tom was concerned with the contemporary escalation of abuse and behaviours by men in contrast with a decrease in positive male bonding. Here his comments link with his previous

example of fewer opportunities for men to have relationships with other men such as fewer men spending time on the marae. This could suggest the dominant discourses of masculinity have been influenced by colonisation and its resulting urbanisation of Māori, contemporary racism and Pākehā, dominance serving to silence the importance of Māori culture, and resulting in fewer opportunities for Māori men to gather and connect with their culture. This could also mean fewer opportunities for young Māori men to learn from the wisdom of their elders and have role models from their culture to guide and support them.

It's again that moderation thing. Make one mistake but don't make twenty mistakes... We are seeing elevated violence... Was there more abuse or fights to what it was in the early 70s or the early 80s? I don't think there was... That male bonding part that we're not seeing as much now. (Tom)

Peter, Shawn and Tom provide us with examples of non-violent masculinity and ideas on how to build conditions that foster and maintain connections for men with other men that are respectful and fulfilling.

Peter provides some insight into how his experiences of men's culture transformed from a culture centred on collusion with violence, to a culture that was more aligned with non-violence. His abusive behaviour was encouraged and supported by familial and societal cultures of men's domination. Initially, he interacted socially with men in ways that facilitated positive change through his experiences in stopping violence intervention group work. The new experiences of the group expanded his understanding of the variety of ways men could behave as men. Encouraged by this discovery he was motivated to develop his understanding further by gathering with men on a regular basis to share and interact positively outside of intervention

meetings. When he did experience a men's culture that met his emotional needs, it was within a framework of interactions that were underpinned by positive attitudes, mutual respect and a sense of belonging and connection. Consequently, his own repertoire of behaviour shifted beyond rigid adherence to domination scripts. This new opportunity presented to Peter other ways of being masculine, alternatives to his previous experiences of masculinity, connections that did not place the same importance on domination. The process here seemed to be about processing the emotions of everyday life, before they escalated into violence towards partners, in an environment with men that was safe and encouraged emotional processing. This type of interaction was not present in the pub culture that supported objectification and subordination of women and did not provide opportunity for adaptive emotional connection.

What we realised is actually we needed another way to kind of meet our emotional needs apart from in our relationships and not just by going to the pub and getting pissed but actually so every fortnight we'd actually we'd have, we'd get together for a couple of hours umm and it was a chance to touch base, to talk about how our lives were going, to work some stuff through with other people. (Peter)

For Peter, it was a very intentional for him to seek out the 'right environment' and a group of men to support him in maintaining non-violent behaviour and help him to rewrite the scripts he had learnt about men from his childhood. In his experience, replacing a culture of adherence to dominance and disrespect with a culture that met emotional needs within a context of mutual respect could decrease the need to use control and feel angry because of loneliness and isolation. His understanding is important to consider when we are seeking to respond, support and intervene with perpetrators of family violence. Peter's experiences encourage us to look closely

at what will achieve change for a particular person, opening up more options than criminal justice responses.

Shawn elaborated further on the theme of men's cultures, describing how a 'pub culture' could initially be replaced with non-violent men's culture at an intervention level, through the fostering of men's relationships for change in the group programme. His understanding was gained from many years of work with perpetrators of family violence.

Probably a nice way of saying it is like when you go to the pub you must conform to what is it to be a man among other blokes. You know yeah. yeah all the urg, urg stuff. We play it so the urg, urg stuff is the opposite. So, they come into the group and they feel compelled to be, want to change. Even if they don't want to change they kind of feel like they have to change to feel part of the group, playing in the culture which potentially lead to hypocrites mmm but given the assurance of your peers that it's worth changing goes a long way. (Shawn)

Shawn describes a notion of expressing alternative masculinities, a personal transformation that some men may experience within an environment that supports alternatives to 'hegemonic pub culture'. Internationally, efforts are growing to encourage engagement of men in violence against women prevention: men as advocates for gender equality, activists for violence prevention, leaders in communities and involvement in social marketing campaigns aimed at changing attitudes that collude with violence against women (Flood, 2011). These activities can all serve to place men in alliance with women to support non-violence at all levels, creating and growing conditions, environments and opportunities for men to engage in and embrace gender-equitable masculinities.

So as men I was really interested about, 'cos I got from some men in that stopping violence programme and they ummm were great they didn't accept my behaviour, but they accepted me as a person. (Peter)

Shawn and Peter's accounts suggested they understood an emotionally connective men's culture provided a vital ingredient in the maintenance and promotion of positive behavioural change. However, Edley and Wetherell (1997) remind us that there can be complex, and at times contradictory, discursive accounts relayed by men of their understandings of masculine identities. It may not always be a matter of identifying in a straightforward way with 'sensitive, emotionally connected' or 'macho, hard' typologies and cultures. Masculine identification can be a fluid process with constructions and understandings being continually superseded or revised. This is useful to consider in our analysis of men's culture since 'categories' like pub culture and more emotionally connective men's culture could overlap. Potentially, men who can emotionally connect in a positive way could still conform to strong and powerful notions of masculinity yet use these constructions in a non-violent way. Strong could take on the connotation of having an ability to refrain from violence rather than personify strength in a physically, 'macho' abusive way. Men could move between both cultural kinds without dominating or controlling others and with understanding of the dynamics of power and privilege. Notably, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been criticised in terms of rigid typologies and traits regarding masculinity especially when considering the concept of multiple masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Tom drew upon his experience to highlight how he saw the positivity of masculinity and maleness. His conceptualisation envisaged men coming together, bonding, and expressing their masculinity, strongly and positively.

So, I'm quite passionate in the fact that I want to bring back a bit of maleness... That camaraderie, that laughter. (Tom)

He understood the 'camaraderie' of men being not only spending time together as men but also as taking a stance against violence and becoming involved in the work of eliminating control and abuse of women and children. It also involves investing time and energy into children, relationships, community and in building positive relationships with other men more widely. Tom experiences isolation at times in his involvement in community, being the only man at the table in some community activities.

You know if you are in the community and you do good things within your community, the community is going to respect you a bit more. If you are going to go to the school and sit on the school board and I advise men to sit on the school board. Again, I've sat on a board with all women and only me. (Tom)

Creating men's culture in such a way, Tom's quote suggests domination and control can be replaced by participation, and respect may accompany involvement by men in these types of community activities.

The importance of transforming environments of collusion with stereotypic gender conceptualisations is detailed in Sandra's account. Exposing perpetrators to new experiences that

promoted positive perceptions about women rather than being exclusively immersed in a culture of men's domination, was an example. Men participating in the intervention process could observe and experience a woman facilitator who is empowered.

I think that's positive in my experience that's a positive thing for them to see yeah. A woman who's not disempowered. Sometimes they've never seen it. Sometimes they're completely gobsmacked by that and that alone creates a belief change. (Sandra)

Research has identified both problems and benefits of co-gender facilitation. Problems such as initial mistrust of female facilitators, a fear of being judged and risk of reproducing traditional gender roles, and benefits such as role modelling positive relationships between men and women, and women's listening skills and encouragement helping to develop trust with group members (Roy, Lindsay & Dallaire, 2013). Sandra suggests it provides opportunity for experiencing women in a different way to previous life experiences for these men. Through new experiences there may be potential for a change in beliefs about women.

Understanding men's cultural environments as a place where masculinity is contested has also drawn attention to the ways in which some men may be marginalised. Inside the theme of men's cultural environments, we discover through Sandra, a stereotype of a perpetrator who is pathological and dangerous. This stereotype can be understood to operate in a way that marginalises men more widely, even those who are non-violent, and reinforces a stereotype of all men being inherently violent. In this respect there is a marginalisation of men occurring.

If you have a sort of a belief system about you know umm men being these crazy bad creatures that do domestic violence to women. If you have that belief, you're not going to be able to do that work. (Sandra)

Sandra implies to be able to be a successful female facilitator, a belief in change is necessary and also a belief that all men are not inherently violent. This was particularly important in order to avoid isolating men wanting to work in the field, limiting their efforts to contribute to the elimination of domestic violence because they may be seen as unsafe, regardless of whether they are non-violent. There can be an unintentional focus on negative masculinity that can promote a deficit perspective of men. Yet there is no paucity of good men in the world. Accentuating this helps to construct masculinity in positive ways and highlights the presence of positive role models who are men (Kiselica, Benton-Wright & Englar-Carlson, 2016).

Marginalisation of women

Broader social inequalities, like the gender pay gap, have already been discussed. In this section, we turn our attention to the specific context of family and whānau violence, beginning with women's responsibilities as mothers. When IPV or CAN occur, mothers can be placed in the unenviable position of being expected to meet societal norms to support their partners in their role of fathers yet also adhere to societal norms to protect their children and maintain their own safety. Women who leave a violent relationship to protect their children can also be understood as removing a father's rights to his children. It is the relationship between masculinity and femininity that hold women as responsible for both the relationship and protecting children. They can experience societal marginalisation and prejudice. When women victims of family violence are expected to protect their children from the abuse of a partner or ex-partner, they are in effect being held responsible for managing or stopping this violence. They need to navigate

many expectations placed upon them including escaping the violence, which can be very difficult as they may be enmeshed in custody arrangements that open up further opportunities for abuse, endure institutional and social responses that ostracise them, and suffer blame for the abuse perpetrated by the partner although they prioritised safety and their children's safety. This has the effect of justifying and ignoring the perpetrators responsibility to be non-violent (Morgan & Coombes, 2016).

Men who contributed to this research their understandings of women's marginalisation, and Tom in particular, explored the issue of gender roles in relation to women's responsibilities. His experience suggested that inequalities remain, and traditional gender obligations and roles persist in a contemporary context. He sought to invite men's participation in a transformation process through redressing some inequalities by redistributing household tasks and community activities and responsibilities.

Why do women have to do it? So, they've cooked, they've cleaned, got the new shirts for the kids for school, they've picked up the groceries. They've paid all the bills. Ohh I've got tea in the oven honey, I'm just going out to the school board. Holy smoke that's a lot.
(Tom)

He drew a tentative link between gender wage inequalities as potentially increasing conflict in the home.

Part of that employment equality, (the) part where a woman gets less than a man. I'm sure and I have no idea on this, but it must cause arguments at home. (Tom)

Here Tom suggests that ‘man is a breadwinner’ produces the expectation of masculine entitlement and power and control over the household. Peralta and Tuttle (2013) found that adhering to the forms of masculinity where men are understood as being the financial provider opens up expectations and entitlement to a woman partner’s obedience. In this way, some men use inequalities to assert dominance and receive benefits while targeting traditionally normative gendered expectations of women for micro-regulation (Morgan, Coombes, Denne & Rangiwananga, 2018).

Tom’s understanding of men who do not participate in the form of masculinity that attends to gender inequality enables him to challenge men’s involvement in masculinity that adheres to beliefs about men’s entitlement and their absence from engagement in daily chores in family and community activities. He is concerned with the implications of what this might teach and role model to younger generations.

Three, five years ago I said to a man that I was interviewing, I had a placement working at the (area) prison just in the (area) there and I went to this guy this day and he said oh I’m way better off here. He said I’ll even do another crime to get back here and I went “what”? I said, “why is that matey”? And he said “oh god, at home mate I have to mow the lawns” and then he paused and I thought, I was waiting for him to say “ohh I also have difficulty with my ex-partner” or “I’ve got difficulty with kids” or “there’s shit at home” but it never came. He didn’t want to do the daily stuff at home. He didn’t want to get up and do the dishes. But he didn’t want to mow the lawns. Goodness men. Males need to stand up. They do. They really do. They need to get their shit together. You know they really do and umm if we’re going to have school teachers that are female and we’re going to have female social workers we’re going to have female coaches if we’re going to

have females that are working in the community, we're going to have a real twist in how we see things. We're going to have a real twist in I think disrespect you know and are females bringing on that themselves? No, but males are bringing that on themselves because they're not standing up. (Tom)

Tom's example of a man preferring life in prison to home life because he did not want to participate in the tasks of running a household illustrates his reasons for challenging men to do more, become more involved. Implicit and concerning in his comment is the realisation that children will learn to expect and accept a role for women that involves disproportionate contributions they make to society compared with the men who are their counterparts, and this will breed further disrespect and the intergenerational spread of inequalities. Tom viewed the absence of some men in community involvement and in participation at home as a concern that could only be remedied by men themselves. The absence of men in these activities was showing disrespect to women as it encumbers them with multiple tasks and responsibilities. If we reflect upon the importance of role models for Peter in his youth and how he learned about the role of men from what he experienced them doing, Tom's insight is connected as he worries about gender role modelling and inequality.

Gender marginalisation in interventional responses

In the quote below, Susie's understanding suggests gender marginalisation can influence responses to family violence. To give context to her words we can locate them in an understanding of the silencing of mothers through blaming them for attempting to take children away from their fathers, impinging on fathers' rights. Elizabeth (2010) highlighted a media reliance on mother-blaming discourses when reporting on custody disputes. An example of this marginalising is the use of the Parental Alienation Syndrome contrived by Gardner (1992) that

has been interpreted as a means to accuse mothers of alienating children from their fathers within disputes over custody in the context of domestic violence. It offers an ex-partner who is using abusive behaviour a ‘pseudo-scientific’ set of symptoms (targeted at the woman) to both afford legitimacy to pathologies that undermine the allegations of abuse she has presented and strengthen the voice and power of the man who is being abusive. Despite its popularity, no scientific reliability or validity supports Parental Alienation Syndrome (Kerr & Jaffe, 1999). Susie outlines how such perceptions can have detrimental impacts on children in her experience of a mother trying to obtain counselling for her child who was experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder as a result of being abused. The mother could not achieve her goal because paternal consent was not given and instead the parental alienator construct was adhered to.

I'm sorry you need both parents support 'cos she's under 16 and I said we're not going to get his support.

Parental alienator. (Susie)

So here Susie talks about the “parental alienator” pathologising the mother’s concerns and endeavour to obtain the counselling. This had the impact of marginalising the woman within the system and her experience of it and can be understood as victimising that mother and creating a secondary form of victimisation for her child by blocking support that was needed.

No one was willing to help make sense of it.

It's so disempowering.

Felt like been chewed up and spat out.

Whole world had turned upside down.

Couldn't make sense of it. (Susie)

In contrast to the construct of parental alienation that pathologises women who respond to concerns for their children's safety, the psychological profiles of abused women and non-abused women are not different prior to the former experiencing abuse, so there is no evidence of genetic defect or long-standing psychopathology which characterises abused women (Jaffe, Lemon & Poisson, 2003). Yet the construct of parental alienation is used by many court evaluators including psychologists, psychiatrists and social workers despite the American Psychological Association disallowing it as a psychological diagnosis and it being inadmissible in court (Davis, O'Sullivan, Susser & Fields, 2010). Secondary victimisation can be experienced by mothers whose accounts of their own and their children's victimisation can be understood as being minimised by court professionals when they take steps to protect themselves and their children from further abuse (Rivera, Sullivan & Zeoli, 2012; Morgan & Coombes, 2016).

George's experience positions women who have taken up the work in interventions by conveying how gender roles can create discomfort for individual women working in the field. This is through placing demands on them to address gender inequality in the intervention programmes working with group members who may hold strong patriarchal and abusive attitudes towards women. An expectation is set up that women co-facilitators enable respectful and equal gender relations with perhaps less expectation placed on men co-facilitators and group participants to do this work. He provides a man's perspective gained from his extensive work spanning 30 years with varying experience in statutory and community organisations, including work with people who abuse, couples and child protection interventions.

I guess the old Duluth model, my interpretation would be the woman's role is to hold the men accountable and almost she was projected into this terrible position of being the

challenger of these men and the voice of women and the conscience and it's kind of an uncomfortable place to be. (George)

George makes reference to the 'Duluth model' which included intervention programmes for perpetrators of domestic violence with a psycho-educational feminist focus. The Duluth feminist psycho-educational model was used extensively to educate men about male privilege and gender-based violence. The model was adopted in Aotearoa New Zealand in the 1980s as part of the coordinated community response to domestic violence interventions. The psycho-educational approach made use of the power and control wheel and an equality wheel to depict controlling and abusive behaviours, as well as aspects of relationships focusing on respect and non-violence. These wheel elements created the topics for sessions and were supplemented by control logs, role plays, and group exercises (Pence & Paymar, 1993). Women were expected to be involved in the delivery and oversight of programmes so that they could 'hold' men accountable for change. George suggests that this was a 'terrible position' for women. Discomforting expectations were also understood in the way men who worked in the field were, in a sense, required to prove they were safe even when they had no history of abusive behaviour.

Yeah well, there was this stuff about environment to actually be a co-trainee you actually needed to be quite hard on men in some ways. It was, it was like to kind of prove that you were a safe man you needed to be quite kind of staunch ummm and I don't think that was very helpful and there was lots of worry about colluding with the men and I think there's a real difference between umm I remember someone saying to me a phrase that I really like compassionate challenge. There's a world of difference from ummm colluding and being compassionate. (Peter)

Peter reflects on a fear of men colluding with other men's abusive attitudes that relates to experiences of inequality, discrimination and abuse directed at women. Men doing intervention work were expected to be hard on other men to demonstrate that they did not condone abusive beliefs or behaviour. However, Peter understands that the result of this dynamic created a negative, defensive space that was not an ideal environment to promote positive change. It was possibly also an environment that inadvertently discouraged men's participation. Shawn highlights the shortage of men in intervention work with this space mainly being a 'women's space' and that more men are needed. Yet in this acknowledgment personally he did not want to place himself as a leader in the work. Earlier Tom called for men's greater involvement and we see here still a holding back to equally share this space between the genders.

I have since discovered it's really hard getting males who are the right sort of males for this work. It's a female run revolution and as much as I think men should take a higher stance on it, I don't want to go up the ranks particularly. (Shawn)

One could question whether some men have become reticent about working in the field if it is not a comfortable place for them, and yet Shawn appears to have made the decision himself to not lead the work rather than women obstructing him from doing so. Peter however seems to imply women may have been protecting the space by seeking to ensure all men in the work had to "prove" they were safe, while George acknowledges the expectation that women become the challengers of men's abusive behaviour. Here, as evident within a wider social context, the gender positioning of roles is complex, and the importance of modelling positive gender dynamics within the co-gender facilitation relationship and work within the wider family violence landscape enabling both genders to take their place in supporting non-violence, remains clear and an on-going opportunity for development. Flood (2015) has identified similar concerns

in the sector, noting that there is a tension between engaging men in intervention work and ensuring that leadership of the movement is not surrendered to men because of gendered expectations about leadership. It is important that men develop strong, collaborative alliances with women and examine how male privilege may impact leadership (Berkowitz, 2004). Not placing women's role as the only challengers of men's abusive behaviour needs to be practiced to also ensure men's voice in the work is safe, and without genericising abusive behaviour used by some men to imply abusive behaviour in all men.

Positive messaging that invites men to become involved to stop violence as opposed to focusing on shame, fear and guilt is effective (Baker, 2013; Berkowitz, 2004). Men can overestimate other men's support for violence, therefore creating a reticence about other men's potential negative reaction to their work in this space and this may enable silencing of their own voice supporting non-violence. There is also a perception that non-violence is an 'anti-male' space, perhaps feeding into negative stereotypes of feminism. This may result in a lack of opportunities for men to become involved (Baker, 2013). Another layer of marginalisation also occurs in the way that work may be conducted in perpetrator interventions. When a shaming and punishment approach is seen to be taken, it also alienates and isolates people. Through his work in interventions, Peter provides an example of how shaming and punishing creates barriers to more positive methods of engaging men in the work of change.

Actually, if the idea is about shaming people into change, I know it doesn't work for me. I don't think it works for most people. I think in some ways the worst they feel about themselves they hurt themselves or they feel more angry and they hurt other people and I know earlier in the piece I did some work that I think I probably sent them home more

angry, because I got into winning an argument than actually kind of getting down to good conversations about change and hope.(Peter)

Shaming was conceptualised as dangerous because it could evoke anger in men, which they could then direct at their partners. The dangers and alienation of shaming brings up an intersection for Peter in his journey from perpetrator to facilitator. His account suggests that his journey of learning was continuing with his facilitation work. His journey to non-violence was not enhanced by a punitive approach, which challenged him to “win arguments” as a facilitator. Rather an approach that connected him with support while not colluding with his abusive behaviour worked best for him. Sandra alludes to a relevant insight from her experience of work in the field.

*It's a good experience working with a male facilitator and ummm dealing with male facilitators who aren't necessarily, they're on a journey of learning but they're not necessarily there themselves. So that's interesting work in itself and I think that's a positive thing for men in the group to see that work happening. I've worked with some male facilitators who are, you know, have been on a journey of that work but there's no way you can say that you know they are there themselves yeah. So that's a positive thing in itself you know. So, it's almost like the woman in the group is dealing with all the men.
(Sandra)*

It is noticeable that Sandra does not experience being the woman who “is dealing with all the men” as the “terrible position” that George suggests it must be for women. So here, we see different perspectives on the work of women and men as facilitators in stopping violence programmes. The different layers of self for a man like Peter on his personal and professional

journey, and Sandra's experience as a woman doing the work alongside men, provide different gender perspectives with commonalities. Implicit in both their accounts is the importance of leaving space for possibilities of change and on-going self-development that is sometime needed far beyond the time when men have desisted from physically abusive behaviours against their partners. Later in our story, we explore the significance of hope and belief in change across the family violence landscape. How shame might mitigate against hope and belief in change is clear here. Shawn also understood the shaming approach of some interventions, and saw it increasing frustration and potential for further abusive behaviour without leaving room for integrity and partnership towards change.

The greatest enemy of change for the men is shame. As soon as they feel whakamā, the shame, you're wasting your time and mmm you're going backwards. They're going to go home and they're going to be frustrated and upset and do more damage. (Shawn)

Shawn provides an example of how he and his colleagues had previously worked within a shaming approach in a group environment and how he now understands shame to impact on the change process.

And our great achievement is we'd get them around there and we could get them all into tears and I remember this one guy that was there (inaudible) is the best to describe him, get a tear out of him, go down his face. Yes, we've succeeded and at the time we thought we'd done a really good job. That's great they'll feel really stink and they'll change their behaviour. In hindsight, I doubt it. I think they would have closed up and no change would have actually happened.

(Shawn)

From some contributors' experiences, shaming shuts down men's engagement in the programme because it overwhelms them and translates into anger. Fortunately, some more contemporary approaches have reduced outcomes of alienation, frustration and anger associated with earlier programmes by transitioning from a shame and punishment approach to a strength-based perspective. Sandra understood the changes as a kind of evolution of interventions:

Ummm it's, it's really interesting to watch the way the programmes are evolving and seeing the transition from a kind of you know Duluth model that was quite about you know shame and punishment really. 'You're a bad man 'cause you've been violent in your family and you know we're going to shame you until you change' kind of role, to a much more empathic ummm the person, it's the problem that's the problem not the person so a strength based approach that is much more respectful of people and modelling that and that's what I would like to see as the basis of future programmes. That modelling of respect and empathy and mmm support for change. So, it's like you come to our programme and we're going to support you to make the changes you need. Some of that might be a challenge but we'll support you through that challenge. (Sandra)

Again, through Sandra's understanding, the importance of caring, empathy and respect for men involved in intervention programmes is prioritised. However, Stuart reminds us to be flexible in our thinking about the issues and not be polarised among ourselves in relation to the kinds of approaches available.

Shaming someone can be useful but if it actually means that they retreat or become more entrenched in the behaviour than it's not useful hey and I think that goes back to Jenkins and stuff like that. (Stuart)

Stuart is referring to Allan Jenkins whose approach to working with men who used abusive behaviour was to 'invite' them to engage and take responsibility for their behaviour, strengthening internal motivation rather than external pressure (Jenkins, 1990). Stuart advocates for remaining open to the possibility that some feeling of shame could help, perhaps taking account of the role shaming can play in men's reflection on violence and abuse as wrongdoing. To be helpful though, facilitators need to create a manageable sense of discomforts that act as deterrents to avoid the feeling of shame in the future but not overwhelm the person and project them into a place of anger. Stuart's knowledge is gained from his 30 years' experience in statutory and community organisations with a strong focus on work with offenders and sexual violence perpetrators.

Containing the experience of shame so it does not translate into anger that is expressed through violence is a key issue. Acknowledgement of wrongdoing needs to be balanced with potential to precipitate problems associated with guilt, depression and anxiety, as well as anger, frustration and alienation. Preventing the feeling of shame from being overwhelming is important (Brown, 2004). This balanced view, incorporating a multiplicity of perspectives, is seen by Stuart as one of the more effective ways to address domestic violence.

Stuart's advocacy of balance complements Sandra's understanding of the long-term process of change that is implicated even in the case of facilitators who may still be on their own journeys towards desisting from abuse. They both draw our attention to the ways in which it is necessary

to take account of potential for men's sense of marginalisation in relation to an intervention sector led by women, even though, as Sandra understands, there are many advantages to women being involved in the work. George and Shawn both recognise that this is a complicated situation with potentially uncomfortable implications for both women and men. Peter raised the issue of collusion as distinct from compassionate challenge, which he regarded as a crucial difference to ensure that men working in the field, and men taking part in interventions, do not feel marginalised by accusations that they are complicit together in avoiding accountability for violence and abuse.

This story now turns to participants' insights on a variation of the issue of collusion that does not involve individual facilitators working within the intervention sector. Instead, the focus is on how people who use violence can capitalise on conditions of abuse and environments of marginalisation, harnessing societal prejudice and stereotypic perceptions, to help create a persona that grooms the system that is ironically set up to hold them to account.

Institutional, whānau and family grooming

The term 'perpetrator grooming' is commonly associated with acts that target children within a web of sexual abuse. Tactics are employed that seek to desensitise the system to the abuse that is occurring (Elliott, 2017). Grooming connects to family violence as well, as we have seen in the example of the use of parental alienation providing a means for perpetrators to groom the system to focus on 'pathologies' of victims, silencing the concerns around their own behaviour. Grooming is also a process that is a component of coercive control (Wiener, 2017).

Psychological abuse includes manipulative grooming creation of fear, economic abuse, isolation, monopolisation and degradation (Tolman, 1992). The grooming time for women can involve men starting subtly and then increasing control, dominating her time alongside the flattering attention of a 'Prince Charming' aimed at promoting her investment in the relationship. Then another stage may occur where she experiences "I am not allowed to be me" with her partner increasing control over her life, using emotional abuse and physical abuse (Anderson, 2015).

In the context of this study, the concept of perpetrator grooming focuses primarily on institutional grooming rather than grooming an individual victim. This type of grooming may target institutions with the aim of building a trustworthy façade in an effort to evade accountability and attain the illusion of posing negligible risk. Consequently, increasing awareness and education across institutions, organisations and society in general about these tactics of abuse could be advantageous (McAlinden, 2006). The attention that perpetrator evasion of accountability is receiving in the literature suggests that such institutional grooming may be alive and well within institutional responses to domestic violence too. Institutions are embedded in our social context and ecological models of domestic violence bring understandings of the layers of macro social and community factors into focus, exploring perspectives on social learning, societal norms and attitudes, gender socialisation, roles and inequalities to inform the issue (Heise, 1998; Krieger, 2012). The acceptance of discrimination against women at the macro social level creates and reinforces norms and attitudes that open up pathways to abuse and acceptance of violence. Institutional grooming by perpetrators can capitalise on social discrimination to condone and mitigate violence throughout the layers of the ecological perspective. Although workplaces can present an opportune institutional environment for support, Rayner-Thomas, Fanslow and Dixon (2014) highlight barriers to workplaces and institutions being more pro-active, including a lack of understanding and knowledge to respond.

Workplace may also lack of awareness of the costs to businesses of family violence. Without appropriate knowledge, understanding and awareness, businesses and workplaces may reproduce discrimination in their responses, and fail to recognise when perpetrators are using social discrimination to evade responsibility for their actions. So too can other public contexts, including the anti-violence movement itself. Peter illustrated how offenders could use a ‘good guy’ public image to hide abusive behaviour in their private lives.

So, it was that really classic stuff about having a story about standing up against violence and using violence in relationships so rrrr yeah. (Peter)

Peter recounts how a perpetrator can publicly stand up against violence or convey the image of being an upstanding member of society but still be perpetrating violence themselves, which he refers to as “classic stuff”. Two layers of the self are seen here as a public layer that is hiding a personal layer where abuse is practiced. Such perpetrators can capitalise on existing stereotypes of ‘batterers’ to cast themselves as good men who are incapable of perpetrating abuse, making it difficult for victims’ accounts to be believed. A public persona as a ‘good man’ may also be used to engage in grooming systems to believe that perpetrators are upstanding community members and their partners are untrustworthy. Natalie provides an example, from her experience of working with women, illustrating how men can groom the court system by not conforming with batterer stereotypes.

I know we hear that story a lot in our programme that the men, their ex men turning up in court and absolutely running rings around them in court because they look good and sound good and it's the lawyers are backing them. (Natalie)

Men can have the ability to present well and know the ‘right’ things to say in systemic institutional contexts and their presentation may not be consistent with how their victims’ experience their behaviour. When constructing their public persona some perpetrators are able to draw legitimacy, power and acceptance from the discriminative discourses that characterise societal environments of marginalisation and prejudice against women. Thus, they strengthen their ability to evade accountability and continue to hide their acts of abuse. Institutional grooming may be successful when members of institutions also adhere to discriminatory discourses of marginalisation. There is an important need for institutions to create an organisational culture that enhances safety, alongside messaging that promotes non-violence and robust policies, training and guidance is needed, particularly in regard to child abuse.

Healthy organisational culture would also be explicit in organisational strategies and senior level attitudes and communication to avoid colluding with perpetrators who present themselves as stereotypically good men. This type of organisational culture could help to sabotage some of the grooming tactics that perpetrators use to gain support from organisational power through training and understanding regarding safety and increased identification of tactics of abuse (Munro & Fish, 2015). Renee provides an example of how institutional grooming is imposed when lawyers who are not informed by the impacts and dynamics of family violence, prioritise ‘training’ their clients in order to get them acquitted in criminal court proceedings.

They’ve got a different role to play. Their role is to get their client off. (..) So I think their role is to groom (Renee)

The learnings from this theme suggest the layers of self, family, whānau and society can interact in ways that condone abuse. This is found in a powerful case vignette that was shared by Renata

and provides a fitting summary to the theme. Renata's vignette provides insight into the many barriers victims face on their journey to safety created by a complex interaction of environmental dynamics and the misconceptions that others may hold that hamper progress and their well-being. In doing so it encapsulates the thematic essence of the understanding relating to this theme. On the following page is a detailed story, written by the consultant herself. It shows the competing realities for one family, the layers of seen and unseen. Renee introduces it, below, emphasising how each wāhine has her own story, Mary's is one among many:

We have another group of wāhine, most of which have built up the courage to ask for help, support and move forward in a positive and strengthening way. There is a story to tell with each and every one of the wāhine on this programme, but I will tell you a story about a young mum (with her permission) of the trauma and heartache she and her children went through over a period of fifteen years, and to also share how she see's domestic violence through a poem she wrote. (Renata)¹⁹

¹⁹ (The poem is shared in the final chapter of this research).

Young and in love, married at 18 years, two children one after the other, no time to live and enjoy the bliss of young married life. Her husband no time to fill except his boozy friends down at the local. Her family thought he was the best, hardworking and a loving father and partner:

***Scenario 1:** Mary's (not her real name) parents have come to visit. They share an enjoyable evening with their daughter, grandchildren and her husband, marked by pleasant conversation and playful gestures. What parents' would not beam with pride at the man their daughter married? He is so kind and thoughtful to her and the children, so what if he goes to the pub and has a drink with his mates, he deserves it.*

***Scenario 2:** Tom is boiling with rage. Once again he will take out his anger in typical fashion...which for him is hitting his wife in the face, pulling her hair, abusing her, all done mostly in front of the children if he's not swearing at them to get the hell out.*

It might surprise you to learn that these two scenarios are about the same couple. Like many perpetrators of domestic violence, Tom knows how to put on a good-guy pretence when he is in the public eye or with his wife's parents. But, when he is alone with his wife Tom is terribly cruel. Many men like Tom grew up in violent families, and as adults, they think their behaviour is acceptable, even normal. But, there is nothing normal about domestic violence.

Case Vignette supplied by Renata

Renata's vignette encapsulates the dilemma of what is seen and unseen, and judgements made of men who present the public face of non-violence. These dilemmas and judgements make up part of the web of the conditions of abuse that can lead to the perpetuation of violence; silencing and victim blaming, marginalisation and isolation. She has more to say about the way that questioning interlayered with accusative tones is commonly embedded in myths of domestic violence, focusing her attention on an often-asked question:

Why don't women leave?

Why do wives choose to remain with a violent partner? A common reason is that they fear the abuse will get worse if they leave.

Others have hesitated to leave because they fear that their friends and relatives will turn against them, refusing to believe that the situation at was so severe. For example: Mary's parents thought the world of Tom, he was so thoughtful and kind and cared for their two children. She didn't want her parents to see the real man she married because that would make her parents think "Well why did you marry him? Why did you not tell us sooner? You must have known. Are you sure he's that bad?"

Renata's written reflections on her case vignette and exploration of her understandings around women's reasoning navigating safety and the multiple dilemmas they face in their journey of family violence

Here, the fear that it may be more unsafe to leave is consistent with data indicating the 67% of female primary victims were killed in the post-separation period or the period leading up to separation (FVDRC, 2016). Renata's story and her attention to the fear that victims' experience, both in relation to their partners' violence and in relation to the social consequences of victimisation, provides a fitting conclusion to the theme. The theme of *conditions of abuse* brings forth the threads of familial judgement and victim blaming, perpetrator grooming strategies and society's inequalities, discrimination and marginalisation, all of which can nurture the conditions in which violence may thrive. Peter's narrative illustrates that, in his case, defining the lines between victim and perpetrator is not necessarily arbitrary. Certainly, Peter recalls that his behaviour is abusive, and he is a perpetrator. He is also a victim of growing up in a violent family and learning the behaviour he perpetuates as an adult. He exemplifies accounts of intergenerational abuse. This confirms the importance of changing the story so future generations will not continue to suffer.

In reflecting upon the story that participants and consultants have told regarding conditions of abuse, they represent a powerful dynamic of social forces that allows family violence to continue. In its wake it leaves children immersed in violence and adult victims of abuse unsafe and isolated. It is from this place of understanding that now emerges some stories of our research contributors' experiences of working with and for our children, our tamariki, our young people, and illuminates their despair, their hope for better things and their pleas for safety.

CHAPTER TWO: LIVING THE EXPERIENCE – Children and young people as navigators of safety and experiencers of abuse

This theme is titled *living the experience* because children experiencing family violence are not bystanders in their families; they feel, they hear, and they see. They are also impacted by the responses they receive from the family violence system, their families and whānau, their communities. In this theme I elaborate on analysis suggesting that while sometimes responses to children and young people are effective, adult assumptions and understandings can serve to silence the voice of youth, create a disconnect with the support that they find useful and healing, and hide their visibility in the family violence landscape. This chapter draws upon quotes from children that have already been gathered from agencies that work with them. This is done to honour and maintain a focus on the voices of children that have already shared their experiences of family violence. Barnardos, an agency that works with children, has gathered voices from children through their 0800 What's Up phonenumber in Aotearoa New Zealand. The response to their phonenumber indicates children want to be listened to and they want the government and the response system to acknowledge their voices and their knowledge:

“To just support them and care for them and listen and just help them really.”

“Some kids are getting abused by their parents or their siblings and that's what I want to talk about to the Government”

(Barnardos 0800 What's Up, Green Paper for Vulnerable Children Submission-0800 What's Up Callers, February 2012)

Despite the responses that Barnardo's phonenumber has received, children's experiences and voices are underrepresented in both academic literature and by the response system.

Children’s silencing and the intersection constructing child ‘passive witnessing’ of family violence

One way children and young people’s voice can be silenced and their experiences minimised is through them being viewed as ‘passive witnesses’ when they are deeply affected by family and whānau violence. For instance, coercive control of one adult by another is experienced by children who develop their own ways to try to manage controlling behaviour in their homes (Callaghan, Alexander, Sixsmith & Fellin, 2018). It is their positioning, only living through the ‘fallout’ from an adult abusive relationship and as not victims themselves, that minimises their voice, understanding and experience (Sixsmith, Callaghan & Alexander, 2015). All types of ‘witnessing’ physical violence, including assaults on other children and adults, can have a greater impact on children than when they are physically harmed (Carroll-Lind, Chapman & Raskauskas, 2011). As Jeffries explains:

“The psychological abuse and sense of constant fear that is associated with coercive control, was expressed by the children as being a regular feature of their lives- thus far from passive witnesses, (children) are not exposed to violence and abuse: rather they live with it and experience it directly, just as adults do” (Jeffries, 2016, p.3).

So in framing up children as “witnesses” of adult experiences, the full scope of family violence impacts within children and young peoples’ experiencing of family violence is lost.

Experiencing family violence can lead to life-long effects. Exploration of adult children’s experiences of family violence highlight the ripple effect on the present adult experience, as the pain of these experiences endures beyond childhood. In mother-child relationships, the enduring impact of destructive tactics employed by abusers and aimed at sabotaging child-mother bonds

can be devastating and create narratives of blame through the mothers' 'failure to protect'. Damage to these relationships can also endure into adulthood (Henderson, 2013).

Children may be articulate, strategic and reflexive communicators; however, the family violence system may not listen. Children's voices may be dependent on the relationship and understanding of the system professionals, as well as being influenced by the complexity of risk and strategies they may have to manage and consider within the context of their lives (Callaghan, Fellin, Mavrou, Alexander & Sixsmith, 2017). George articulates the dominating narrative of the family violence response system is an adult one, which considers risk and experience from an adult viewpoint.

Deal with risk in a more realistic manner as well and how do we bring children into the mix and umm rrr 'cos the other side is children are pretty much a forgotten voice and D.V work is a very adult voice. Ummm children's voices we are kidding ourselves if we are really dealing with that in a very realistic way. (George)

The disparity between adult and child voices in the landscape presents a significant concern as 'solutions' may privilege the phenomenological sensing of adults with less consideration given to child understandings. A classic example perhaps of 'doing to' rather than 'doing with'. The risk here is that there may be a disconnect with the needs and wants of children, particularly regarding safety. When family violence is reported, the impacts on children can be ignored or minimised (Jeffries, 2016). Thus, the systemic response can fail them by not listening to them. Less information is available about safe and positive ways forward for families and whānau when the voices of children are silenced. Mothers have reported that where there has been violence and abuse, only two percent of Family Court cases involved a risk and safety

assessment for their child/children (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2018). Research on child protection agencies has found that considering ‘witnessing’ family violence as a risk factor for children does not necessary translate into understanding dynamics and impacts of family violence on children (Douglas & Walsh, 2010).

It is important to acknowledge the complexity of children’s and young people’s communication practices and methodologies for safe self- disclosure as well as self-silencing practices (Callaghan, Fellin, Mavrou, Alexander & Sixsmith, 2017). Silence can maintain the ‘normalisation’ of violence within a family as well as serve as a survival mechanism, warding off the potential that breaking silence could exacerbate the violence (Henderson, 2013). This makes it all the more important to create safe and caring spaces for children and young people to share their experiences and listen when they do speak.

Analysis from stage one of the current research suggested it was important to gain more experiential insight for the research thematics about the phenomenological reasonings and understandings in the family violence landscape regarding children so the silencing of talk and understandings about their experiences was not mirrored here. Consequently, some of the research consultants were purposefully recruited for their experience and work with children and young people. The aim was to delve more deeply into how silencing of children transpired within the family violence landscape. Who was enabling it to happen? What were the understandings of the experiences of young people that resulted? While adult narratives and understandings drove responses and interventions, consultant input produced important information that suggested adult responses and assumptions regarding children’s needs could be inconsistent with the needs and experiences of children and, troublingly, understandings of children’s experiences regarding risk. Research literature on children’s experiences in the family violence landscape highlights

that they did not trust or rely on adults to provide them with the support and protection they needed. Ironically, though, they can articulate the way they manage trying to cope in a domestic violence environment and their attempts to prevent the undesirable consequences of perpetrators' behaviour. Even young children can convey their experiences regarding domestic violence in a powerful way (Swanston, Bowyer & Vetere, 2014).

Adults experiencing and perpetrating family violence may be motivated to seek safety and lead non-violent lives because of the children in their lives. Children can be a powerful influence in mothers' management of abusive relationships. Women can be motivated to seek help because of something their children said or did because then they were able to recognise the impact of family violence on their children (Zink, Elder & Jacobson, 2003). Children can also be motivators of change for perpetrators (Meyer, 2017). Their voices can encourage the adults in their lives to strive for safety as well, yet this could sometimes be unrecognised and unacknowledged by the response system outside their family context. Children can be avid learners, bringing information gained within a school context regarding healthy relationships to be shared at home in ways that promote change within their families and whānau. Mel provides insight into how connections between different environmental contexts can provide pathways to positive change. In doing so, she highlights the importance of valuing the contribution and participation of children.

You know that's the thing if they go home and share it then can make a change. I love working with teenagers 'cos they go home with something they've learnt about themselves and they share it, they can make the difference. We don't have to have adults making the differences kids can make differences of any age. (Mel)

In Aotearoa New Zealand work with young people within their educational settings to create opportunities for them to learn and share their knowledge about healthy relationships, attitudes, and respectful and safe behaviour is underway. An evaluation of the school-based healthy relationships primary prevention programme called *Mates and Dates* found that facilitators and students were generally positive about the programme overall. More development was needed in acknowledging the values and principles of Pacific communities and the needs of people with disabilities. The use of role play was sometimes considered inappropriate. Some evidence was found of moderate desirable impacts resulting from the programme. These included changes in attitudes towards rape, confidence in ability to recognise risky situations and inappropriate sexual behaviour, and to seek help or support for others and themselves (Duncan & Kingi, 2015).

From her experience in the field, Mel shared a poignant example of how a boy stood up against violence.

I think that sometimes you know the families aren't strong enough to make that change but if they see that their next generation are making the change then that can inspire a Mum or a Dad in a bad situation to go for that. This mum with this boy that time that's actually what happened. She said I can see that he wants something better than what we've got. You know I had a number of talks to her alone about what was happening because of him saying that mum needs help. Did mum want help? No, she didn't but what she got was "actually your children need help". So you might not need help but how safe is all this for your kids to watch you go through this and in the end she was like I deserve better than this but it took her a long time to get to that but it was her son's first steps that actually said to her if he deserves better than I do too so it's trying to, I think we

have to work more with kids and teenagers through education and available services to them to get them to understand you know. (Mel)

An evaluation of domestic violence programmes funded by the New Zealand Ministry of Justice highlighted further the need to make it easier for children experiencing family violence to access safety programmes to the extent they wish (Paulin, Mossman, Weihipeihana, Lennan, Kaiwai & Carswell, 2019). In the case above, the mother's realisation of the severity of family violence she and her children were facing, and necessity to act was brought about by understanding that the boy wanted to be safe. Mel suggests that while there may be many things happening in a time of crisis, taking the time to talk with children is important, so they are not 'left out of the loop'. The adult focused structuring of our responses to family violence means amidst all the crisis, both experiences and voices of children can be lost. Mel provides insight into this issue.

Kids have said to me "and all they do is take Dad away". (Mel)

Removing the father could fall short of what is needed and adds to the construction of children being passive witnesses. Their silencing contributes to their 'invisibility' in the response system. They may have many concerns about what will happen next and the impact of "taking Dad away", and questions about when Dad will come back. Given the context in which children may experience family violence where they may feel unable to control aspects of family life that are concerning and frightening, a response of this type could exacerbate that problem, emphasising their sense of powerlessness. Talking from her experience working with young people, Mel hears the stories from them about responses where the focus seems firmly to be privileging adult perspectives.

The parents are listened to and not the kid. So, no one's removed and they (the children) then have to go back into the house with no one removed, and I've had that with a couple of kids where a couple of times police have been called and then in this case a step dad was talked to and he (the step Dad) said "ohhh he's just overdramatic (referring to the boy) and everything". (Mel)

It's only the adult voice that has been heard. (Mel)

In the case above, Mel suggests the boy is blamed and used as a scapegoat by an abusive parent looking to evade responsibility and accountability. Perhaps if more information had been available from a well-functioning integrated system, the response to this family may have been different. Information may have been shared from, for example family members, child advocates working with the children/young people, the children and young people themselves, the Accident Compensation Corporation (ACC), and others involved with them so potential to shine the light more clearly on the dynamics of family violence within it was realised. Some evaluative research in Aotearoa New Zealand has indicated that improvements in risk assessment, victim safety, family violence awareness and responsiveness were achieved through effective integrated responses where information sharing is key (Mossman, Paulin & Wehipeihana, 2017). Mel brings to our attention an example of competing expectations of different people within the family violence landscape. The benchmark of evidence for 'removal' may not have been reached from the understanding available from people responding from a statutory intervention perspective, while some young people have conveyed that all that is done is removal and this falls short of the expectations they hold around supportive intervention. Mel holds an expectation of removal of the perpetrator to achieve safety.

The boy at that time was 14, 15 (...) In the end I helped that mum and her three younger kids get out but you know what I mean (...) it took, you know he's 19, he's turned 19. Do you know it took a long time before he got out and then Mum got out with the kids and then she went back and then she stayed out and they have a relationship now, her and her son but the step Dad all that time was abusing the Mum doing D.V stuff and the boy and he was just trying to leave (...) For him it was like you know I have to do this. In the end she went to the Women's Refuge, but he actually instigated that for his Mum. You know but that's kind of like that their voice is not heard in an emergency you know they're not. (Mel)

At the beginning of this theme the silencing of children's voices emerged in the narrative of George. Here in the quote above, Mel shows that careful and comprehensive consideration should be given to the approach of gathering children's voices, and the ways adults hear and understand the voices and needs of children. The account below suggests a transactional approach, one that sees the gathering of children's views as a 'task to be done' rather than a discovery of their needs and wants within the complex environment of the family violence landscape and the layers of distrust it may bring.

Two-year-old was sat at the board table with the lawyer for child. He couldn't even sit on the chair properly it was so big and interviewed about whether he wanted to see his Dad. Like really? Where's the toys, where's the building rapport, where's the time taken? You know they're reporting to the court on a really important matter and the last person to think about is, well what does the child want, you know. (Mel)

The context in which children were interviewed did not always reflect their developmental needs. The language in itself suggests something that may not fit the complexities of family violence. The traditional connotations of ‘interview’ suggest an ‘ask question get told the answer’ format. How does this fit within the context of the experiences of a child in the family violence landscape? There is no talk of trust and relationship building, of understanding trauma or fear within the worldview of children in the landscape. Children may need to balance the safest option or response in the context of their family situation and their understanding of the fallout or consequences of the answers that may be given.

Children may also not have available to them support from a close and trusted adult. One survey indicated 59% of the participants, reported the Lawyer for Child denied a support person being present with the child for their interview with them in Family Court cases (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2018). So, here an assumption is made that a child can be put in this situation where they are expected to ‘meet with a stranger’ alone and feel comfortable in these circumstances (even if they are not age appropriate). In a very short time, they may be asked personal questions with the assumption that they will convey their views by themselves without the support of trusted others. This interviewing is used to gather information to ascertain what is in the ‘best interests of the child’.

Even though guided by the principle of ‘the best interests of child’, the idea of ‘best interests’ can sometimes be understood as prioritising the relationship of an abusive parent with their child/ren. Safety considerations and children’s wants arising from family violence and coercive control by parents may be disregarded (Jeffries, 2016). Men who use domestic violence may have a strong sense of entitlement within the family and may become jealous of the time their partner spends with their children and feel possessive. They may have authoritarian or neglectful

parenting styles. Children may feel responsible to take care of their parent. This can make it difficult for children to have their needs met. However children may have a desire to have on-going contact with a father who has been abusive to their mothers, in which case adequate safety measures need to be in place that protect both the mother and the children (Bancroft, 2002). So, the ‘best interests of the child’ become to be translated into the best interests of the adult.

While the role, evidence and knowledge of ‘experts’ in court custody proceedings is a very important court consideration in what is determined as in the ‘best interests of the child’ and ultimately affect contact arrangements resulting from judicial decisions, concerns have been raised about the assessment expertise of some of those involved in interviewing. There is a particular concern over what is needed to understand the significance of family violence when considering the child’s best interests. Problems with hearing the children’s voices may be exacerbated by the limited time set aside to interview children and their parents when formulating reports for judges to consider (Jeffries, 2016). This speaks to the power of institutional practice of expertise in the best interests of the child and how experts may be privileged ahead of other voices of knowledge such as child advocates, teachers, whānau, and children and young people themselves. The legal guardians of children can also be privileged ahead of the voice of children and young people. Getting the approach wrong can have serious consequences for the well-being of children and their non-abusive parent. Enduring and broad assumptions about children’s best interests could be unhelpful. Mel demonstrates through a case example, how inaccurate assumptions and inappropriate consideration of the complex dynamics of family violence can be made by the Lawyer for Child.

Had this child who had, Mum and Dad had separated, and Dad had been violent, and she wanted to see Dad and ummm but when she did, he didn’t give her any attention. He

wanted that control, you know, over Mum. At 12 years old she's fully aware what was happening but the problem was that you know she had to have visits with him. Now the thing was she was under the courts so I was in the office one day at the school and this man came into the office and I was there and one of the office people said "ohh (name of consultant) you might be able to help here". He was a lawyer for child coming to see this child without, like he obviously said he was coming to see her at school, but there was no warning to the child. The school didn't know about it. (...) He goes "yeah umm we've got court tomorrow" and he said "I know what they want. I know what they want". Umm he said, "I saw them a year ago". I said well you'd better come with me 'cos I know the child and what they wanted a year ago is not what they want today, and they were going to write a whole report and all they wanted to do was set eyes on that child.

He didn't even know what this kid looked like and it was just terrible. (Mel)

Aotearoa New Zealand legislation (Care of Children Act 2004) emphasises that children must be given reasonable opportunities to express their views and have them taken into account on matters that affect them in Family Court proceedings. Article 12 of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child emphasises the importance of the ability for children to express their views and opinions, to be listened to, and, critically, they should not be dismissed on the grounds of age. This is applicable regarding all issues that affect children including in the home and in judicial proceedings (United Nations, 1989). Mel's quote tells us of a case where this is not occurring and provides an example of where the system is not listening to children. Mothers in a survey focused on the Family Court reported that in less than 30% of the participants' cases, the Lawyer for Child had told the Family Court what the child had wanted with only 21% of children feeling they had been heard and understood by their lawyer. In 11% of the cases, the Lawyer for Child had not met the child they were contracted to represent (Herbert

& Mackenzie, 2018). We see in Mel's example a 'tick box' transactional and rushed approach that did not reflect the experience and needs of the child. Overseas research on children's perspectives on their experiences of domestic violence in welfare reports prepared for English courts in private family law proceedings, also found children's disclosures regularly missing from report recommendations. Children's perspectives were interpreted through an adult lens that served as gatekeeper for information provided to the court and could privilege preserving of paternal relationships over safeguarding against abuse and children's accounts of their experiences of violence. A dominant presumption embodying the benefits of contact could have the effect of overshadowing safety (MacDonald, 2017).

Mel's example suggests, the Lawyer for Child holds the simple view that he 'knows' the enduring situation of the child and this has not changed. Perhaps he has isolated the experience of the child from the dynamics of interaction between the parents where there may be a connection. He may be attempting to simplify the complexity present in the family. How a child's wants and needs change is not understood. The father's desire and interest in pursuing contact with the child appeared not to be based on wanting to build and maintain a positive father-daughter relationship, but rather to antagonise the mother and to continue his abuse of her. . Issues such as how coercive control is understood, and a failure to listen and understand the voice of the child are present in this example. Elizabeth (2015) highlights that perpetrators use of tactics of coercive control in custody processes are made possible through a lack of understanding of how they are used for abuse. The legal system may hold normalised understandings of parental rights and may lack of knowledge of the effects of coercive control. Fathers can be found more credible than mothers, men's coercive tactics may be tolerated, and men's rights may be supported at the expense of mothers' obligations to protect their children from harm (Elizabeth et al., 2011). When the system does not have robust understanding of

family violence dynamics and child experiences of family violence, this can result in children's voices not being heard by their lawyers and they may be forced to continue unsafe relationships and unsafe contact with abusive parents (Herbert & Mackenzie, 2018). Susie confirms that quick fixes reminiscent of tick-box approaches as illustrated above are dangerous.

That concerns me because increased results-based accountability is going to lead to quick fixes that look like they get the job done quickly and I think that's really, really dangerous. (Susie)

Implicit in this story about children and young people immersed in family violence is clear indication of the predominance of adult perspectives, decisions and actions steering responses to family violence across the landscape, despite the efforts of children themselves, their mothers and family violence responders who listen to and advocate for them. The current research affirms that children are not 'witnesses' and bystanders in the family violence landscape. They are at the frontline and immersed in it. They can be navigators of change, they experience trauma and suffer the abuse and coercive control perpetrated against them.

Despite the evidence from both academics and professionals, there has been little movement towards nationally resourced comprehensive support services that recognise children's experiences.

CYFS (Child Youth and Family Services) gives us funding to do a group for ten young people a year. (Laugh) Which is ridiculously inadequate. (Susan)

Tom suggests that a comprehensive support service would involve actively following up with families to help enable children to be heard and to meet their needs.

But I also want to see not the pre, I want to see the post. I want to see that post stuff being done. I want to see them get that warrant of fitness. I want to see parents get that warrant of fitness. "So, I know how to if this happens, I can do that. I know how I need to speak to my wife because she hasn't paid the bill or she used the bill on the kids, or she's used the bill god forbid on herself or she's spent a bit more on the grocers 'cos well it cost a bit more at the groceries." You know I want to see that post looking after the parents. (Tom)

Tom conceptualised the idea of 'follow up' as ensuring parents are able to maintain respect for each other in the face of disagreement, and the sharing of the workload in the home as well as professionally. Comprehensive follow up support for families involves engaging with them beyond the pre-natal stage, throughout their children's childhoods.

Generic parenting programmes may not meet the needs of families affected by family violence. Issues such as trauma, abuse and the perpetration of violence require a comprehensive and specifically tailored response that encompasses support for learning new alternatives (FVDRC, 2016). Supporting parents to create different ways of behaving and providing skills and values that can be transferred to children is important to help support the next generation's wellbeing. This is not just a parental responsibility, it is a community and societal responsibility. The importance of this is articulated in the child quote below

“I think the Government should do more to help children to have better lives, because we are the next generation, and if we don’t look after the next generation then we won’t have any people”

(Barnardos 0800 What’s Up, Green Paper for Vulnerable Children Submission-0800 What’s Up Callers, February 2012)

There is a large body of research literature that clearly shows the long-term effects of violence on children’s well-being (e.g Currie & Widom, 2010; Lazenbatt, 2010; Radford, Aitken, Miller, Ellis, & Firkic, 2011). Social learning theory assumes children living with violence learn that violence is a strategy for resolving relationship problems and normalising or mimicking violence can occur (Schwarz, 2006). Some research has indicated a weak to moderate relationship between experiencing childhood family violence and experiencing IPV. Nevertheless, empirical research has inconsistently supported the theory of intergenerational transmission of violence and the majority of adults who experience violence in their childhood homes do not grow up to perpetrate violence themselves (Stith, Rosen, Middleton, Busch, Lundeberg & Carlton, 2000). This story has told us that children have the capacity to meaningfully understand their experiences and have insight into coercive behaviours that enable them to creatively respond to violence in positive ways. Critically, this means that children can be reflexive about their experiences of violence and create alternatives to the adult assumptions and constructions that position them as passive recipients of violence, damaged and destined to repeat the violence they have ‘witnessed’. Rather, children can be understood as active negotiators of violence within their families. It also leads to an emphasis on children’s ‘behavioural problems’ rather than their resourcefulness and resilience. This has implications for both policy and practice related to responses to children experiencing family violence and implications on a need to shift power privileging adults to enable children’s voices and experiences to be heard, understood and their

own expertise recognised (Sixsmith, Callaghan & Alexander, 2015). Here we are reminded of the silencing of children and young people, and the power of adult assumptions relating to their experiences and abilities. An adult focus on negatively understood vulnerabilities enduring into adult violence impedes responding to children's experiences of violence by listening to them, recognising their resilience, reflective ability and motivation to positively change their lives, and providing the support that enhances the likelihood that they can achieve a pathway to wellness and non-violence.

Tina recognises a culture of violence that some children experience in their homes and within their families. By doing so, she is able to see potential for intervention and support through work with these children and young people to shift the 'inevitability' of repeating cycles of violence, and to enable a positive future from their strengths and abilities to resist violence.

I think too, 'cos a lot of the children that we work with or young people that we work with through our youth and parenting programme 90% or something of them come from a background where there's either current or historical family violence. Surprise, surprise so and they're becoming abusive or bullying at school you know where you've got a you know bullying culture at home either between parents or parents to children or siblings, between siblings but a bullying culture is normalised if yeah put downs and yelling and mmm. (Tina)

Susie's quote suggests if intervention can attend to trauma, the assumption of generational transmission of violence can be challenged.

I would see it as really long-term trauma work and I would like to see a

trauma specialist in this area working with those families and specially with the young children and possibly based on my reading of it I think possibly therapies like EMDR (eye movement desensitisation and reprocessing) could be utilised. Certainly, for the kids and non-verbal participants which are many, possibly experiential therapy have a place. I'd love to test that, or equine therapy. (Susie)

People experiencing trauma could have different ways of engaging and exploring with service providers to decide what support was most effective for them. Matching interventions to families' needs and abilities is important to Susie, as unaddressed trauma could carry on through the generations, hampering well-being.

That (trauma) has a ripple effect on everybody. (Susie)

One of the ways the FVDRC report (2016) conceptualised violence prevention was stopping intergenerational abuse and the transmission of trauma in families and whānau with a history of multigenerational violence. Susie highlighted how the support needed to address these issues required long-term investment and acknowledging that even when immediate safety issues had been addressed, underlying issues of trauma and other associated impacts of abuse could span over periods of years. Across the years, there could be changes in needs, requiring appropriate response adjustments over time.

10 years of grey hairs. It's been huge. I don't think we can underestimate how huge. Not an eight session CBT will do the trick. There's just no way.

Let's get real about it. (Susie)

Mel realised that while immediate safety was imperative, a long-term view of support was necessary. For her, long-term support provided families and whānau the opportunity to engage or re-engage support at different stages on their journeys to well-being.

Not to say that survivors have that, but some people don't realise the long-term effect of being in an unhealthy relationship until 5 years down the track or you know or three years down the track. Their immediate necessity is around safety and security and you think that once I'm out I'm out but actually when they're parenting on their own or they haven't done any work then they're back in a bad relationship then the only people that suffer with that is themselves and their kids again so it's actually following up with them and saying you know finding out some, you know what could have been more helpful you know two years out, three years out.

Definitely long-term support. (Mel)

Mel questions why, as a community, are we not doing more, understanding better the support that is needed to prevent family violence. Here, her narrative is not concerned with inevitability of violence re-occurring but rather the enduring support that may be needed to address multi-generational family violence.

It's not actually the same but it's a bit like being in a war and you think all you need is a calm normal life, but you can't, you can't not think about the reactions that... If you go into a classroom and you drop something, you'll know the kids that are living in D.V. they'll be the ones that jump the highest, you know, that stuff so why aren't we addressing it. Why aren't we looking after them like, throughout their college days, throughout their choices of careers? Why aren't we supporting their mums or their dads who have lived it

'cos Dads are affected too? You know how do we support them through, long-term?

(Mel)

From Mel's experience, there appears a real deficit in the kind of long-term support that is needed for transgenerational trauma. 'Long-term' extends far beyond the crisis callout, the refuge stay, the intervention programme. It is about sustaining safety, maintaining non-violence, building upon aspirations, bringing dreams to reality and achieving well-being. In daring to dream, in being ambitious in our hopes for our whānau and families, we move beyond constraints of funding and limits of what may be achieved. Mel lays down the challenge to us to find out more, push beyond what has been done before.

I think at first, you'd want to just research what is it that they've you know like while they as a teenager it's all bulletproof, six feet tall and everything's fine, looking at the choices of relationships they go into. I mean following up at 20 and looking at if they are young parents are they educated? You know what have been the stumbling blocks for them? Are they providing for a family or are they planning for a career and are they career minded or are they just happy to be on the dole. What stopped them from dreaming, you know?

That sort of thing. (Mel)

Discovering more about how young people who have experienced family violence face barriers to achieving their dreams and obtaining the support and care they deserve is important. Fulfilling their dreams and maintaining non-violence is not just about surviving but thriving. Supporting young people towards leading fulfilling lives involves listening to and supporting the next generation into a positive future. The thematic story of this chapter highlights that when the experiences and understandings of children and young people are not understood in the adult-

orientated system of family violence, intervention responses are disconnected from what children want and need. The experiences of adult victims of family violence have both similarities and differences to those of children and young people but we see a common thread between them of the silencing of their voices as well. This then moves us to the next theme, exploring further the experiences of adult victims of family violence.

CHAPTER THREE: IN THE EYE OF THE STORM – Understandings of adult experiences

People, us as a society, need to understand that by the time it has got physical, there have been months of systemic, psychological breakdown – months and months of it. No abuser knocks their partner out on the first date, because you don't get a second date"

(The Glenn Inquiry, 2014, p. 20).

The superordinate theme *in the eye of the storm* is named as a metaphor that characterises participants' and consultants' understandings of the experiences that those who are immersed in family violence, through their work and their own experiences. The 'eye' is the centre of the storm and *in the eye of the storm* stands the family and individuals experiencing family violence. The elements of the storm are created by the system and societal responses and understandings about family violence, as well as the lived experience of those at the centre. In the eye of the storm, the trauma that the storm creates can only be dissipated through a journey that leads to safety and well-being. The quote that begins this chapter suggests society needs to understand better the experiences of victims of family violence and the complexity of abusive behaviour.

The subordinate themes of *victim blaming*, difficulty in achieving *affordable safety*, and a lack of important collective action and community responsibility for supporting victims, contribute understandings of how the perfect storm for victims to endure is created. The theme highlights the many struggles that victims may have to weather on their journey in the family violence landscape. Contributors' understandings point to the need for recognising the stormy impact of commonly accepted and dominant understandings of victims that need to be transformed and require a collective effort to change.

Victim blaming

Victim blaming was a dominant feature of participants' and consultants' understandings about victims' experiences in the family violence landscape. Contributors' understanding of the phenomenon was that victims are often blamed for their victimisation, within their families, whānau and communities. Contributors contested this understanding. They understood that many victims faced systemic and social stigma that they were blameworthy. Women's experiences of their victimisation were contested by responses that held them at least partially accountable for their victimisation through their complicity (Meyer, 2016). The layers of discrimination against victims occur at multiple social and structural levels. Ethnicity, low income, sexuality, group affiliations and disability categories are some layers of discrimination that victims encounter in responses from service providers, organisations and institutions (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014; FVDRC, 2014). When victims are blamed for their victimisation, they are less likely to receive the support they need, and less able to engage in the transition process toward living in safety (Meyer, 2016). Women with disability or long-term illness are not as likely to seek help or report partner abuse as able-bodied women, although they are one and half times more likely to experience it (Stravrou, Poynton & Weatherburn, 2016). Compounding this issue is that injuries from family violence can result in disability with 26% of women who experienced severe physical abuse from a partner left unable to perform usual activities, 38% having on-going discomfort and pain, and 6% reporting problems walking (Fanslow & Robinson, 2004). Peter's account demonstrates that there is a double standard operating in the family violence landscape and wider society that differentiates victims of crime committed by strangers and victims of crime committed by partners or family members.

I think that if you're going to say violence is a crime than you have to treat it as crime. If you hit someone in your house and you hit someone in the street. If you get punched in

the street by a stranger, then it's all go. If you get punched in the safety of your own home, it's like well what did you do to upset him? It just drives me crazy. It's either violence or not and let's just be really upfront about that stuff and let's help people should they choose not to engage in that behaviour. (Peter)

Where victimisation occurs within an interpersonal relationship, there is an assumption that women do not fit the criteria of an 'ideal victim'. They may be instead stigmatised. They can be labelled 'uncooperative or helpless' and their strategies of resistance and safety are misunderstood (Randall, 2004). Peter saw violence outside the home as receiving more responsive, active support compared to violence occurring within our homes. A victim in their own home may be seen as contributing to the violence perpetrated against them and therefore receive less empathy, support and assistance; where responses from social and institutional responders hold victims responsible for their own victimisation, they have failed (Moe, 2007).

Women's experience of IPV, and the social and institutional response to their story, can be understood as a form of social entrapment. Their experiences of coercive control, their discrimination as a victim who seeks support and their diverse intersections with social and structural inequalities entrap them within unsafe intimate relationships (FVDRC, 2014; FVDRC, 2016; Ptacek, 1999). Dominant narratives about victims can be challenged by listening to the voices of survivors and prioritising the meaning that their experiences have for them.

Umm the challenge is how do you bring survivors' voices into the work in a real way and I'd say we actually 'til now we've done it in a very token way and survivors voices have been extremely silenced. (George)

George recognises the tension between women's experiences and the contradictory social and institutional expectations of women's responsibility. One particular dominant narrative in the landscape is an assumption that women are expected to leave their abusive relationships to prevent further violence, and yet at the same time, they are expected to sustain the social perception of a normal family as well as seek help and support (Radford & Hester, 2006).

Without an understanding from the landscape responders of the contradictions women face, it becomes difficult for women to navigate the terrain, even if they are highly motivated to stop the abuse.

Narratives of victim blaming permeate responses to family violence where relationship sexual violence also occurs. Sexual coercion and violence operate through the gendered humiliation of women's sexuality, seeking to entrap women within their relationships (Tetlow, 2016). Victim blaming relating to victims of rape may also involve perceptions that victims are deserving of their victimisation. Women who do not conform to traditional gender roles may be attributed more blame than women who do (Grubb & Turner, 2012; Suarez & Gadalle, 2010). Rape myths influence victim blaming too, since they perpetuate false beliefs that serve to justify sexual violence (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Rape myths such as 'husbands can't rape their wives' have particular relevance in the context of domestic violence (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds & Gidycz, 2011). Acceptance of rape myths can be linked to condoning interpersonal violence, adversarial sex beliefs and sex role stereotyping (Burt, 1980). Continued support of rape myths, even amongst women, means that further efforts to dispel these myths are needed (Carmody & Washington, 2001). Myths about family violence, including rape myths, justify blaming women for their own victimisation through narratives that minimise the abuse and link victim behaviour to causing, provoking or contributing to the violence perpetrated by men (Yamawaki, Ochoa-Shipp, Pulsipher, Harlos & Swindler 2012; Tang, Wong & Cheung, 2002).

George provided an example of how ‘professional judgement’ by some workers in the field could ironically leave victims feeling controlled and blamed by those responsible for supporting them.

We experience women who say I want to try and re-establish a relationship and they will be judged as well “you don't know what's good for you” and it takes women seven times to leave and umm some of those, some of those what do you call them?.Rrrr some of those generalised assumptions and myths we hold around the work. In fact, some women genuinely want to try and rrr so they will get a level of professional judgement which will at times leave them feeling “ooo I've done wrong”. (George)

Poor ‘professional judgement’ was not the only form of prejudice victims endured from the response system. There appeared to be a dangerous combination of social perceptions interacting within media and legal professions that appeared to reinforce victim-blaming stereotypes. Natalie highlighted the interlinking effect that perceptions had in media and legislative contexts from her experience and understandings.

So, did you see the headline about what the defence lawyer's opening thing was yeah, he basically had said he actually puts it out in court that if she wanted to not be raped, she needed to shut her legs. That's actually been printed in a national newspaper. That's appalling. Even if, even if that was wrong and the defence lawyer didn't say it or it was taken out of context or was twisted it's got into the paper that it's a whole lot of women you know victims that we're trying to really work with to change their thinking have read well actually it was up to me I should have shut my legs and I wouldn't have been raped. What a lot of crap. I just felt sick when I read that. You know so you just felt like ooo go

and get anyway that's negative, but you know we're fighting a tide of this all the time aren't we? (Natalie)

There is a lot of things about the court process that isn't wonderful. (Natalie)

When we look to the literature, we see how Natalie's understandings of victims' persecution in the court system can be linked to work by Elizabeth (2015) who reported on how the court system can legitimise coercive control, intimidation, financial abuse, loss of autonomy and the undermining of motherhood, inflicting further wounds and linking mother blaming with victim blaming. We can connect this back to our theme of *conditions of abuse* and the marginalisation of women and see the threads of commonality that run through the superordinate and subordinate themes of this story, connecting the chapters. The environment that fosters negative understandings of women victims is supported by the disconnected understandings of CAN and IPV, and gender expectations that wives and partners will be supporting fathers who are abusive and, as mothers, acting in the best interests of their children discussed previously.

Media reports of domestic violence tend to frame it as an individual/family problem rather than as a problem of our gendered social relationships. However, Bullock and Cubert (2002) argue that an examination of the way the media frames their reports holds the potential for creative counter narratives.

Various social movements have used social media platforms to facilitate change to dominant narratives. The #MeToo movement may have helped to break silence, build empathy and condemnation of sexual abuse, as well as reducing isolation by sharing experiences of victims and helping to de-stigmatise survivors (metoomvmt, 2018). Mass media has been used in Uganda to reduce the incidence of violence against women. This appears to have been driven by

reductions in the perception that those who speak out will be socially sanctioned (Innovations for Poverty Action, 2018). Wood and Leavy (2006), in their appraisal of the effectiveness of the Freedom from Fear campaign in Australia, found social marketing campaigns have the potential to shift dominant narratives, but that without sustainable promotion efforts, the impact diminished over time.

So, coming from potential for campaigns to shift the narrative of victim blaming, there also needs to be sustainable change in our interventions space. Elizabeth, Tolmie and Gavey (2011) found that when mediation is the intervention offered by the Family Court, there is an assumption that both parties are equally responsible for the outcome. In cases where women are victims of coercive control, assumptions of equality promote understandings of family violence that are contradictory to responses that focus on men being accountable for the violence they perpetrate. Susan clearly argues that couples counselling, like mediation, does not attend to the gendered power relations that operate in ongoing patterns of coercive control and victim blaming.

I just don't think you know for me a couples counselling is about two people taking responsibility for whatever has happened in the relationship where you can't do that with family violence because it's his responsibility. (Susan)

Peter leads us further into this issue with his understanding of a respectful approach that is victim-led. He suggests that responses for couples and families can continue and at the same time work with safety when they do not involve blaming the victim. Peter talks about a reluctance to work with wider family systems in the intervention space that speaks directly to the dominance of the narrative of victim responsibility. The idea that women choose to be in bad relationships

reproduces their responsibility for their own victimisation and closes off opportunities for intervention.

I think, I think family work can be, I think you need to umm it needs to be victim led. It needs to, a lot of people stay in relationships so umm I think it's got a real place. Ummm and the people that I would want doing, that are people that are well trained and experienced and actually they've got good ways of knowing is this making things better or worse. Umm I think not, you know in the past we've said nah we won't do it. I think that's actually irresponsible because if they are choosing to stay in the same relationship and they're saying they want to do something and we are not prepared to find some way of working with them then I question whether we're being dismissive ummm if it's about keeping a bad situation going and she didn't want that to happen than that's really different and I think you don't just do that, you work with people individually. My ideal thing would be that you do some individual work, you do some group work and you do some couple work or family work. You do those too because there are those, if a family is determined to stay together how do you help them to do that? And I worked as a family therapist for a number of years umm and often those were conversations happening covertly but ... you need to be overt and how do you keep things safe? (Peter)

Peter portrays working with families to bring out covert understandings about families choosing to be together so support and safety planning can enhance the pathway that they may choose to travel. Obviously, there are circumstances where risk and danger are too significant to consider staying together at a particular point in time, or there is coercion and control that appear in the guise of 'supporting' the victim's autonomy and choice, rather than understanding the control of a partner using abuse that may underpin decisions made by the victim. However, there may also

be situations where it is safer to consider and work with the choice that partners make to stay together. Diverse situations, and the intersections of victim blaming with social entrapment for victims indicate the complexity of both victim and perpetrator experiences of family violence. Complexity may be obscured by the role of stereotypes that normalised family violence in some contexts. Stereotypes can serve to obscure some men's accountability for violence and act as barriers for women who do not conform to 'normalised stereotypes' of victims of family violence, further perpetuating their experiences of victim blaming. Susie highlights in these families that sit outside 'normalised stereotypes', support may be elusive as the dominant responses may not reflect understandings of the diversity of experiences and contexts in which family violence occurs.

I think people just think it happens in one type of family and so those families that it doesn't happen in when it does happen there, they're really stuck. (Susie)

Both the Glenn Inquiry (2014) and Herbert and Mackenzie (2014) argued for the sector to resist the culturalisation of domestic violence. This means resisting stereotyping particular ethnic groups through a process of culturalising explanations of domestic violence but rather attend to the intersections of the processes of marginalisation and subjugation in institutional social relationships. For example, understanding family violence within Māori communities as a targeted intervention needs to be contextualised through multiple oppressions, rather than as a deficit within a culture. The acknowledgement of diversity of family violence experiences and contexts, understandings of multiplicity of oppressions and marginalisation, might open spaces for conversation that transform meanings of violence in all its complexities. With this transformation perhaps victim blaming will be reduced. Peter confirms the misnomer that perpetrators conform to a set stereotype, building upon the understandings already shared in the

chapter *conditions of abuse*. This is expanded upon by other contributors to further amplify the impact of victim blaming and its link to stereotypes that help perpetrators to evade responsibility.

When the stereotype of good/bad men is also normalised, there is a risk of targeted interventions that ignore the diverse and complex sociocultural contexts of accountability that dominate our institutional responses and in turn serve to blame and re-victimise victims.

It's not as simple as the good guys and bad guys obviously we want to do that but it's, it's complex. (Peter)

In Peter's experience, working with perpetrators requires an understanding of the contextual complexities of violence and coercive control, rather than a focus of measurable categories of difference as the targets of intervention. The Glenn Inquiry (2014) argues that our interventions need to examine the institutional markers of good and bad categories for targeted intervention because they mask the everyday practices of coercive control, leaving unexamined the materiality of gendered social power relations. The hierarchy of 'good' and 'bad' men recognises the target of intervention through markers of difference, and the violent practices of 'good men' evade scrutiny. For example, good (white, middle-class, responsible) men might enact tactics of coercive control in legal responses that are not institutionally recognised (Elizabeth, 2015; The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). Attribution of blame in IPV can ascribe more blame to victims when the perpetrator has a category-based non-violent social expectancy, such as being a pastor, suggesting 'good men' with respected societal positions not only evade scrutiny but also exacerbate victim blaming (Witte, Schroeder & Lohr, 2006).

I've worked with all sorts of guys. From gang guys, to business guys who are owning the companies to those kinds of things and ummm often those guys had more in common than they had different because it was what do you, we all want relationships and how do you do relationship. (Peter)

Research in the field of intervention is connected, here by Peter, through the sense of community among men. It has been reported that the connections between men that offer opportunities to emotionally engage with other men without being judged challenge the constraints of masculinity by enabling men to share their emotions and vulnerabilities (Flood, 2008; Towns & Terry, 2014). Through Peter's experiences of living with violence and his engagement with non-violence, it might be understood that recognising the layers of self, embedded in multiple and complex contexts of difference, involves a commitment to engage with the complex networks of conditions of possibility that enable men to question their stories of violence and in doing so hold potential to shift victim blaming to transformation of self.

I remember the thing that was most exciting was realising that I could be in charge of this behaviour. I just thought it was the way I was, the way other people, everyone in my family is like this. I'm like this. I can't do anything about it. Then when I realised that umm actually, I make choices all the time. I remember a facilitator saying "well would you pin your boss up against the wall and threaten to punch their head in?" Nah ehh well you know I won't dare 'cos I'd lose my job. "What about with your mates?" Nah I wouldn't do that. I wouldn't have any mates. "So how come you do it to your partner" and kind of the penny dropped around actually being able to make choices and being in charge of that and a whole lot of stuff around my thinking, my thoughts, my beliefs, the

feelings and my behaviour I found really useful 'cos I didn't actually want to be in control of other people I wanted to be in control of myself. (Peter)

Transformation of meanings and understandings also has implications on exploring the barriers to safety and support imposed by economic abuse and socio-economic disadvantage.

Transformation is jeopardised by understandings that do not acknowledge these layers of complexity.

Affordable safety

The research contributors drew attention to the tension between affordable safety and economic entrapment at the intersections of economic abuse and coercive control with institutional and practitioner responses to women's safety. Resources are disproportionately distributed, so that safety becomes unaffordable and economic entrapment unavoidable. Changes in legalisation have opened up discussions within the sector that contest stereotypic meanings of violence and recognise the coerciveness of financial abuse in the micro-regulation of women's lives (FVDRC, 2016).

From within the storm, the way the cost of institutionalised litigation affects women's safety implies the need for the Family Court to understand the ways coercive control operates. For example, Elizabeth, Tolmie and Gavey. (2012) have argued that mediation is a site where the legal system minimises the effects of ongoing coercion and control, and at the same time, the cost of legal representation is unattainable for some. Safety is compromised. According to Herbert and Mackenzie (2017), many women attempting to escape violence face extreme financial hardship through their (wealthy) ex-partner's continuous litigations. Women and their

children end up in a lifelong struggle with poverty. Peter holds concerns for situations where the burden of economic insecurity is untenable.

I really worry about the Family Court changes because I think a lot of stuff is around keeping people out of court and I think about the legal aid is about keeping people away from legal aid and I think when you do that things get worse. Turning up to court is scary and most people don't want to do it. So, I think that's just rubbish about people becoming very litigious, so I think there's been a whole lot of cost cutting and that's going to come back to bite us. (Peter)

Peter's concerns are recognised in the sector. The effects of violence intersecting with poverty or financial hardship complicates family relationships and safety. In Australia, the Victoria State Government (2016) have responded by resourcing finite financial crisis packages to victims of family violence, and budget counselling. However, Jury, Thorburn and Weatherall (2017) have argued that women who have been financially abused are often highly capable of running households on limited budgets so their need for budgeting counselling should not be assumed.

Stuart suggests that a lack ongoing financial security coerces relationships to continue. In the context of making sense of ongoing breaches of protection orders, the affordability of safety is related to poverty or financial hardship for both partners.

They're frequently back together because if not from the point of view of affection for each other, I mean just the economics of the thing. You know it's all very well to say ohhh you don't do this, and you do that you do something else but it's not that flash if you're starving at the same time so frequently ummm those orders are breached. (Stuart)

The contributors understood the need for crisis housing and grants for the immediate safety for women, but also recognised that financial security was not sustainable for many women post-separation. There was an understanding by Mel that economic insecurity complicates women's experiences of violence and safety.

Because of financial need because of things outside their control per say they are going to go into a relationship where's there's a double benefit at the very least or a double wage because they need to. You know life is hard and a house and other things like that and it may be really from the frying pan into the fire so how are we going to support you know women of all ethnicities, of all ages and all socio economic backgrounds to actually to stand and be enough to be a mum and sort for themselves first and then a parent and then relationship you know. (Mel)

The experience of family violence contributes to financial insecurity, and according to Braff and Barrett Meyering (2011) this can continue long after leaving the relationship for women who have inequitable access to resources. Mel connects affordable safety and financial insecurity to make sense of how women's recovery from trauma is compromised. This shifts the focus from victim blaming to understanding the context of the material effects of financial abuse.

“And now I have no choices I have to hook up with this guy ‘cos I need a room for my kids, and it might not be safe for them but it's the best I can do”. You know, and a lot of women go from relationship to relationship like even some of my single friends have done that. You know and it's like they just haven't taken the time to get actually, you know, I'm not saying it's easy it's really hard but affordable safety, so women can have a breather

to go “ohh you know now parenting what do I have to do to secure my kids. It might be that I have to just get myself right. Learn how to cook a proper meal, you know, have a relationship with their teacher even, their school so I know what’s going on for my kids before I go out there and have to be under the pressure of living with someone to support them”. (Mel)

The implications for understanding the context of financial abuse as both a tactic of coercive control within relationships, and of economic insecurity that is experienced by women more generally, acknowledging that it is a frequently hidden or invisible abuse in the context of predominate understandings of IPV as physical violence (Postmus, Hoge, Breckenridge, Sharp-Jeffs & Chung, 2018), requires attention to the socio-cultural conditions of gender and financial sustainability, including housing stability (Meyer, 2015). While women may leave relationships to protect themselves and their children from further harm, the risks of deprivation may outweigh the risk of abuse for some. Research that examined women’s experiences of leaving found that women engage in a number of strategies to minimise harm to their children, and found they were better able to protect their children from violence than from the trauma associated with housing and financial insecurity (Meyer, 2015). Mel questions how the response to domestic violence could successfully support women to financial independence, without understanding the complex and intersecting connections between violence, employment and material deprivation.

You’re going to look for someone that can potentially provide, not everyone but you could. You know and then they end up in another bad relationship where possibly their children are getting abused, you know. But it’s about that they have the ability themselves to have a living wage that they can live on, you know. (Mel)

There is a contest over meanings of safety and well-being in the domestic violence landscape, with the responsibility falling to women to decide to leave an unsafe relationship. As reported by the FVDRC (2016), the dominant narrative which assumes that safety is an individual issue and a matter of choice cannot address the complexities of women's lives. Whether women stay, leave or return is a complex process of sociocultural conditions and relationships, and as Mel has highlighted in the previous chapter, it may take time and ongoing integrated support over the longer term to achieve safe and sustainable security and well-being for families and whānau.

Affordable safety is acknowledged in Peter's narrative as he reflects on the complexities of sustainable safety for women and children. He recognises that a singular focus on women leaving men who abuse them needs to shift. Sustainable safety requires a sector response that is focussed on culturally responsive collective action for non-violence. It also engages communities both structurally and materially. For Peter, the structural conditions that produce inequalities, economic hardship, social isolation, the consequences, relocation for safety, and how communities understand family violence, all affect women's experiences of abuse and safety.

How do we provide support in the community to people that are isolated or how do we provide enough resources for women that have been [experiencing] domestic violence? Umm that they don't have to go back to that relationship. I know some of the women find themselves worst off when they choose to leave with less money, uprooted from their house, kids away from school, having to do it all on their own and then they're choosing to go back to relationships because it's sometimes a little easier. So we need to provide, we need to provide a community that won't tolerate violence and abuse and will get alongside people and support them because if we just [ignore] people we make things more dangerous and there's always those people that [don't want to change] but for most

people how do we get them to face up and then we work around some change and how do we support people to leave relationships and not have to go back? (Peter)

Collective action that engages with community strengths and resources, and that also accounts for the layers of diversity and inequality within communities, is an opportunity to change the dominant narratives of response that create the storm. Understood as the space where the meanings of family violence and its effects (victim blaming, coercion, culturalisation, safety) can be transformed, there appears to be a willingness for collective action within the response sector to change the narrative. The FVDRC report (2016) tasked the sector to engage with safety through connections, where responders, whānau and communities have the responsibility to work together to challenge abuse, and at the same time, take account of the multiple structural inequalities that affect particular communities and whānau.

In Peter's previous quote, he outlines how leaving a partner who is violent involves uprooting women's and children's lives and losses are not only financial. He sees loss in children having to leave their friends at school when they go a new school. Loss is also experienced through victims' friendships when they have to move away to a safer location. Then there is a sense of isolation in a new community. So, there are many losses and changes that may require support and help in relation to victims leaving violent relationships. Certainly, we have seen how money is an important enabler, emotional and community support that turns isolation into collaboration, empathy and warmth is also needed. It is generosity in the form of kindness, as well as money, material support needed from our communities. Peter's hope for communities getting alongside people, giving them choices other than abuse and making it easier and more comfortable to build a new and safe life is important.

Transforming the focus of intervention from individual victims, with a safety plan that holds victims responsible for their own safety, to collective responsibility was supported by the contributors.

Shifting responsibility [that is] on the victim. (Renata)

Community accountability. (Renata)

Currently the family violence landscape places some focus on victims taking actions such as obtaining protection orders or moving to refuges, both of which can aid safety but can be stressful for them and their children while potentially shifting responsibility for stopping violence away from perpetrators. Community mobilisation to support victims could help shift the onus of safety to a collective responsibility. Susie confirmed that there was a strong focus of victims attaining safety even though it was the perpetrators who were making them unsafe.

There's a lot of emphasis on the victims sorting themselves out. (Susie)

Community responses to addressing family violence emerged in Aotearoa New Zealand in the late 1970s with the establishment of the refuge movement, and legislative and policy reforms that followed were largely influenced by the lobbying and advocacy of the community (Morgan & Mattson, 2018). The mobilisation of communities that have the potential to attend to the interconnectedness that enables social and community well-being have emerged. Hann and Trewartha (2015) explored the concept of community mobilisation and how community resources and leadership can empower communities to produce alternative narratives towards non-violence. Peter is cognisant that many men do not engage with intervention programmes,

and therefore the community and social relationships in which they are embedded, their connections, need to support a shift in our collective cultural narrative towards resisting interpersonal violence.

Most men won't go anywhere near a programme, most. They won't be at a stopping violence programme, they'll be working with family and friends so the question for me is how do we empower our society to work with this in a much better way. How do people develop a much better picture of what they want from life about respectful, safe relationships? (Peter)

Resisting violence requires the promotion of healthy relationships, having clear goals and priorities around family violence prevention across sectors of the society with continuous improvement and monitoring of prevention programmes and initiatives. This means also going beyond the individual and the family to recognising community factors that can help address and prevent family violence (Fanslow, 2005). Engaging communities in the conversations that engender social change for safer futures require practices that uphold the dignity and respect of diverse communities and healthy social relationships. Attending to transformative community actions requires listening to the voices of communities and their experiences within wider social processes of oppression that build on and extend their capacity to imagine ways they can participate in a future free of violence. This approach does not consider the individual perpetrator or victim as the only site of intervention but places their actions in context. Contextual sensitivity involves recognising long-term, complex engagement in fostering community-led activism that addresses the conditions of particular communities and requires diverse strategies and networks (Hann & Trewartha, 2015). Flood (2015) warns that some communities are actively excluded from engaging in processes of change, especially if they do not conform to social norms, so

social exclusion also needs to be taken into account. Gender norms and intersecting social inequalities could entrap some communities within processes that reproduce rather than transform the social and historical conditions that enable violence.

So, it is collective action that is required to bring hope to the storm, so clearly articulated in the experiences of the research contributors, as it can dissipate and transform the systems that fall short of the support needed for people experiencing family violence. But what is also required is attending to the contested meanings and authorities, the structures of power and privilege that can build and mould the family violence landscape in isolation from crucial knowledge and without engaging with diversity. The next chapter invites this exploration through sharing the experiences of the research contributors on the issues they face with the institutional structures of power and privilege that shape responses to family violence.

CHAPTER FOUR: IN THE SHADOW OF EMPIRE BUILDERS – Experiencing the disconnection of help

This theme understands that empire building emerges through many avenues, affecting the support and help that is offered within the family violence landscape. Rather than one empire, one empire builder, it is an intricate web of many built upon agendas that can dominate meanings of domestic violence and result in contested authorities and relations of power that can influence access to resources. This web creates the building blocks and shapes the systems. Empire building can take the form of certain agencies prioritising focus on increasing their size, power and budget. Since empire building forms an intricate web, it can be present within and between people in communities, as well as between people in community and government. As contributors spoke of the issues they faced as they worked with clients to prevent family violence, the theme of domination characterised their accounts of the social power relations in which their responses to violence were embedded.

Empire building involves building, creating, making plans without key people or agencies present. It can be understood as a form of domination. Domination can be socially or personally constituted, and interactional or systemic. It can manifest through social institutions. Ultimately it can interfere with, or obstruct, the choices of others (Blunt, 2015). Empire building can take many forms and can be understood from within a framework of power. Three forms of power discussed by Azmanova (2018) articulate how such power can have influence: relational, systemic and structural. Power relationships and alliances can influence how systemic structures are built and how responses are implemented. In terms of the family violence landscape, what is required is attending to the contested meanings and authorities, the structures of power and privilege that can build and mould the landscape in isolation from crucial knowledge and without engaging with diversity. This chapter invites this exploration through sharing the experiences of

the research contributors on the issues they face with institutional structures of power and privilege that shape responses to family violence. In the family violence landscape examples of domination can be found across systems and the people within them.

Tensions and diverse understandings between and within government and community, do not necessarily mean that strategic alliances and collaborations become impossible. While collaborations and connection can address fragmented service delivery, organisational culture, information sharing, and relationships of trust and voice are produced in institutional relations of power. These relations include contests over the authority of meanings of the gendered and cultural effects of violence, and sustainable safety and well-being (Valentine & Breckenridge, 2016).

Visibility of our very concerning place in global violence measures has evoked increased national policy agendas and legislative change to bring about cohesion to the sector as a political intervention into a highly contested social problem. Agencies have become reliant on statutory funding, often in a competitive market, as they increasingly deliver services and become accountable to policies and institutional practices that sometimes constrain their ability to form sustainable responses. Flexible, specific and local responses connected to wider socio-cultural networks, and knowledges that have developed over decades through various social movements and local contexts, can be inhibited.

This theme demonstrates the influence of *empire building* as it creates dark *shadows* across the family violence landscape and within these shadows is found *fragmentation* and *disconnection of help*.

Renee's experiences emphasise the importance of collaboration, but also how much work is still to be done as she highlights the influence of empire building.

I think there's huge fragmentation. I can't see that being fixed because we've got people building empires for all of the collaborative work that needs to go on, we've got empire builders. So, they do stuff without inviting key people that need to be there. The key people are not part and parcel of the drive. (Renee)

Renee provides a community example of how important it is to invite the key people to 'the table' of collaborative relationships. While there is a contested understanding of who *are* key people, the context of Renee's quote is her understanding that people who hold the authority for inviting people to participate in designing, building and shaping responses in the family violence landscape can be placed in a 'community leadership role'. People with this authority then invite those who they perceive hold the knowledge needed for design to join the collaboration. The concern that Renee articulates is that although leadership authority is coming from within communities, it does not necessarily come with specialised knowledge of family violence service provision, diverse lived experiences of system users, or cultural knowledge critical to the work. Consequently, the 'leaders' and 'design participants' lack the expertise to be connected with what may be solutions for families. So, Renee understands these leaders as empire builders who envisage and create building blocks for the system that absorb resources from the landscape, but can be poorly formed for the purpose of helping and supporting people experiencing family violence.

Empire building, fragmentation and the disconnection of help

The relationship between empire building, fragmentation and disconnection of help is woven through the narratives of the research contributors and so they are explored together because their understandings are connected. Empire building can reproduce and sustain ‘dominant’ narratives about family violence that can serve to fragment understandings across the landscape and consequently, also serve to create disconnections between the understandings of help that families hold and the help that they receive from the system. Particular worldviews, such as Western perspectives, become privileged voices and language, resulting in institutional blaming of victims and structuring of systemic responses that are dominated by adult voices, enabling the silencing of children’s and young people’s understandings. One example presented in the literature is that in attempting to privilege women’s voices, ironically, a dominant form of discourse has emerged with the effect of silencing some women’s perspectives and producing dominant constructions of domestic violence and gender relations (Ashcraft, 2000). Against this backdrop of dominant narratives, the distinctive experiences of women from diverse ethnic communities can be silenced and are not widely understood by family violence responses and interventions, including their experiences of racism, structural inequalities, stigma relating to disclosure, and their unique safety planning needs (Simon-Kumar, Kurian, Young-Silcock & Narasimhan, 2017). When one way of understanding becomes dominant and silences alternatives, then disconnection can arise with those who do not feel that their understanding is taken seriously and given voice. In such situations, different perspectives become sites of disconnected responses. From disconnections of understandings arise disconnections of help where families and whānau experience support that is inadequate to meet their needs. Disconnection enables fragmentation in the structures, responses, and processes within the family violence landscape. Susie emphasises the experience of people using the system in her example of multiple responses falling short of the support that is needed and highlighting a lack

of connection between the people experiencing family violence and the responders to family violence.

So often the cries for help are genuine. There's often lots of people in there doing lots of stuff but they're not actually feeling helped. So, what's the disconnect there? I don't know the answer to that but I know there is a disconnect and every week I would get a call like that of people saying "I'm really upset with my situation, I don't know what to do" yet I know we've got three or four agencies working with them. (Susie)

It is George who offers up a contribution to build on Susie's understanding. He suggests that more exploration of assumptions of professional responders in the system is needed to establish whether some of their assumptions can be incongruent with their clients' understandings of their situation and needs.

Yeah, I think it would be an interesting piece of research to see, to think about where do those assumptions come from and is it professional assumptions versus you know what the client really wants? (George)

If we consider George's quote in terms of clients who are victims, sometimes victims' assumptions and assessments can differ to victim advocate perspectives. An example of this is regarding risk assessment, however some research has indicated there is strength in victim accuracy for assessing their risk of re-abuse (Cattaneo, 2007; Cattaneo, Bell, Goodman & Dutton, 2007). If advocates perspectives are dominant, then some victims' self-assessment might not be heard or validated. So, while differences may exist between perspectives of professional

responders and those experiencing violence, the importance to consider and acknowledge the perspectives, strengths and hopes of clients is crucial.

Susie explores what could be a contributor to disconnection where although multiple agencies may be involved, the families or whānau are not feeling helped. A disconnection appears between responders' understandings and clients' understandings of help.

All the agencies know them, really bored with them and don't really want to help. The agencies a lot of them don't want to help them. I mean that's a crass generalisation, but it is you know. (Susie)

Here she suggests that agencies sometimes believe they have 'heard the stories before', that they experience a lack of hope for change with their involvement with people who are experiencing repeating and recurring violence. Perhaps an assumption is made on the part of the responders that they have heard *and understood* yet if the people experiencing family violence are returning with issues left unaddressed, perhaps understandings of their hopes and their needs remain unfulfilled by responses that they receive. Susie understands when she is referring clients to providers who are open to 'whatever clients' bring', she means clients' understandings, their stories, issues, risk assessments, hopes and dreams can be heard, and importantly these responders do not exclude possibilities that do not fit their own assumptions. They retain the hope for change, acknowledging and working with complexity and challenges facing people experiencing family violence. Susie is comfortable then, within this context, there is more chance that connections of help and understanding can be achieved.

I really find the people I feel really good about doing referrals to are the ones that are prepared to deal with almost anything. (Susie)

Susie's understanding of providers who take up the opportunity to "deal with almost anything" suggests despite the challenges and risks present in the work, the systemic barriers that obstruct and impede progress, there are responders who forge on and work with 'high-risk' clients. Yet Susie's quote also suggests not all providers do. Safety considerations and their implications for agencies could perhaps also make them wary of engaging with families that had a higher chance of mortality and an increased likelihood of violence towards themselves and others, including workers. A type of 'mortality liability' could be responsible for a hesitancy to engage 'high-risk' individuals and families, as if things went wrong, a focus or accountability via institutional mechanisms could be placed with the professionals involved or even put workers at risk themselves. Perhaps the intensive work that may be required for change within this context is not aligned with funding arrangements, making resourcing this particular type of work difficult. In the field of social work, various studies have shown that clients could use intimidating, abusive and unpredictable behaviour in front-line practice settings (Koritsas, Coles & Boyle, 2008; Macdonald & Sirotych 2005). An early study also found that to avoid potentially unsafe situations, 60% of social worker respondents preferred not to work with clients who use violence or are perceived as having potential to use violence (Newhill, 1996). Compassion fatigue (trauma suffered by workers in the helping professions) and burnout (emotional exhaustion from this type of work) could also be factors impacting on the responses and support that families and whānau receive (Conrad & Kellar-Guenther, 2006).

Capacity is an issue raised by Natalie. She raises concerns about inadequate remuneration and workers being asked to juggle multiple expectations and roles, and sees how these issues

constrain the delivery of capable services. Natalie provides us with an example from her personal experience of being expected to do too much, too often, with too few resources.

So, I started here with about four hats on and just soon discovered that was ridiculous. It was a ridiculous job description that didn't match the hours given and so it was constantly showing that with the extra hours I had to do (Natalie)

Such demanding work conditions could contribute to workers losing hope as they increasingly feel under pressure and overburdened. Capacity and capability shortages and poor working conditions can also exacerbate disconnection with families and whānau. A lack of funding has also impacted the primary healthcare response, where the importance of providing immediate first-line support to victims of family violence is recommended, but securing sustainable comprehensive funding for development of family violence responses has been problematic (Gear, Koziol-McLain, Wilson & Clark, 2016).

Susie reflects that it is not only agencies that feel the challenges of providing support in the family violence landscape. It is people within their own whānau striving for change who are also experiencing the hardships and responsibility of this mahi²⁰.

People trying to work with their own whānau trying to make a difference, in their own area trying to make a difference must be incredibly frustrated as well because they again have been tagged as failing and I'm sure they want a better way through it as well.(..)Unfortunately, you're working in an environment where too, systemically, it's ok well it doesn't matter, whatever you're doing it's failed. So, we have to accept that as

²⁰ Mahi – work, activity (Māori Dictionary- <https://maoridictionary/search/keyword=mahi>)

well, everything we do is failing and we're terrible at reporting back our successes and what we are doing well. Some of us haven't got the time or the structure to do that ummm so it's a whipping to nowhere isn't it? (Susie)

In Susie's narrative those working to prevent violence can feel that they are on a "whipping to nowhere". The metaphor powerfully connects loss of hope with emphasising failures and not seeing or acknowledging the successes and stories of hope and change that are also present in the family violence landscape. In the way the system is set up, disconnection and fragmentation can compound through lack of shared understandings, exclusion and silencing, inadequate capacity and capability, poor working conditions and a sense of repeated failure. Polarisation of gender issues can lead to entrenched positions and pain resulting from these entrenched positions within the work of programme facilitation. This can also create conditions that do not foster supportive working environments (Dixon & O'Connor, 2010). The structure of a system gives rise to an extremely difficult environment for workers to affect change. The system can work against the delivery of successful outcomes. Some successes may not be identified by official progress reporting, rewards for success may be scarce, and the systemic support for change is not comprehensive. Susie's narrative leaves a powerful impression of the struggles that are experienced. Despite people's efforts, the incidence of family violence remains concerning. In an environment that lacks an abundance of celebrated successes, some people may become scapegoats for the larger social problem as dominant social power relations cast a shadow over the landscape. However, Susie and Sandra recognise hope that change is occurring and acknowledge the good work being undertaken.

Having said that we are working in many ways to make that better, less scary for the families and more collaborative, you know all the new buzz words. So, I think it is starting to work a bit more effectively. (Susie)

It's really valuable work, domestic violence work. There's so much good work going on there, quietly in communities, people working away. I know they go over and above and they're just so genuinely working there to help try and make things better. (Sandra)

One context of fragmentation occurs in the shadows where alliances are influenced by funding and accountability structures and establish the focus of family violence responses on men's and women's services that can be individualised and short-term.

The fragmentation of the perpetrators are over there. We're not working systemically. We're siloed. (Renee)

Lehrner and Allen (2009) suggest that another layer of fracture for service providers comes with the accountability of providers for funding that prioritises the efficiency of the system over accountability to the community for well-being. Without accountability for community well-being, the landscape becomes disconnected.

Siloed services also impede providers' ability to develop long-term and sustainable comprehensive responses to family violence.

What stops it from happening is funding. The funding approach is all wrong. It's like we'll fund for this and then that but not that and then this. (Susie)

Generally speaking, restraints, I think a lot comes back to funding. You're not funded for family work or not funded to try and empower victims. (Stuart)

Susie identifies examples of gaps in funding where opportunities to engage people in the work of change are lost.

There might be hundreds of programmes in (area) but you can guarantee every week one person will not fit the criteria. All the gaps are ridiculous. I'm sure it can't be that hard. The other one I notice is young people. There's a lot of people that just have to fall through the cracks. How many young men I get and there's nothing for them? Families without children. (Susie)

Self-referrals for anger management. They're turning them away 'cos there's not enough spaces. How appalling is that? Just completely unacceptable and I know for a fact that [name] are doing their best and cater to as many people as possible. (Susie)

Something that could be seen as positive, people self-referring without a statutory mandate, is jeopardised by a system that does not comprehensively accommodate and resource self-referrals and creates another gap where criteria does not fit and match the needs of people seeking help for their violent behaviours. Self-referrals are growing but there has been insufficient funding (Polaschek, 2016). Shawn and Renee provide examples of ways in which funding arrangements and capacity issues fragment and influence the delivery of responses and fall short of what they understand to be needed. They lack long-term follow up and support, with siloed services,

creating responses for families experiencing domestic violence that are inadequate. This holds potential for lost opportunities for improving victim safety.

So, they kinda of set them up to fail. So, they stuck them in programmes, then let them finish, do no follow up and no support, don't let their voices be heard. You're only working with one person out of the relationship not the family like it's not kind of brain surgery. (Renee)

They (perpetrators) come with the money, they're at our doors and in our face. Contacting the partner just slips for everyone as much as we all talk about it as our highest priority. The actual phonecall rrrr second." (Shawn)

In service provision response models there may be a lack of recognition that contact between perpetrators and victims can continue after a family violence episode has occurred (Polaschek, 2016). Some of the system is built upon institutional structures that limit funding and serve to create disconnection of help, where understandings of what is needed may be determined by those who hold authority to shape and build responses, to allocate resourcing. Such institutional domination creates a shadow across the landscape and disconnects help from the needs of those seeking support to prevent violence in their families and whānau.

Renee raises concerns about how planning is done without reference to research or specialist understanding.

My worry and my concern is, the lack of research and understanding that sits underneath that. This is a really good idea and it seems logical. This is what we'll do. Domestic violence doesn't work that way. (...) Superficial understanding. (Renee)

“Superficial understanding” infers a lack of depth of understanding of the complexity of family violence. This means unexamined ‘logical’ assumptions can be used to shape family violence responses without taking advantage of critical sources of knowledge and understanding family violence is not ‘logical’. Susie provides an example of how superficial understanding influences decision-making regarding funding priorities.

I was really interested to see in the last funding round some people were closed down and others weren't. It's so ironic when all the research is showing early childhood is where it's at. Just close down Parents As First Teachers. (Susie)

Renee highlights the agenda and understanding of empire builders is privileged, silencing the voices of men and women using the system, losing an opportunity to connect knowledge from research and people with lived experience.

So, it seems they've got their own agenda or own way of thinking and actually I'll be honest I am not sure how well researched (...) They could actually even ask the men and women, the perpetrators what would be useful (Renee)

Renee questions this approach where dominant understandings within the family violence landscape takes precedence.

What we're trying to tell people is the very thing they kind of perpetrated. (Renee)

Renee suggests domination by empire builders using power, and the power used by people perpetrating family violence, both reflect use of power that is unhealthy. Relational, structural and systemic power used by empire builders imposes on families' responses that do not reflect their understandings, do not listen to their voices and needs for support. Power and coercive control used by people that perpetrate family violence have devastating impacts on well-being and autonomy of victims. Implicitly, empire building through domination in the family violence landscape cannot result in challenging domination in the home. Direct results of empire building can be resourcing and implementation of plans within the system.

Plan has gone back to be implemented from the high level minus the input from those at least those key agency or key people really. (Renee)

In the context of working with perpetrators of violence, Renee also suggests other involvement of men by men that has the potential to open spaces for others to take action towards non-violence. She can see that further engagement with men who have perpetrated violence is needed for the sake of more successful public campaigns to mobilise communities towards non-violence. Renee references the White Ribbon Campaign in her quote. White Ribbon Day (25th November) is when people wear a White Ribbon to show they do not condone violence towards women. White Ribbon ambassadors actively lead and support the campaign, conveying messages of non-violence (White Ribbon, 2019).

The billboard people are good citizens. They're agency workers. Well we already know that agency workers are saying don't do this. So, I don't, I don't see that how necessarily

the perpetrators of D.V, intimate partner violence, don't see how they would relate to those people because there's no relation. They're already not hitting, they're already not abusing, so they stand in judgement, like how does that sit? (Renee)

What is at stake in this narrative is likely unintended consequences of the dependence on collaborations within the sector where perpetrators are primarily understood as the focus of the justice system and their position in the justice system dominates their participation in community change. In this case, their position as clients who may be actively engaging in change with the support of community-based services is obscured and they are excluded from opportunities to be participants of 'good citizenship'.

We've had a man ring up and ask (to join the White Ribbon Campaign) and got turned down yeah because he's still doing the programme. He's made some changes but actually there's no role for him at all. There's no room for them in the White Ribbon Campaign as ambassador. I've asked, and they've been told no. They've got to be violence free for three to five years. How do you prove that, or abusive free? So, for those men that have made changes there is no voice. There's nowhere to say well actually this is what I've done. (Renee)

Renee provides an example of a man who experiences, at the level of his personal relationship with the system, being excluded from the opportunity to share his voice and journey towards non-violence, as no role is made available for him beyond the 'dominant position' he has already been assigned by the system as a 'participant of a stopping violence programme'. Rather than excluding men from the conversation, the process of change can be understood as an ongoing collaborative process, not an endpoint that is the opportunity for community accountability. It

also speaks into the layers of the self as a ‘perpetrator’, as a ‘man’, as a ‘person beginning to identify with new layers of self, emerging from a process of change’ and a changing personal relationship with the community. Developing layers of the self hold potential to be protective against violence if new change processes can consolidate. If alternatives cannot be developed, it leaves open potential to regress and strengthen layers of the self that may be more familiar such as ‘perpetrator’.

He could give his story, his narrative. He could be asked to have a conversation. They have meetings and go to all the colleges, he could talk to some of the youth. While he hasn't, he's early in the thing, he could tell them that, be honest, this is what it's like. Always, a place wherever the person is at, but he got turned down flat. Cos' they phoned us to tell us that he was upset. "I'm not perfect but I'm in the process". The shutting down of perpetrators' voices who were motivated to change and had committed to the process of change meant this neutralised the benefits of holding those men publicly accountable, reduced their potential to make a positive contribution to society and left them with no on-going support to maintain changes that they were making. (..) Like the family coming in. They could be talking to them, that man's family. What changes have you noticed? They could do a newspaper article if they were open. Like there would be something like he could actually say "I've screwed up, now I'm fixing". Whatever it might be. "I am doing something about it. I haven't got it perfect but I'm in the process" because that actually holds him more accountable as well. There's far more accountability on someone who has gone public. (Renee)

The work of intervention can reflect this process of growing accountability through expanding the systems and networks of monitoring and support. This could be reflected in expanding

structural, relational and systemic dominant understandings to work with the process of change and the roles that people in the system could safely contribute throughout their journey of change. Understanding how the contributors of the current research experience the *shadow of the empire builders* in relation to the help that people receive within the current systems is reflected in the narrative of a train journey. Created and built by empire builders, this train line highlights their ‘shadows’ that silo support for families and whānau at and between stations and also lack understanding of what overarching support is needed.

The Train Journey

Renee provides us with a metaphorical train journey, one where the stations are parts of the system and the journey is the experience of families and whānau travelling through the landscape. The effects of empire building and fragmentation can serve to create a journey as being disconnected from well-being and safety. There are shadows in each of the stations, where each station has its own struggles to provide for the travellers’ needs, and there is also the lack of relationship and connection between the stations. This impacts travellers’ experiences of help and support.

Renee articulates the way families and whānau are ‘processed’ through a fragmented system.

We not looping along this continuum we’re kind of at our own train station and we just wait for the train to drop them off and do our bit. (Renee)

Rather than the train journey experience connecting across stations, stations operate as discrete destinations where relationships between institutional and organisational interventions are

organised for specific purposes, including justice and health service delivery. The stations are therefore disconnected through various stakeholder alliances and structural barriers to organisational participation that limit information sharing and collaboration. Renee provides experience of the disconnection between health system responses and stopping violence interventions responses.

I had no idea what their process was. I didn't even know they had a domestic violence plan, I didn't even know they have domestic violence coordinators in their hospitals and exactly what their role was. The information doesn't filter down, not down, but across.

(Renee)

Within the legal system, the authority over whose information is legitimate for the purpose of ongoing safety and well-being can be disconnected with the experiences of those in the relationships in their socio-cultural context. The research contributors experience the disconnect between justice and local responses as limiting effective understandings of the everyday lived experiences of family violence that connect lines between the stations and inform ongoing safety and well-being within families.

We also have the protected person's narrative as well. So, we would be able to use that in a way that does not endanger them if we had that direct link. But we can't do anything with that now we just collect it and give it to MOJ so they can have a collection of it. It could be much more transparent and a better loop. Better tracking, I think. That way we could track the men better or the women, the perpetrators. (Renee)

Safe information sharing helps to inform risk assessment and appropriate actions and support (Carswell, Atkin, Wilde, Lennan & Kalapu, 2010). Within the context of evidence-based accountability, the consultants raised concerns about the disconnection between the legal system and the evidence required by the court, and the community programme providers' specialised understanding of the process of engagement that exceeds attendance at mandated programmes.

We've got no control over if the letter gets to the judge. So actually, if they don't like the letter, there's lots of absences, then actually we don't know if the letter will get anywhere. We would like to spend some time but we have had trouble accessing the judges themselves so we can ask them so what do you want from us. If we could have that kind of, again we're fragmented, if we could have that kind of relationship. If we had that direct link. Way to feed to the court so be honest. The judge needs as much objective information as you can give him or her. And that's what we would like. (Renee)

Renee recognises potential spaces for effective sharing of information and opportunity to improve processes to create fuller understandings that can connect intervention programme participation and completion, risk assessment, motivation and indicators for change across judicial and community responses.

Use of the workbook in court with evidence and understanding being able to be demonstrated about safety and relapse plans was seen as having potential to be effective in establishing in a more real way some understanding on the part of perpetrators. (Renee)

Stuart outlines how connections and alliances across the landscape can complement one another and help enable sustainable development and change. The connection between programme completion and perpetrators' everyday lives is an on-going process that is enabled by long-term networks of monitoring and support. This is particularly important given behaviour change programmes in themselves can be reasonably short in duration and may be limited by scope (Polaschek, 2016).

I think that people going through a ummm a ummm anger management process if they come out at the end of it with a work book they've completed ummm and that would be monitored and approved by those other significant people and also that they'd come up with a relapse prevention plan and again why not other support groups or systems they can continue to attend or come and unload or do whatever they need to do. (Stuart)

Stuart understands perpetrator programmes as a specific intervention that connect stages of change through a process of maintaining non-violence in our families and communities. While perpetrator programmes are an important response, they may be a necessary targeted fragment of responses. George understands the intervention as a stage, a discrete station, that is separate from the crisis network and the on-going work post-programme

I think the programmes are what I'd call phase two intervention pieces of work. So, they're, they're done is isolation. They're fragmented. There's no connection to the survivor or the children. It's done in a primarily, most of the work done around the country is done in a very ummm siloed fashion and that in itself is actually risky. (George)

A lack of connection between multiple stations fragments our understandings of safety, and risk is authorised through dependency on relationships of accountability to the system rather than to those affected by violence in the context of their everyday lives. George suggests that fragmented services cannot provide support for long-term well-being.

Umm I think the work happens in a really fragmented way. So, we, so we, if you think of phase one being crisis work often agencies are all pitched at the work being crisis focused. Actually, most work we deal with is post crisis phase two, the intervention and almost nobody is doing phase three the family work of how you bring it together to enable people to make decisions. So, what we have is families I would say have men that slip into families and say I've got the ticket I've done the programme. I've got the kudos so it's all good, so they've slipped back into families with almost no management. Alternatively, you have men that have the capacity to put things right, but they're blocked from any opportunity to address that. (George)

George understands the fragments in the process from crisis to well-being and the lack of work in the ongoing connections to family and community, through recognising the complex and multiple relationships between the stations. Long-term effective interventions require collaborations that engage shared understandings of accountability and risk. The consultants experience the disconnection as a lack of trust across the landscape.

So, I think the issues of collaboration are really ones of professional trust and the presumptions of risk and how people see that. (George)

Effective risk assessment needs to be grounded in an effective integrated response including having comprehensive principles and training for practitioners with clarity given around roles and responsibilities (Gulliver & Fanslow, 2015). Susie also saw trust as significant in effective interagency work.

That comes back to trust around the table. (Susie)

Relationships of trust and voice can centre around contested meanings and disconnections of understandings. This includes contested meanings related to effectiveness, where the healing and empowerment of survivors is situated within a family context and there are tensions between different forms of advocacy and expertise.

So, the place of family work I think is essential and if you look at the more current research around D.V. intervention unless we're making good connections with the external aspects of a client's life and helping people understand the work they've done and joining the outcomes to them ummm, ummm we're losing a huge aspect of what generates change. (George)

Traditionally family work has been very, you'd know this Adrienne, so traditionally family work has been resisted by these programmes. There's been profound trust issues, so I'd say the voice of refuge has actually shut down family work in D.V for a long time. (George)

Relationships of trust and voice layer the landscape where there are tensions in understandings of safety within family work. Collaborations, however, require recognising and reflecting on the

layers of meaning among practitioners involved in the process of well-being, requiring sustainable work in ongoing connections between the stations to family and community. Building trusting relationships that connect the voices of those immersed in interventions at discrete stations requires an understanding of how our experiences of perpetrator responsibility, victim safety and resistance in the response connect the sector to enable meaningful movement toward freedom from violence. In the narrative of the research contributors, potential for collaboration requires healthy social relationships that respect the integrity and diversity of the stations as we negotiate the challenges of sustainable transformation. The potential for collaborative relationships between stations requires respectful dialogue that is responsive to the issues of trust, safety and accountability.

To be in that welcoming, supporting, encouraging, challenging. So, there's a culture in our groups of that freely, open challenge. (Shawn)

Accountability and trust emerge where there is an understanding that our responses to those individuals and communities engender the everyday lives of those most affected by violence, including taking responsibility for our own relationships within the community in order to deplete the shadows in the landscape left by empire building.

In making connections between and within the stations, Peter provides some ideas centred around connecting with different parts of the system, preventing as well as stopping violence, connecting government with community. In particular, he talks about the role of community service providers, encouraging a focus to their work that is beyond individualistic programmatic delivery.

So, so they'll be working with women, they'll be working with men, they're often working with kids as well. So, they'll be doing stuff individually, they'll be bringing people together, they'll be engaged in community action and community change. They're engaged in prevention ummm and they're having conversations with government agencies in their communities around policies and practices and those kinds of things. So, they're covering, covering all those, all those bases really. They're not just looking after their bit. (Peter)

Intertwining of multiple needs, such as health needs and financial needs, has implications for multiple systems and how they can connect in their responses to family violence to provide a holistic approach for families and whānau.

So, I have to say first and foremost that they are three areas that are so intertwined that you can't separate them. That is domestic violence, alcohol and drug abuse and sexual abuse and you can't separate them, and a lot of times alcohol and drugs is what kids get into trouble most for but it's actually dealing with the other two and sometimes those are both going on, the other two are both going on or have gone on for that young person. (Mel)

There is an evidence link between alcohol and intimate partner violence. However, alcohol abuse in itself does not cause violence (Leonard, 2005; SUPERU, 2015; Braff, 2012). In 31% of intrafamilial violence deaths in Aotearoa New Zealand between 2009-2012, alcohol had been consumed by the offender in the context of a social gathering (FVDRC, 2014). Tina and Shawn suggest that although making connections between multiple issues is necessary, this does not

mean narratives for understanding these complex needs should extrapolate to excuses of family violence.

I'm a bit of a stickler around that 'cos I just think there's too many excuses given for domestic violence and I think you know ultimately it's a choice you know whether people get drunk or might be on drugs but they're not necessarily violent. (Tina)

I had this one client and his brother had committed suicide since we had worked with him recently and he'd fallen back into violence. I'm not going to say it's ok but I can understand your brother committing suicide and you lose control of your life. (Shawn)

Susie understands that responses need to reflect the complexity in order to make the train journey one that is connecting the stations, rather than processing the people.

If you've got three children and they've all got problems no wonder they're not functioning. They've got domestic violence going on and all those peripheral issues going along with that. It's huge. (Susie)

They don't just have domestic violence. We all feel like hitting our kids if we can't afford to pay the power bill. So, it's those compounding problems. (Susie)

If they're just going to deal with the 3-year-old you have less faith that it's a more holistic kind of approach. (Name of agency) will work with the perpetrator, (other agency) will work with the women. (Susie)

Mel highlights opportunities for prevention where there are possibilities for changes in life journeys when the right, timely support is available.

We got a whole lot of kids coming through that are going to have a whole lot of mental health issues 'cos they're using at such young ages and our community going to suffer for that just because parents have used it to dull out their sense of coping and now kids use it and it's not the same drugs as 15 years ago, you know. Today is a lot stronger than it was 15 years ago. And then we're getting psychosis and we're getting schizophrenia, and we're getting bi-polar and they don't come back from that you know and then they can't do their education. They can't support a family. (Mel)

Shawn outlines his desire to connect and expand conversations and work, creating space for more in-depth growth and development than the current system accommodates.

I'd love to talk about sexual abuse more than we do and talk about sex generally and we bring it into our programme, but we could talk more. We don't talk about money at all. Money doesn't barely scratch the surface on our programme and yeah if we made it into a 30 week not 16 week programme it wouldn't be hard (Shawn)

It is not just the stations of service provision that need to be connected but the people connection as well. Stuart suggests in the role of a 'professional' in the system there is space for authentic, person-to-person connection.

I've always operated from the perspective of being myself but being a person rather than just like that's someone I am going to see and separate it. (Stuart)

So, to emerge from the shadows of empire building, the system needs to understand the journeys and experiences of families and whānau within the landscape and be connected in ways that support them. Connected bridges need to be made across contested meanings and authorities of power, through collaborative relationships among the stations and with family, whānau and community. The next chapter expands on connection, shifting the focus from disconnection of help in the shadow of empire builders that has resonated at the very heart of problems that hamper the elimination of family violence, highlighting some help offered is not useful, or it is not offered at all, or it is misinformed about the needs of the people seeking help; this is a huge barrier to safety. So, what is the right help? This story so far has predominately focused on problems as this was the flavour of the stories of research contributors. However, there were also insights into what was working. What helped families in supportive ways. The celebrations and successes. The glorious triumph as the parts and understandings at last connect. This is now where this story leads in the superordinate theme of *going for gold*.

CHAPTER FIVE: GOING FOR GOLD

If it's Olympic that's my gold medal. I passed right there you know. I got it. (Tom)

Tom begins this chapter with a metaphor within his quote that sets the context for the theme *going for gold*. It characterises his feelings when people are connected in a way that is warm and caring, and people experiencing the impacts of family violence are supported and helped in ways that enhance their well-being. For Tom, there is a feeling of 'a job well done' when this happens within the work he does. He experiences an achievement and accomplishment which he draws in parallel to a feeling experienced by gold medal winners. Against the odds, and within the storminess of the family violence landscape, he understands that the support he is sometimes able to provide has helped people immersed in family violence, making their journey a little easier. For him that is his gold medal, to help in a way that gives comfort.

In this research story, the systemic failures and lack of progress to eliminate violence have been discussed. Yet building on Tom's context, this story is also about acknowledging what is working, to highlight efforts to promote change and to illuminate the successes that have been accomplished. In doing so I wish to maintain hope and positivity for the future. So, in this chapter the exploration lies in looking to the literature and what it says about what is working, and to the research contributors as they share their understandings of positive approaches and ideas to help enable to eliminate family violence.

Delving into *gold for gold* reveals there are many understandings of effectiveness, what works, and the 'evidence' presented to support claims of success. These understandings can be linked to efficiency, long-term well-being, programmatic outcomes, whānau outcomes, and they speak into the priorities and positioning of the different people in the family violence landscape. There

is also a spectrum of approaches to effectiveness, emerging promising understandings, dominant or privileged frameworks of evidence, and evidence and understandings from community and government.

Recently initiatives from government and community, and collaborations between both, have been implemented and they also bear on the meaning of success in the sector.

Government initiatives include significant new legislation. The Family Violence Bill and the Family Violence (Amendments) Bill became law in 2019. Three new offences have been created; strangulation, assault on a family member and coercion to marry. Other changes include easier applications for Protection Orders, enhanced information sharing, more opportunities for connection to services and extending the maximum duration of the Police Safety Order from five to 10 days (New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse (NZFVC), 2018). The new charge of strangulation was introduced on recommendation by the Law Commission for non-fatal strangulation to be an offence distinctive from assault, recognising the potential lethality of this type of violence (Law Commission, 2016). In 2019, the Domestic Violence - Victims' Protection Bill also came into effect. This provides protection from discrimination based on being a victim, mandatory workplace policies to support victims and 10 days paid leave for those who have been victimised (NZFVC, 2018). There has been other government attention to victims such as the appointment of a Chief Victims' Advisor in 2015 (New Zealand Government, 2017). To reduce stress on victims of family violence, a police trial of recording victim statements on mobile phones commenced in June 2017, so victims do not need to go to a police station to give a statement (Bennett & Adams, 2017).

In 2018, a new government approach to addressing family and sexual violence was announced. The *joint venture* aim is for chief executives from across government to take a collective responsibility to end family and sexual violence, starting with developing a national strategy and action plan to eliminate this violence (Little, Sepuloni & Logie, 2018).

The previous year, a strategy for preventing and addressing family violence based on Te Ao Māori values and principles was launched. Tū Pono: Te Mana Kaha o te Whānau – A Te Waipounamu Strategy to Effect Change (Teputahitanga, 2019; NZFVC, 2017). In the same year, government frameworks focusing on workforce capability building and risk assessment were produced (New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2017a, New Zealand Ministry of Justice, 2017b).

Initiatives have been implemented by government and community focusing on prevention and intervention. For example, since 2016, ACC, the governmental entity that holds the responsibility for administering New Zealand's injury scheme, partnered with New Zealand Police and Gandhi Nivas, a community-based initiative, to deliver early interventions to perpetrators and their families. ACC has also partnered with Le Va, a Pacific peoples' organisation, to establish a national prevention plan which includes a focus on family violence prevention (Universal Periodic Review-New Zealand National Report, 2019).

E Tū Whānau is a whānau violence prevention programme and movement for positive change. The first programme of action was launched in 2009. It uses a strength-based approach, building protective factors, drawing upon tikanga and Māori values (E Tū Whānau, 2013). Many other initiatives and approaches continue to be developed and implemented across New Zealand and they shape my approach to elaborating the theme *going for gold*.

When drawing upon the literature to explore understandings of effective and responsive approaches to family violence, the reader will see that I have included sources such as reports, understandings and evaluations from community, as well as government-procured evaluations and understandings, to honour the voices of knowledge from both community and government.

The literature provides some insight about positive responses to children experiencing family violence. A holistic and child-centred approach to intervention may reduce the disconnection of help that children and young people can experience. Some research has indicated a secure and positive attachment with a non-abusive parent or other adult may help protect and mitigate against the impacts of family violence, in turn building upon the resilience of the child (Graham-Bermann, DeVoe, Mattis, Lynch & Thomas, 2006). There is also evaluative research indicating that interventions which support mothers and children jointly have greater effectiveness than when they are separated for adult and child interventions. The positive impacts of joint interventions include strengthening attachment and increased ability for children to express their emotions and relay their experiences, leading to greater understanding of their perspectives (Chetwin & Gregg, 2013). Positive social connections, networks and interactions also help to enhance resilience in children that have been affected by family violence. Using existing support structures and building new ones can help enhance provision of long-term support and longevity of effectiveness. Psychotherapy, particularly Cognitive Behavioural Therapy (CBT), is well supported as an effective intervention modality. Parenting skills training also appeared to be promising in terms of effectiveness. Although it is important and effective to prioritise children's voices and needs, there are gaps in access to service provision (Social Policy Evaluation and Research Unit (SUPERU), 2017). So, a holistic, inclusive and eclectic approach to working with children appears to be effective, based on research evidence.

A report into responses to children in the Family Court suggests there is still much work to be done to improve responses for children (The Backbone Collective, 2017). The report was based on a survey of 291 women who had left abusive relationships and had Family Court involvement. All together these women had 591 children who had been involved in the Family Court. Mothers reported that 44% of children had been physically assaulted by the abuser, and overall 54% of the children had been ordered into care and contact arrangements that differed from what the children wanted. Again, what is emphasised is the importance of intention in custody arrangements, in this case to keep children safe, hear and respond to their views and needs regarding safety, and implementation to match their views of safety in an effective way.

The literature also provides research evidence of the effectiveness of some adult programme intervention responses. A substantial amount of research evidence relating to effectiveness has been gathered from perpetrator self-reports (Hetherington, 2009; Mitchell & Chapman, 2014; Dennehy, 2005). Hetherington's (2009) research findings, gathered from self-report evidence of perpetrator intervention programme participants who completed all or most of their programme, indicated reduction both of their violence and alcohol consumption from their perspective. Reduction in alcohol use is significant as higher rates of violence were reported when alcohol abuse was also present. However, Hetherington's research reflects high attrition rates, meaning a large number of men in her research did not complete the programme. When we consider the potential interconnectedness of drugs, alcohol and violence, we see further suggestion of an interrelation compatible with Hetherington's research. McMaster (2012) presents an understanding that drug and alcohol abuse influences but does not necessarily lead to violence. The role of alcohol and other drug consumption does not cause domestic violence but indicates an interconnecting issue that complicates the context in which violence is perpetrated. Further

investigation of interventions which successfully address a range of complicating issues would be advantageous in the field.

Ehrhardt, Little, Marsters, Pentecost, Stockdale-Frost and Wivell (2013) investigated the efficacy of DOVE family violence intervention services in the Hawkes Bay, Aotearoa New Zealand. In this research, a mixed qualitative and quantitative methodology was used including narrative and statistical data. Again, violence was commonly linked with alcohol and drug issues, and both men and women clients imparted a desire to be free from drugs, alcohol and violence, which was expressed as a singular concept. Past trauma was also a factor, linking into Susie's advocacy for support to address the impacts of trauma within the family violence landscape discussed in *living the experience*. Ehrhardt et al.'s (2013) research indicated that DOVE makes a positive contribution to safety in the families through support, education, equipping clients with effective tools to reduce violence, and counselling. Holistic, personalised and flexible support was particularly valued. Encouragingly, clients learnt to model non-violence to their children in the strategies they learnt to deal with their anger. Particularly useful strategies highlighted were time out, knowing their early warning signs, and being able to stop.

Mitchell and Chapman (2014) researched views of men who were attendees of a perpetrator intervention programme (Living Safe) in Nelson, Aotearoa New Zealand. Overall feedback was positive, and men could find it a life changing experience where they could develop skills and be respected. Areas of development from focus group input indicated that the complexity of intimate partner abuse needed to be better appreciated, exploring differing models relating to understandings of IPV could be useful, and better promotion of the service was needed.

Dennehy (2005) found self-report evaluations from participants of a stopping violence programme for women in Christchurch indicated they were satisfied with the programme and

that they were able achieve positive life changes through personal growth and development. Again, the issue of inadequate funding surfaced in terms of ability to conduct external evaluation and maintain core services. So, we see in Aotearoa New Zealand, *some* evaluative findings that highlight *some* effective intervention work has been done across the country.

Some research evidence of effectiveness has drawn upon victim and as well perpetrator perspectives regarding interventions (Kelly & Westmarland, 2015; Paulin, Mossman, Wehipeihana, Lennan, Kaiwai, Carswell, Lynn & Gauper, 2019). Most recently, an evaluation of non-violence programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand, funded by the Ministry of Justice, found reasonably strong evidence that these programmes are effective for those who attend following a non-mandated referral through the criminal court. Self-reports from programme users of both adult safety programmes (with people who have experienced abuse) and non-violence programmes (for those who use violence) also indicated some evidence of effectiveness. Users found the programmes helpful, with the skill of the facilitator being critical and a conversational, interactive style being preferable, accompanied by a warm, physical environment (Paulin et al., 2019).

McMaster, Maxwell and Anderson (2000) used both quantitative and qualitative methods to assess effectiveness of four programmes in Aotearoa New Zealand: North Harbour Living Without Violence, Whanganui Living Without Violence, Porirua Living Without Violence and He Waka Tapu. Data was gathered from men, their partners, programme providers and government and community agencies. They found group programmes can be effective with an overall reduction in all forms of abuse.

Kelly and Westmarland (2015) used both quantitative and qualitative methodologies to explore whether domestic violence perpetrator programmes promoted positive change. Their findings

were optimistic about the ability of men's perpetrator programmes to help support positive change. They used six criteria of success: respectful communication, expanded space for action, safety and freedom from violence and abuse for women and children, shared parenting, awareness of self and others, and safer healthier childhoods. Many women, men and children indicated improvements in some, if not all, of these criterial domains. Some men only made a few steps towards progress, a small amount regressed, but the large majority achieved change. This could suggest that investment in such programmes has been a positive and effective endeavour.

Effectiveness in the literature is also presented as understanding the complexity of family violence and consequently highlights the importance of collaboration and integrated and coordinated responses to understand and respond to the multiple needs emerging from the experience of family violence. Programmatic understandings of effectiveness related to programme session completion did not reflect all the complexity of what was needed for non-violence. Effective funding arrangements need to reflect understandings of complexity. Dominant understandings of funding may not reflect this complexity and can hamper the ability to do more and achieve greater change for the better. Financial constraints and changeable funding regimes constrained the capacity of service provision and could promote viewing programmes as a 'magic cure' (Kelly & Westmarland, 2015). This caution about conceptualisations of magic solution ideologies is mirrored by Robertson (2005), who lays out an understanding of the complexity of family violence that paints a picture far more multifaceted than a singular, generic and simple solution. He advocates for coordinated community interventions where a shared vision is present while still maintaining ability to challenge one another in order to improve the work being undertaken. In a sense, this can be understood as encouraging accountability in a respectful way. Power inequalities can be present among

partners in collaborations. This needs to be addressed so that powerful institutional objectives do not overshadow safety and the opportunity and ability to challenge remains open. The importance of evaluating collaboration to ensure that all participants maintain the primary focus on safety despite the presence of competition for limited funding, is recommended by Robertson. His insight connects with the themes of this study that have highlighted power in the form of empire building which can reflect powerful institutional objectives that do not embody broad collaboration, the problematic impacts of funding which do not reflect understandings of complexity, and the long-term support and resourcing that may be needed.

Evaluations of integrated community responses have produced evidence suggesting that collaborations between people in the family violence landscape can be effective and these have developed overtime in Aotearoa New Zealand, learning from the research evidence of earlier evaluations and understandings. In 2010, an evaluation of the Family Violence Interagency Response System (FVIARS) produced encouraging results regarding interagency relationships, localised adaptability and a clearer picture of risk at an individual case level. National evaluation and monitoring were advocated, as well as the need for a common risk assessment framework (Carswell, Atkin, Wilde, Lennan & Kalapu, 2010). However, the FVDRC (2013) raised concerns that the well-intentioned focus of FVIARS placed too much emphasis on victims' responsibility for their own safety, and as a result could encumber them with actions and safety plans that victims had to enact when they may be suffering and traumatised, with limited resources. There needs to be a focus on victims in systemic responses where support and meeting victim needs should be prioritised, rather than seeing safety as the primary responsibility of victims. Safety planning of people that use abusive behaviour places the responsibility appropriately with those who are to be held accountable.

In recognition of the need for improved responses to family violence and continued development of these responses, two pilots of Integrated Safety Response (ISR) in Waikato and Christchurch have been funded. The aim of these initiatives was to ensure families get the right help from family violence services by bringing together core agencies in a team approach to risk assessment and management, incorporating a whole family and whānau focus (New Zealand Police, 2017). Mossman, Paulin and Wehipeihana (2017) conducted a first evaluation indicating the ISR model improved information sharing, safety planning and risk assessment, fostered a greater awareness and responsiveness to family violence. The study indicated three times as many families were taking up offers of support and there was improved case management. Statistical analysis from police reports indicated two-thirds of predominant aggressors either had no further reported family harm episodes, or they were less frequent or severe than the six months prior to involvement in the ISR. Victims who were interviewed reported feeling safer and experienced increased well-being, and this also included their perspective of the well-being of their children. The evaluation highlighted the importance of consultation prior to implementation especially with NGOs and ensuring practice-oriented guidelines training takes place. In 2019, a second evaluation of the ISR, done as the model developed over the proceeding time, found it delivers an improved service response to families and whānau. It found it was responsive to whānau with significant reductions in family violence offence-related re-victimization for Māori victims, reduced risk of continued use of violence by perpetrators and reductions in self-reported experiencing of violence by victims. It also highlighted areas for continuing development including strengthening responses for children and young people (Mossman, Wehipeihana & Bealing, 2019). My research focuses on areas outside of these sites and, as previously outlined, highlights concerns around lack of collaboration and fragmented systemic responses. ISR could provide a pathway to improved integrated responses on a national level by taking the learnings and insights from these pilots to inform the wider system. This

could avoid ‘reinventing the wheel’ and instead builds on knowledge and areas of promising development.

Historically our responses to whānau violence have fallen short. Government funded interventions have been dominated by Pākehā conceptual frameworks and methodologies. This has had the effect of isolating Māori. Whānau violence needs to be understood within the context of the legacy of impacts resulting from colonisation, marginalisation, imposition of Western practices, structural inequalities and racism. Te Ao Hurihuri describes influences that have undermined the practice of cultural constructs from Te Ao Māori that protect against violence, and predominately colonisation has produced whānau violence outcomes. This needs to be taken into account when responding to whānau violence effectively (Kruger et al., 2004). Significantly the high rates of whānau violence emerged after colonisation. Prior to this it was a rare occurrence. Wāhine and mokopuna were held in high esteem, and strong traditional Māori values and practices promoted respectful relationships and the care and protection of women and children (FVDRC, 2013). In this section of this story, the focus on effective endeavours brings the discussion to a place where we can celebrate understandings and conceptualisations which can help bring wellbeing and balance back to the lives of whānau, iwi and hapu affected by violence.

Teaching transformative practices rooted in Māori cultural imperatives creates a place of opportunity for alternatives to violence. Such transformation can be achieved through practicing Māori cultural understandings such as whakapapa, tikanga, wairua, tapu, mauri and mana. There is opportunity for kaupapa Māori practices to promote healing, well-being and prevent violence. In contrast, the way that whānau violence is sometimes approached within a Pākehā context can be individualistic and focused on removing the perpetrator or victim rather than embodying the

process of restoration of balance within relationships. There can also be a selective and tokenistic use of tikanga practices which does little towards a comprehensive and effective response for Māori. The use of a punitive approach to perpetrators and isolation for victims does not take into account the broader whānau, hapu, iwi and cultural context in which whānau violence occurs, divorcing individuals from collective cultural understandings that can function as a protector and preventer of whānau violence (Kruger et al., 2004). So effectively responding to whānau violence needs to incorporate practice that is informed by Te Ao Māori, rather than prioritising and imposing Pākehā imperatives.

So, the literature on effectiveness draws upon multiple voices and understandings. Tom adds to this by bringing to the current research his *experiencing* of effectiveness. The emotion he describes brings experiential appreciation of what effectiveness means for him. Tom shares the wonderful, and at times emotional, moments of a break-through or positive occurrence in a family under stress and in despair where responses connect with the needs and wants of family or whānau.

I've even got tears in my eyes now just thinking about it because if I do anything, out of all the hundreds of things I do, that one thing makes me carry on. You know if it's just shit. Too difficult, anger, violence, not being able to do, haven't got enough time, I need to pass it on, I need to contact somebody and I can't get them. All of that is nothing compared to one little boy curled up beside the fire, happiness bound. In his 'jamas ready to go to bed you know after he's had his ice cream, you know. His grandmother's happy, they've got a break, you know for two days and ummm that was a huge thing and the same thing. We all had tears in our eyes when grandma came to pick him up, bring him up here to upstairs and say thank you so much for doing that and that's my job. If I do

anything else that's my job. So, I was very thankful of something that triggered a heart string in me to not only carry on. Gee you know you're a social worker you know. You're not in it for the money Adrienne. (Tom)

In his account, we see the connection of help and humanity in a beautiful illustration of the boy's, grandmother's and Tom's well-being enhanced by the connecting of their experiences and understandings. It was a simple thing that brought about this change; resourcing and organising of some respite for the grandmother, Yet, underneath this simplicity, in the layers, many important strategies had been at work. Tom had understood and listened to the needs of the family. He had then taken steps to support them effectively. By doing so, the grandmother's ability to care for her grandson was enhanced and as a result the boy was content. Tom had access to the resources to be able to offer help, so his work in this respect was not constrained. The grandmother had enough trust in Tom to accept the support she was offered.

We see that for Tom, money was not the major motivating influence for why he engaged in the work he did. There were barriers he experienced in doing his job such as time deprivation and the extremely difficult and complex issues that presented themselves in his work. Yet what occurred in the story he told me, spurred both him and the family on to continue working together in a positive way. In a sense, it buffered the harshness of the family violence landscape. The subordinate theme of *initiatives, strategies and innovations* provides an opportunity to discuss further the ideas that contributors shared around endeavours that they thought increased the likelihood of positive change and moving closer to achieving the "gold medal". Into this discussion is woven other knowledge from the literature.

Initiatives, strategies and innovations

Reflecting upon both understandings from the research contributors as well as research literature, multiple understandings are present in definitions and sense-making regarding effectiveness. As previously discussed, intervention programmes for perpetrators of domestic violence in Aotearoa New Zealand aimed at addressing family violence commonly use the Duluth feminist psycho-educational model (Pence & Paymar, 1993). CBT approaches are also used. In Aotearoa New Zealand, the use of Durie's Te Whare Tapa Whā model of Māori well-being has been in place for many years. The four dimensions of this model are presented by the walls of a house. Te taha wairua (spiritual health), te taha tinana (physical health), te taha whānau (family health) and te taha hinengaro (psychological health). The whenua is the foundation, the roots, land. If any dimension of the house is damaged or missing then this creates an imbalance leading to unwellness and sometimes abusive behaviour (Durie, 2011). Healing is the essential part of intervention programmes for Māori victims, whānau, hapū and iwi. This involves a collective, holistic vision supporting Māori cultural aspirations (Cram, Pihama, Jenkins & Karehana, 2002).

Research into what was the most effective treatment modality when comparing CBT and psycho-educational approaches produced varying results. Different measures for outcomes with the potential for different understandings relating to effectiveness are apparent. Jewell and Wormith (2010) found participants were less likely to drop out of a CBT intervention when compared to a psycho-educational programme. Babcock, Green and Robie (2004) reviewed 22 studies and found no significant difference in efficacy regarding CBT and Duluth modalities. This may have been because a mixture of these approaches was commonly used. Jackson et al. (2003) concluded Duluth did not change attitudes and only had minor effects on behaviour. However, Gondolf (2004) found that Duluth programmes, when combined with effective court reinforcement, lead to a significant decline in abuse. Baker (2010) highlights the difficulties

inherent in measuring the effectiveness of programmes. It may be difficult to link client change with the programme. Change may be due to multiple factors occurring in a client's life at the same time. Alternatively, it is difficult to establish if change would have taken place without participation in the programme. Baker further emphasises many programme providers do not have the time, skills and resourcing to evaluate their programmes. This leaves us with an unclear picture regarding effectiveness. However, some effective characteristics have been identified regarding programmes, including programme integrity, where a clear understanding, goal and purpose is present. Matching learning styles with a view to increase engagement, sound methodological practice and an emphasis on encouraging client accountability and responsibility were also seen as important (McMaster & Wells, 2011).

Since formalised interventions began, other approaches and strategies have been incorporated into them and family violence initiatives and responses have expanded. For instance, Cullen (2008) is an advocate for Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT), discussing the effectiveness and ideology behind the modality and highlighting its importance in emphasising context. McMaster (2012) describes how there has been a changing understanding regarding interventions with the one-fits-all approach being challenged as the most effective pathway to change. This connects with recognising the complexity of family and whānau violence previously discussed.

As the accounts of effectiveness were gathered from the experiences of the contributors in this research, an expansive story began to unfold. Effectiveness was not just about techniques and models, it was about initiatives, strategies and innovations. There was a wide plethora of techniques discussed and sometimes a multiplicity of their use was advocated. Stuart emphasised the need for a variety of methodological approaches.

You know so it's like what stories have you got, what, what toys have you got? (Stuart)

Variety and diversity helped to offer families an abundance of options. Narrative, strength-based, motivational interviewing, appreciative inquiry, choice and reality therapy, solution-focused therapy, humour and fun, motivational interviewing, appreciative enquiry, Gestalt therapy, relationship skills, safety plans, CBT, psychodrama and relapse prevention were some of the techniques and approaches that research contributors highlighted as being useful to implement in treatment. Baker (2010), in his investigation of what makes perpetrator intervention programmes effective, also supported the use of a mix of theoretical approaches including cognitive behavioural perspectives, strength-based practices including motivational interviewing, socio-cultural and feminist approaches, skills development and developing a collaborative relationship with clients. George shared how he worked using a combination of models at varying points in the treatment process.

Relapse prevention. Solution focused interventions, narrative, those, they'd be the key models if you were to watch my work, you'd see all those things interplaying at various points. (George)

Moving beyond a “chalk and talk” approach to using techniques that complimented a variety of learning styles was seen as important. Some people could not read or write and could have compounding issues such as mental health or addiction problems that hindered their ability to engage in a learning environment. Stuart suggested experiential methods of learning increased impact potential.

So, it's getting people to do things. Rather than you know just be chalk and talk. So it's, what is it that you can actually get them to do and we've done some of that work obviously but some of those where it's, it's a little drama, it's a little set up, it's a little you know and the things you can actually do to enhance the effectiveness of that and there I think lies a lot more potential to actually have an impact people so they actually experience it. (Stuart)

Stuart saw that effectiveness involved techniques that were interactive and dynamic, matching the learning and engagement styles and preferences of families. Here, he is emphasising the experience and the process of engaging and participating, rather than being a bystander and witnessing a predominately facilitator-driven dialogue with someone else. In short, being an active participant in the experience of change, not just occupying a seat on a chair during a session.

*So, I believe in the whole thing of umm I hear I forget, I see I remember, I do I know.
(Stuart)*

Stuart continues by defining and refining this process of conceptualisation through engaging the senses through hearing, seeing, action. The longevity of learning was linked to active, rather than passive, engagement.

A crucial dimension related to effectiveness was the timing of interventions and support. It appeared sometimes that help was not obtained until the situation has reached a crisis stage or has gone beyond that. In these instances, the timing was out of step with what families needed to

effectively address issues of abuse and make changes. Earlier intervention could serve to reduce further potential for violence. Stuart's experience indicated systemic responses were out of kilter with the response that families needed. His understanding emphasises the windows of time where people may be most motivated, such as at crisis points, where they may be most receptive to support and help. These windows may be lost if not opened quickly with effective responses.

So, there's an incident that takes place. There's the fight, the argument, the drama, the cops get called, you get charged. But then you know six, seven, eight months whatever it might be afterwards you're then in the Court. There's almost time to have another baby in the meantime (laugh) So the timing is the important thing. (Stuart)

The incident that Stuart refers to outlines the importance of timing reflecting the crisis nature of family violence, and families' needs for support and opportunities for intervention beyond engagement in the criminal justice response. If someone is imminently unsafe from the violence of perpetrators or suicidal resulting from experiencing trauma family violence, or unable to contain their own behaviour in a safe way, their situation is desperate. They may not see or find a way out of the violence without support. They cannot wait, they should not have to wait, for funding or to fit into a criterion of access to services that may not accommodate what they need. They need support in the moments, the hours, the days of crisis and beyond for as long as necessary. One of the ways that Renee saw effective support was resourcing for a 24-hour specialised support and crisis phonenumber, so support was available after hours.

They need someone they can call at night in the moment of crisis. (Renee)

Speaking specifically of perpetrators, or potential perpetrators. Renee's vision in this account was that a crisis line could provide them with the opportunity to make an immediate safety plan and process emotions safely that could otherwise be inflicted upon victims in the form of abuse.

Research contributors in the family violence landscape needed to provide prevention and education, crisis intervention as well as on-going support. All these elements are important. Peter provided an example of the significance that was placed on the continuation and expansion of prevention and social change work.

Yeah, I'd like to see more resources going into prevention. I'd like to see, make sure we kind of keep ummm funding those kind of social change messages. (Peter)

Evaluative research literature tells us that social change messages in the It's Not OK campaign, increased awareness and willingness to discuss family violence, motivated people to intervene, and led to behavioural change in young people and organisational culture. It increased reporting of family violence to police and enhanced development of community ownership (Roguski, 2015).

Renee said that she saw the effectiveness of the White Ribbon's campaign would improve if the campaign expanded its focus to allow contributions from perpetrators still in the process of change. We are reminded of her understandings found in the previous chapter. Renee's experience suggests perhaps it is time for us to re-think the roles we assign to the work of raising awareness to explore ways that those who are still engaged in change processes can be involved in the campaign safely.

If we apply a gender focus to Renee's understanding, we can look at men's and women's involvement in the work over several decades within the context of social change sparked by women's movements. Men have responded in diverse ways with some changing their own behaviour and supporting feminist goals and positive shifts in gender relations. Other men have responded by forming groups in opposition to these changes, focusing on men's rights. This can sometimes be seen within experiences of domestic violence and custody disputes (Flood, 2004). The question here is how we can work together in healthy and safe ways, without adopting destructive strategies that do a disservice to both men and women, or silence those who are outside the gender binary, but instead encourage positive roles for all in the work of change and the promotion of non-violence. It is about not pitting men against women, but instead discovering and implementing alternatives that are life enhancing for all (Flood, 1999). It is often assumed that gender issues are synonymous with sex differences. Gender issues within this story are understood within the context of social norms associated with being a man or a woman, not essential differences between females and males. Potential for social change lies where social norms are also transformative and enhancing for all genders.

Mel's understandings related to social change recommend that the White Ribbon campaign could increase its effectiveness by using positive role models which youth could identify with. Their contribution was particularly important given what we have already learned about the experiences of young people in the family violence landscape.

My kids would rather see Ladi6 and hear about what was it like for her and how did she survive and be the artist she is with a Dad like that. Make it doable for kids. Provide speakers that are relevant for kids. Not the next generation up. Music is their tool. How aren't we making this user friendly. (Mel)

Mel elaborated on this thinking to include ideas about creating relevant intervention tools for young people such as using technology as a means of education and support, since gaming and social media are commonly used by young people. Her suggestion challenges us to be innovative to capture the interest of our young people in ways that are relevant, user-friendly and familiar to them.

Why haven't we got some sort of Pokemon type game that they want to play that is about domestic violence? So, making it relevant to them you know. (Mel)

Appropriately targeted and timed education measures could raise awareness, encouraging a preventative rather than responsive dynamic to the work. Research confirms the effectiveness of the It's Not OK campaign, in terms of people remembering its messages. 95% of people participating in the evaluative research recalled at least one advertisement relating to the campaign. The research also indicated a trend that recall was particularly high in Māori and Pacific peoples (Point Research, 2010).

Mel spoke of young people obtaining vital education in schools that could help to give them options. Here we see an opportunity through preventative education that helps to equip young people with the skills to engage in respectful and positive relationships.

If we can get young people in their day at school, you know, so it's not taking away from their free time, it's part of their education to understand about healthy relationships and then follow it up with if you get triggered what's happening. What are your options to violence? How to be assertive not rude and all those other things that we cover in our

programme then I think you're on your way for young people to have skills they need to go into adulthood. (Mel)

If young people's life at home has involved abuse or has not role-modelled to them what respectful relationships look like, school may offer them a unique opportunity to safely gain knowledge, insight and support.

Mel expanded on her understanding, suggesting further educative work was needed with significant societal gaps of knowledge still present. Here it is understood that we have a way to go to fully understand the complexities of family violence. Mel saw expansion of knowledge was needed regarding people's understanding of psychological abuse. We see in her comment that the visible signs of abuse are sometimes more easily understood than the invisible scars left by emotional abuse.

I don't think people understood the real effect of psychological violence on someone. People that don't know about it. God bless ya. It's great that they don't but they don't, they can understand physical violence. The kids that die. We march for them. They were beaten and trodden upon and everything. But what about the, you know, children that are told they're not going to achieve anything. That they're fat or ugly or you're just like your Dad or just like your mother and things. What, how do we measure that destroying of a young person? Compared to that. They might not end up dead but they're dying inside. How do we measure that, you know? I don't think people understand that. I don't think perpetrators understand that either. They don't understand the long-term result of that and I don't think society understands that. (Mel)

The results of psychological abuse can be devastating, and Mel provides us with a compelling illustration of the erosion of self-worth that can be the impact of this type of abuse.

Consequently, her suggestion of strengthening understanding of the seriousness of psychological abuse is pertinent.

Effective application of any knowledge that had been gained needs to go hand-in-hand with learning, relevant skills and providing for change, as outlined by Stuart. Again, we see the importance of implementation matching the strategic intention, which can result in people acquiring the necessary knowledge.

Yes, so what we're looking at is we're providing skills, we're increasing awareness, we're providing skills, we're providing opportunities to act in a way which is going to provide a better outcome. But then, so then we, then we need to see well where's some application. So, I think, I think there's education ummm there's acquisition, so people actually acquire the knowledge but then are they applying it. And that's where I think it's really important we've got the systemic approach. (Stuart)

Stuart identified a process of raising awareness, increasing knowledge and skills and applying these skills in real life situations. Interestingly, Susie provided another understanding to the issue of education. She thought it could be conceptualised by families as pejoratively.

Education is lecturing at them. No. (Susie)

Susie highlights the importance of the methods of 'education' and that a "chalk and talk" approach will not work. If 'education processes' involve collaboration and rapport building

rather than direction and coercion then they can be more effective, especially given what the research contributors have shared regarding dominant understandings silencing diversity. Susie's contribution also draws attention to the many layers of conceptualisation concerning education. Education in schools, education with families and whānau, education of front-line workers and community education are all involved. They can play an important role in an effective response to family violence if they are aligned with what is needed. Perhaps we need to return to learnings from our previous themes and remember the legacy that empire builders and the influence of power dynamics have had. Perhaps Susie serves us a reminder that in "educating", these dynamics can resurface even in an unintentional way and this is something to be mindful of and to avoid.

The research contributors understood the importance of the efficacy of prevention work, consistent with the findings of research literature. Their insights also gifted us ways to strengthen and extend our efforts in effective responses with specific suggestions for enhancing the support available for families and whānau experiencing family violence.

One way to help provide responses that better meet families' needs is to provide advocates to make the process of intervention more effective and user-friendly. This idea was discussed by Mel and Susie.

I think maybe an advocate that works between the Counsel for Child and the family, someone independent, but is actually user-friendly, not from a legal perspective but from a service perspective and I think it needs to be done over time. Like like, I don't, I think what a child wants at 6 is not what they want necessarily at 8 or 9 and the same as a

teenager. What they want or are able to do at 11 and 12 is not what they're able to do at 14 and 15. (Mel)

An advocate, I think so and someone that really understands the subject matter. (Susie)

Susie saw the provision of a full-time advocate to help a family find resolution for complex and difficult circumstances would be effective. Upon reflection of this research's findings relating to the disconnection of help, the implementation of an advocate role to help people obtain consistent, appropriate support seems particularly advantageous.

Their whole lives have been thrown up into the air. They actually need someone to move in with them and sort them out for two weeks. I mean that's ideological I know and then everyone gets really frustrated because she moves back. He's holding all the financial purse strings.

Someone that could talk through the process and the access to services. Someone that could have explained it.

And it might be for the first month really, one family. (Susie)

While advocates and advocacy exist in the current system, Susie's understanding suggests that the level of advocacy she is proposing is different than most advocacy provided; perhaps reflective of gaps between advocacy capability and need. In her quote below we see a clear indication that she is conceptualising a robust, time intensive level of advocacy. This type of intervention was viewed as no more expensive than current support services but had potential to

reduce fragmentation and barriers to accessing help, suggestive of an accumulative role rather than multiple roles undertaken by different people. These types of more creative solutions open up possibilities to rethink our traditional ideas about what responses could look like. The FVDRC report (2016) encourages a transformation of thinking about family violence and exploring creative and innovative ideas could well aid this transformation.

If you added up all the money of the people doing all those bits it would probably add up to one person full time for a month anyway. (Susie)

This idea could help to combat the negative impacts of what could be an exhausting process of obtaining safety and support.

You're feeling incredibly vulnerable you know it's like when you've got the flu you just can't be bothered. Ringing in sick is hard work. (Susie)

So, advocates could be one way to enhance effectiveness through building relationships with families and support agencies to help them access the services they required. They could help to connect the disconnections. Perhaps one of our goals may be to ultimately have a system that family and whānau can use with ease; one that consistently provides for their needs comprehensively without the need for individual advocacy at specific points in the process, like the role of Court Victim Advisors. Perhaps more continuous support that is sourced from within the community, whānau or family structures would work best to facilitate resourceful connection of help.

Alongside the specific suggestion of dedicated advocates to improve the effectiveness of responses to families and whānau, contributors also offered their understandings of effectiveness in the processes of change towards non-violence for perpetrators. The change process has been studied within the literature. Silvergleid and Mankowski (2006), for instance, highlighted the need for a balance between support and confrontation in the effectiveness of the process of change involved in perpetrator intervention programmes. Both were identified as effective if challenge was done within a safe and respectful group environment and culture. Challenge could be from facilitators or other group members. While participants found the role of facilitators was important, they also identified personal motivation to change was critical. Extra-therapeutic influences, such as the fear of losing family relationships and criminal justice sanctions, helped to facilitate the process of change.

McMaster (2003) outlines a three-phase process of behavioural change in perpetrators: talking the talk, which is focuses on building motivation; doing the talking, where conversations between the therapist and client occur with the objective of finding solutions; and reflecting on the talking, where talk moves into action. Zalmanowitz, Babins-Wagner, Roger, Corbett and Leschied (2012) describe the Transtheoretical model (TTM) and outline the stages of change as precontemplation, contemplation, preparation, action and maintenance stages. Baker (2010) supported the use of TTM as a means to facilitate client change by identifying client motivation, and to help clients move through stages of change.

The current study understands effectiveness relating to the process of change as being influenced by motivation, with children being a more important motivator for change than partners. George highlighted the importance of getting buy in from people who have used violence and identified

a process when people may not enter an intervention ready to be a client but may pass through stages of observing and complaining before engaging in the process as a motivated participant.

Yeah so rrr what I think works, I mean I work with some tough clients and rr unless they have a buy in with me it don't work. And I like, so, but you can wrap that up in solution focused and narrative things. So, I like the solution focused process, we have to receive clients as visitors. They often then move to the stage of being complainants. How we receive a visitor and how we dealt with complaints makes a huge difference as to whether they eventually join as clients or not and the mistake we often assume is that they're a client from the outset. (George)

George clearly warns of the potential to fail in engaging a 'client' if they are not appropriately invited to engage. Thus, there are implications for how we conceptualise clients, particularly those that have used violence. 'Resistant to change' as denoted through complaining could be reframed as a stage in the process of change rather than an indicator that someone is 'not suitable for treatment'. The implications of a different view of the process of engaging 'as a client' may be significant, as George suggests. Returning a client to court as not suitable for treatment, when they are actually moving through phases of change and building trust by observing how their concerns are handled by those who are working with them, may mean a lost opportunity to create positive change. Of course, I balance this view with the need for perpetrators to still do the work and become accountable and responsible for their behaviour. George and I share an understanding of change as a journey, rather than a destination. This suggests the service provider and perpetrator need to interact where the work of change can be done in an optimal way, however that process unfolds. On-going assessment of risk and needs is prudent.

Stuart highlighted the change which could be evident such as disclosure and understandings of empathy.

Well you can use with the, with the assessment I think, I suppose, I think that there are a number of things that in a sense are always on-going right throughout the process of working with someone or ummm to someone to disclose everything right from the word go so disclosure is an on-going thing, taking responsibility is an on-going thing, their, their empathy is an on-going thing so all those things which I consider to be the arrhh the things we use that can be effective in working with someone those things are on-going.(Stuart)

Change could entail a flexible and complex process. This approach echoes the approach advocated for survivors of family violence previously discussed in terms of the important need for long-term and changing support.

So, the story about effectiveness of invention and prevention relating to family violence is complex, however throughout the story of this research we see a common thread reoccurring: It is the concept of relationships within the interplays across the family violence landscape and how relationships impact effectiveness.

Relationships

The client/facilitator relationships, relationships between intervention group members, police relationship building, community support, and pro-social relationships found outside intimate partner relationships are all discussed by contributors in terms of their influence on effectiveness.

Establishing and maintaining a positive client/facilitator relationship is seen as helpful in engaging people in change, reducing resistance and avoiding “performing seal responses” that denote no genuine change has taken place, but clients have learnt how to comply with programme facilitators’ requirements. Sandra understood that a positive client/facilitator relationship meant people could explore aspects of themselves that were not particularly complimentary because they felt safe in the relationship.

I think one of the key ones is ummm engaging in a safe respectful relationship that allows for ummm more quite deep challenge. (Sandra)

George agreed that a trusting relationship allowed for a deeper level of work to be completed.

*That I can invite him to see some terrible truths about his behaviour and you're not going to achieve that unless you have a trusting relationship, in my view. Yeah 'cos otherwise you get performing seals that clap their hands 'cos they just want to look good in front of you or you get utter resistance and they walk out and say fu** ya. (George)*

George acknowledges it can sometime be a challenging task to uncover the layers of the self that we may find difficult to accept. They may reflect an aspect of our persona that we would rather keep hidden and may be inconsistent with what we would want people to understand about us. Yet if they cannot be brought into the open in the therapeutic relationship, we see that effectiveness is compromised. Stuart also saw that avoidance of a superficial relationship in favour of one based of personal genuineness was critical.

One of the most critical elements is the personal relationship that can be brought together by the person that is facilitating or counselling or whatever it may be, it's the personal relationship. (Stuart)

When exploring interventions with perpetrators, interactions between group members were seen, at times, as being more effective than the client/facilitator relationship interactions if they promoted positive change.

That interaction is far more powerful than what we do. (Shawn)

If group members respectfully challenged other group members, for example, their challenges could be more effective than facilitator challenge even if the challenge was similar in content to the facilitator's contribution. Perhaps this was because perpetrators could identify more readily with someone else who is struggling with similar issues to themselves and therefore knew some of the challenges they faced.

As well as the central importance of the client/facilitator relationship in relation to perpetrator-focused work in interventions, contributors' saw relationships amongst those involved in interventions as significant. For example, Mel spoke of her understanding that community relationship building efforts undertaken by police are also a dimension of intervention effectiveness.

Police involvement in schools and communities even at times when people were not in crisis could build familiarity and trust. Youth found it helpful when police respected and offered assistance to them. There are a couple of police assigned to each College, so they

become part of the College, so the kids get used to seeing them outside of needing them in an emergency. So, they come out of their normal on patrol and do normal things and kids see that. (Mel)

When community trust in police is coupled with respectful and helpful police responses in times of crisis, there is a positive foundation formed from which people would be trusting of police and be more likely to involve police in times of need. Activities building youth and community trust in the police could bring a preventive and collaborative dimension to the work so that people trust seeking help earlier.

In Mel's understanding, a holistic and caring approach that fosters positivity and connection within an empathic perspective is necessary. Broadening the focus beyond policing to other community relationships, the work of Roguski and Gregory (2014) highlights that former perpetrators learnt to become violence free through informal community connections and positive role models. Participants in the current study also highlighted positive connections with others, apart from a partner, are important. In this context of understanding effectiveness, a pro-social environment continues to be a significant factor in behavioural change. Shawn's experience supported the notion that change is more likely when perpetrators participate in positive social environments and expands on the earlier discussion of men's cultural environments as conditions of abuse.

If I was to define models of success, the guys that make the most change are the ones that have friends, healthy friends around them. (Shawn)

Pro-social environments incorporate positive relationships with friends who do not collude with violence but have healthy attitudes and beliefs that supported the promotion and maintenance of positive change. The advantage of such an approach is that it can encourage long-term support outside of an intervention setting. Sometimes people who know the person using violence well can observe problematic behaviour, the warning signs and triggers to violence, before the person themselves may identify them. They can then support the person to prevent relapse or strengthen safety after a relapse has occurred.

Tom highlighted the importance of male camaraderie where men could have fun and be physical without engaging in violence. Unfortunately, opportunities for men to engage positively with other men in this way are missing from Tom's perspective.

That's starting to go. That male bonding again that bull rush, putting down the hangi or, or whatever it's still male bonding. We're still missing that. (Tom)

It could be a cultural connection, a sporting connection, any kind of activity that was positive and brought men together. Tom purposefully sought out these connections for himself. He acknowledged that this was a need that he had and in acting to meet his own needs, he brought greater balance to his life and was able to contribute to a positive family life. He observed this need in other men as well and understood that sometimes they did not seek out opportunities to fulfil their own needs for themselves. Tom saw that there may be a connection between a lack of men engaging in positive male bonding and the incidence of violence because they had less opportunity to exercise their maleness and physicality in a positive way and create connection and support for themselves, independent of their intimate partner relationships, that they could then draw upon if need be in life's challenging moments. Pro-social relationships among men

provide an opportunity to talk through things, provide a buffer or defuse circumstances in some way before they lead to abusive pathways.

I definitely think that's a connection. (Tom)

The importance of positive relationships and an ability to enhance the potential to engage people in a journey of positive change required more than just formalised qualifications for the purpose of addressing 'gaps' in clients' skills or education. Informal help found in community relationships was effective in supporting the achievement and maintenance of pro-social behaviour.

I think umm I think. What did I read the other day? Yeah, I think, I think there can be frequently you know there can be too much emphasis on someone going and doing some kind of degree or paper or whatever it might be but I think that those things like maybe a like a guarantee of employment but they're not necessarily a guarantee of being much good. So, like you know if you haven't got that you go and be that so if you got that you can be that but then it doesn't necessarily mean , you're going to be good at that. (Stuart)

Flexibility in defining effective support for change is needed, as is the understanding of what qualifies a person to do the work of responding effectively. Effective responses and support for change can be accessed through a myriad of ways within our communities and the relationships that exist within them.

Including informal community members specifically in safety planning has been found to be beneficial for a number of reasons. They could provide monitoring of safety, enhance efforts

aimed at social change and provide emotional support to those who were in need of safety plans (Sudderth, 2016). When we look at the way we respond to family violence, the contribution of culture, family and communities, and the intentional inclusion and acknowledgement of these relationships in our responses seems an effective strategy to implement.

Renee was concerned that positive community social environments might be more difficult when shortages of housing resources meant that concentrations of people experiencing socio-economic disadvantages were created. Potentially the lack of housing resources created pockets of higher risk, and it could be advantageous to look at more creative ways of building communities so they were less segregated, balancing the mix of people from different demographics in the different areas.

However, what we've done in our not so wise ways (is) we've put a whole lot of people with the same socio-economic problems in the same area. So now we've got a whole pocketful of predominately unemployed, predominately uneducated, [...] all of those risk factors that might be present in domestic, in intimate partner violence relationships. So, we've got a lot of risk factor people living with a lot of risk factor people while the non-risk factor people are living with the non-risk factor people, like, if we had done housing a bit differently I think that could work really well but it is one of the leverages for change working in your community alongside safe people. (Renee)

More diversification in housing could mean more people are able to access positive support in their own communities, potentially enhancing the possibility for change. However, our communities may need financial resourcing to help strengthen these supports. The voices of contributors to this research concurred with Gulliver and Fanslow (2016) in their

recommendation of the need for a long-term, comprehensive approach to investment to address family violence, including community investment. Participants' accounts reflect their experiences of the inadequacy of short-term funding that does not enable long-term planning, and the benefits of sustained investment which could be a more effective approach in addressing family violence. Due to the interrelated understandings between effectiveness and funding approaches, resourcing is discussed in this section to emphasise that effectiveness can be impacted and influenced by funding and more specifically, it can be constrained by funding when this does not match resourcing that is needed for an effective intervention or approach to be undertaken or developed.

Shawn illustrated how money may be very scarce within stopping violence programmes and providers struggle to find ways to financially support the needs and services of clients.

The programme has lost all its funding at the moment mmm it's a skimpy programme compared to what it was and it's just because we don't want to get rid of it so money comes from elsewhere to keep it going I believe. So that kind of stuff. (Shawn)

Funding losses impact on the comprehensiveness of the programmes that could be offered. Shawn's contribution also implies how much energy is sometimes needed to sustain services on limited funds and the potential for this to divert attention and time away from core work involved in face-to-face interactions and support involving clients.

Susan highlighted the lack of sustainable funding provision that can be continued beyond the pilot programme stage.

It was a behaviour change programme, domestic violence programme. So, when I came into that job part of my role was doing project work for that programme and pretty much coordinating the evaluation of it and then once cos' it was pilot programme and only three years funding and that's it, you know, how it goes. So, it ended then and that was in 2008 so nothing happened with it after that cos' we didn't have any funding. (Susan)

In this case too, funding cuts had implications for a deeper level of programme development. Long-term implementation and sustained programme continuation cannot be achieved, perhaps leading to disjointed development and implementation. Shortfalls in funding meant that other effective initiatives could not be resourced. We see this highlighted in Renee's account that revealed funding was scarce for change maintenance groups.

So, there's no funding so if you don't find a sponsor you do it for free or you absorb the costs. But research wise it's proven that with maintenance groups there's more likelihood that changes are going to be maintained and the levels of domestic violence drop. (Renee)

The critical nature of funding and investment needed to achieve sustained positive change was therefore a particularly important understanding that unfolded in the research.

Having discussed effectiveness of responses to family violence, drawing on Aotearoa New Zealand literature and exploring contributors' experiences of effectiveness, the final subordinate theme of this chapter elaborates on contributors' understandings regarding 'outcomes', their 'measurement' and the difficulties emerging from defining and measuring outcomes. This builds on the understandings already shared in this chapter such as outcomes related to programme

completion, funding criterion and how 'dominant understandings' of outcomes can contrast with the contributors' understanding of effectiveness and well-being.

Measuring outcomes and effectiveness

Research findings across studies provide examples of issues related to defining and measuring outcomes. No single measure appears robust enough to assess the phenomenon of change to non-violence. Learnings from the contributors have already outlined the complexity of change processes. Administrative data sets have some popularity. Yet police callout statistics, for example, tell only part of the story. Qualitative methods also have their limitations. Limitations in quantitative and qualitative methodologies can lead to us to use proxy measures, clusters of indicators and best guess estimations. This complicates our endeavour to ascertain the effectiveness of our responses to family violence.

Peter explains the challenges of measures, available data and the gaps of knowledge within the nuances of family violence where dominant understandings have silenced some voices of knowledge.

We don't, we're really hopeless umm at monitoring stuff. We're really bad at gathering data and quite often our data is gathered for organisation data around their own processes, we're not gathering data on what would be good indicators of change and what are our measures, we're not gathering data for that. So, we don't know, we don't know about whether we're making progress or not. We need some better information about umm some of the areas around research is really thin. Research around disability, Māori umm refugee and migrant stuff is really thin so some of our understanding of the

nuances of the problem need to be better, so we can think about how we resource and fund. (Peter)

Durie (2017) highlights that measurements should be servants, not the master, in his conceptualisation of the mōkai principle. When we reflect on the difficulties of measurement discussed in the previous paragraph, it seems that indeed measurement may need to be considered as one facet in a broader landscape of understanding. Durie's model of Māori well-being looks at three dimensions: whānau, policies and measurement. Measurement as understood from this framework highlights the mana principle and refers to measurements derived from and owned by Māori hopes and aspirations. Policies are shaped by just relationships between iwi and the Crown, for Māori well-being. They are consistent across government, are built on whānau aspirations, endorsing and recognising Māori worldviews and rights. Whānau, whakapapa intergenerational capacities, whanaungatanga and whenua whānau links to land are highlighted in the third dimension. Here we see multiple dimensions need to be considered in understandings of well-being and the outcomes whānau and families may wish to accomplish. Is it possible that a multi-dimensional approach could also work well for Pākehā understandings of outcome and effectiveness measurement?

The difficulty of measuring outcomes outlined in the research literature was mirrored by the data that was produced in this project. We see in Sandra's account a classic example of how measuring outcomes could be a complex task.

It's very, very difficult to measure outcomes in this work because what we're trying to do to measure outcomes in this work in a ummm a standard scientific way. We're trying to measure a point in time that is umm fixed. Like we're trying to measure something like a

table in this fixed point in time. An object Ok? People do not exist in a fixed point so how do you measure that because people change constantly it's their dynamic. So, measuring that in a scientific way from a fixed point in time is not is actually not possible. (Sandra)

In applying a traditional and generic measurement formulation such as this we may fail to understand that all aspects of family violence or non-violence change dynamically and cannot be measured statically. Peter reminds us of the fluid nature of behavioural change that may not be encapsulated by standardised, fixed measurements.

Generating some motivation and hope ummm and being realistic and saying change isn't a constant upward thing it often it's two steps forward, one step back but try to make it not four steps back. You know so that idea about talking about change and the idea about, I think the most critical element actually of the whole idea of change is possible and the light bulb moments start when actually you choose to do this. (Peter)

Sandra offers up the suggestion of case studies to try to capture long-term process of behavioural change towards pro-social, non-violent, healthy relationships. This may provide an individualised picture of a spectrum of progress and potentially offer a deeper understanding of the variety and the ups-and-downs of change processes.

Umm so I, my own opinion of this is the only way of getting any kind of measurement is through doing case studies. (Sandra)

The question remains as to how much learning from case studies can provide enrichment to inform and shape understandings more broadly, particularly when we consider the potential

uniqueness of personalised journeys relating to family violence. Generalisation is often an expected outcome measurement yet the value of understanding through idiographic studies provides an opening to benefit from the learnings of intensive and in-depth analysis, and a reminder to consider a wide spectrum of knowledge in relation to outcome measurement.

Sandra was concerned when outcomes were measured to get funding.

A very difficult idea that yeah, measuring outcomes in fact I have a problem with that. I don't, I think that the whole concept of having to measure outcomes to get funding is deeply flawed. That is not how this work works. It's not about outcomes that you can measure. (Sandra)

Sandra's concern appears to arise from the process and motivation of outcome measurement resting on resourcing rather than pro-social change. Outcomes resulting from pro-social change work may not be definitive in nature, more a journey, a continuum of progress, more flexible and changeable. The length of time the work is needed may also be unpredictable, making funding certain outcomes perhaps also difficult. If we take being non-violent as an outcome, how can we measure this? Which kinds of violence are measured or measurable; being non-violent for how long; how will we know that non-violence has been achieved? Is the outcome that the family wants broader than this, encompassing well-being and thriving for the entire family or whānau? Different funding streams for the many different pieces of work that may need to be done further complicate matters. A balance is needed then, between ensuring funding for the work produces some type of effective result for clients and their families and whānau that can be assessed, and also aligning this with outcomes that reflect the changeable and complex needs of people in the family violence landscape.

George suggests that outcomes assessments need to understand the experience of people using the system and the support they require, reflecting what they may determine are the outcomes they seek, yet this research also outlined that their voices can be silenced, leaving us to question how we establish whether outcomes-based funding truly reflects the needs of all survivors, including children.

Careful analysis of outcome-linked funding is needed to ensure identified outcomes best encapsulate the needs of women and children affected by abuse and perpetrators of violence. (George)

George invites us to consider that pieces of the work are missing, which could be vital to the process. He also indicates that currently used outcome measurements and their parameters may not be comprehensive enough.

So how do you develop, how do we have resolutions and what I'd say is we seldom have resolutions. We get people to a certain point and then we just say goodbye. (George)

If we apply the programme completion example to this understanding, while measuring completion rates may comply with statutory understandings of perpetrators' accountability, it falls short of resolution as it is only one piece of the work that needs to be done to meet family and whānau needs. What about reparation for whānau and family? What about the views of survivors and their conceptualisation of resolution? These understandings may expand the terrain of effective intervention far beyond programme completion. We see several potential measurement outcomes relating to intervention programmes in George's understanding.

Well again I think the measure is in terms of outcomes. I mean the challenge of these programmes is they produce, we only, we only really measure one outcome and that is did you turn up and do tasks and that's a poor outcome because first of all I don't think men should be allowed to finish the programme, in fact they shouldn't start the programme unless they've got a mission to be involved. Okay. So, one outcome is you don't finish. Now if I think if you work systemically not finishing that communicates heaps to the people around you. So, there's one thing, well he didn't finish. He dropped out or we didn't continue the work because he wasn't engaged. I think it's important that those affected get to know that. But other outcomes are, has this man faced up to the abuse? Well if he hasn't faced up how can you continue in a programme with him if that makes sense? Unless he's saying enough of yeah, I've got issues I need to attend to and how I've hurt people. Unless he's got that buy in and I don't think we should be running a programme with that man unless there's that commitment. (George)

George understands that measuring programme completion by attendance at sessions falls short of what may be needed and can imply someone is now safe when minimal behavioural change may have occurred. It lacks any relationship to an internally motivated desire for change and is missing the evidence that some change regarding accountability and responsibility has occurred as a result of intervention. When applying each kind of outcome measure, we could consider the implications for each of the people impacted by the violence and how the measurement may fit with their needs and wants. Sometimes the needs and wants of people who use abuse, and people who experience abuse, may be at odds. George highlights experiential understanding of the discrepancy between perpetrator and survivor conceptualisations where their accounts can differ.

Well if you think working collaboratively, I mean again what we hear often is poor information but the availability of the victim, the survivors' voice either directly or indirectly through affidavit statements, summary of facts, representatives of the survivor. All that type of things and what we know is often we have quite a discrepancy between what the man will say and what the woman but not always, not always. (George)

George suggests an ill-fitting approach if we attempt to encapsulate family violence into generalised and generic outcomes and understandings because perpetrators' desired outcomes may differ to survivors' desired outcomes, and multiple understandings may be involved from different perspectives. George adds a further component of diversity to this with a focus on family in determining process as well as their needs and wants.

The other outcome would be, has this man shown that he can map and understand how the abusive behaviour, how he steps into that position of abusiveness? So, in other words can you read his behaviour well enough. So that's good old CBT stuff. Has he done that and if he can't then I think we've got an obligation to say well he hasn't done that, and the last thing is has he got relapse prevention safety plans that are well developed, that can then be put on the table to family to say this is what I'm committing to make changes. Now that information is almost never available but there's some outcomes. (George)

We see sometimes, in intervention responses, opportunities for more expansive work with whānau and family is lost, and their voices and aspirations may not be heard. This brings us to consider how can we measure whether what we are doing is effective in reducing family

violence, given the complex and fluid dynamics of the phenomenon. How can we incorporate the multiple perspectives and understandings of a desired outcome? Let us return to an IPA stance and consider using triangulation which is used in this research to analyse data, discovering the convergence and divergence of understandings. This methodology could also be used as a way to gather up evidence of effectiveness or ineffectiveness in order to have indicators of progress. If we consider the task of establishing whether the work of a particular intervention programme has been effective, we could take a specific example of participants in the programme. We could analyse their feedback and evaluation of the programme. Did they find the programme and facilitators effective or ineffective? What do they identify as their primary catalyst for change and can this be linked to the programme? We know from the research previously discussed that extra-therapeutic factors can have a significant influence on change, so we need to understand as much as possible what effectiveness from participants' perspectives can be attributed to interventional support and what they attribute to other support. Did intervention have a catalyst for change impact, a maintenance of change impact or a detrimental impact on change? As discussed previously, there can be a tendency for people who use abuse to overestimate the amount of change they have made in self-reports, so incorporating in this gathering of evidence could be evidence of change questions such as what steps they have taken towards reparation, restitution, accountability and *whānau*. Can they articulate comprehensively their relapse prevention strategies and safety plans? Do their future and current plans and behaviour reflect an alignment to making a positive contribution to family, *whānau* and community? We can triangulate this with other available evidence. What was the facilitators' assessment of the participant's change? Perhaps there may also be a propensity for facilitators to overestimate this change if they have a vested interest in their programme being seen as effective, but if we add other measures such as police reports, community feedback, referrer feedback from other providers such drug and alcohol services, connection with and feedback from community and

culture, probation, family, whānau, children and victims, schools and doctors, we can get a wider understanding. This research is clear about the importance of children's and young people's voices. Therefore, outcomes for them need to be firmly in focus when we consider effectiveness. What are the outcomes that are most important for children and young people to achieve for themselves and within their families and whānau? By including their understandings of outcomes, we may influence adult worldviews and the overall understanding of success and effectiveness, helping to address misinformed adult assumptions about the experiences of children and young people.

We need to also consider the severity of abuse perpetrated by participants. We have previously discussed the hesitancy of some organisations to work with families who are assessed as 'high-risk', and experience complex, long-term and intergenerational abuse. Some programmes may not have as many 'high-risk' or complex cases as others. More complex cases may require intense and long-term support that might not produce positive pro-social results in a short timeframe, and longer-term understanding of change processes may be required. Even so, the agencies that are doing this vital and essential work need to be acknowledged and allocated adequate incentive and resourcing to continue the work. Any assessment of effectiveness needs to incorporate an understanding of 'high-risk' dynamics.

Additionally, we need to look at other aspects of an agency that is involved in offering intervention services. Is it healthy in terms of having a robust governance and organisational structure, finding the balance between the different roles that are needed? Is it healthy in embodying the principles of respect and well-being it seeks to instil in others? Does it place importance on staff well-being having a culture that is protective against burn-out? Is it ethical and facilitating growth for people in their personal and professional development? What other

activities is it engaging in such as student placements, growing and development of the workforce, community education, interagency and community collaboration? Is it connecting with research knowledge and politically aware? We need to also consider evaluative processes as dynamic. People leave agencies and the agency landscape can change. Triangulation of evaluation for a family when taken at different periods in time may convey a changing picture of wellness. To provide a more enriched understanding over a longer term, a family could be involved in case studies to record dynamic changes, providing a better appreciation of effectiveness across time. Agencies could also have on-going evaluation to monitor progress that may be changeable overtime.

If I return to the understanding of fragmentation in the family violence landscape, I notice its potential to hamper our endeavour to establish what is effective in intervention and prevention strategies. However, if we seek to consult and hear the perspectives from across the landscape, we can gather wisdom from many sources. Doing so also opens the potential to connect our understandings. We can gather knowledge in many forms such as focus groups from the front-line and NGO sector. We can invite families and whānau to share their experiences and understandings in the family violence landscape. We can consult and collaborate with whānau, iwi and hapu, and across diverse communities. We can gather together research knowledge and focus group data from expert academics, and we could connect understandings from parts of the landscape. This has potential to provide a more robust and coherent sense of effectiveness and indeed conceptualisations of indicators and outcomes of success. It may be that we must create new methods and pathways for gathering data to ensure that amongst the complexity we can build a greater semblance of comprehensiveness.

Results-based outcome measurements can suggest a change process with an end and a beginning: a measured and measurable phenomenon; a static and linear conceptualisation of progress. Yet the accounts and experience of this and other research suggest family violence is not such a phenomenon. We see this in the contributors' discussion of the process of change as being fluid and dynamic. The experience of transforming family violence into safety and well-being is a journey, not a destination. Behavioural change in people who use abuse can require maintenance, sometimes lifelong. Hence, we see in this research a call for more investment in maintenance groups and a concern about the conceptualisation of fixed outcomes for evaluating success. Abusive behaviour can be impacted by changes in stress, alcohol, drugs and mental health, and thus the thematic analysis considers the interconnection of these phenomena with family violence. Survivors' experiences and journeys of family violence can be just as complex where dynamics may fluctuate and require support that cannot be pre-formulated or prescribed. Therefore, the understandings that emerge from analysing contributors' voices in the context of current research centres on the experiences of those impacted by family violence and improving their experiences for safety and well-being that they are seeking. The way that concept of 'outcome' may be interpreted lies in these experiences, not formulations of how these experiences 'should' be defined or measured. Other people may not be able to define a positive outcome for a victim or perpetrator or child. This may only really be understood through the context of their own conceptualisation of their world and the experiences and understandings they have in it. So, those who experience family violence may need to guide us along the pathway to knowledge and understanding, while we support them through their journey of change. Together, we can then establish how far we have come and still may need to go. This leads us into our next theme that focuses on the very heart of the matter. It opens up opportunity of making the work of *going for gold* more easily accessible through an effective approach

informed by inclusiveness and engagement, bringing together the voices from across the family violence landscape in a beautiful symphony that orchestrates the well-being of our people.

CHAPTER SIX: HERMENEUTICS OF THE HEART - Discovering the rhythm of families.

“If you have that connection with your neighbours and with communities and people going back to their marae, being reconnected with whānau, you’re going to be preventing family violence ‘cause you start relationships and you start caring about each other more and that the spinoff is that, or if whānau aren’t coping then people can go in and help” (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014, p. 52).

The final chapter of this story draws together the learnings that have been gathered in this research. The above quote sets the scene for this chapter by illustrating the importance of connections and caring, just as this study also shows that connections, not only within the family violence but across landscapes connecting to drug and alcohol abuse, poverty, child abuse, cultural worldviews and mental health, are key. To understand our families and whānau deeply we need to unfold our understandings of these landscapes and the experiences of our families within them, listening to their stories, the way they make sense of the world and the reasons behind their responses to it. I acknowledge that the endeavour’s scope is far beyond that of this research project. Our families may be facing multiple issues simultaneously and yet commonly we can choose to fragment our responses to them. We may disconnect health, education and domestic violence, separate child abuse from intimate partner abuse, poverty from health and well-being, fragment sexual violence and family violence, and in doing so, may isolate those we seek to help. We can create interventions and services that are like a music score which is not the genre that families know and relate to. We may not follow their rhythm, their timing for help, the notes they wish to learn first, and we do not understand the masterpiece they wish to accomplish in their lives.

This research has highlighted that the voices of children and young people, perpetrators engaged in change and survivors may not be heard. As a result, we may not understand the rhythm of our families. When we do not discover the rhythm of our families, we may see someone who wants to kill themselves, for example, as selfish. We do not see the layers of self and within these layers, the layers of injustice, of abuse, of trauma, of lost hope, of marginalisation and discrimination, of isolation that has stripped them to desperation. When we see someone addicted to drugs, we may see only that one layer of self and we may not see beneath to the layer of pain from violent experiences that they wanted to dull, or yet deeper to the layer that holds the key to their journey back from the brink. When we see a young person self-harming, we may not know the secret of abuse they keep, we may instead label them an attention-seeking teenager and work at a superficial level far from the heart of the matter. If we see youth avoiding programmes designed to support them and label their non-participation as defiance, we may leave unseen their sense of *whakamā*, their shyness, and therefore we avoid seeking another way of connecting. When we persist in interrogating people experiencing violence about how they could stay in an abusive relationship, we discard the impact of coercion, threats and control that people that use violence have welded and their decimation of survivors' free will and autonomy. When we see children running away from home, in some cases they may not be making trouble but trying to escape abuse and lead their families to safety. When our little ones are not achieving at school and their stories and pictures tell us something is not right, let us unfold the layers, set our assumptions aside and look closer, gently and warmly connect with their families and *whānau*, and find out the rhythm that will help them fulfil their dreams.

Instead of ticking boxes approaches to account for meeting our goals, let us journey with our families now and for as long as is needed to help them travel out from the eye of the storm into a future where there is hope, the possibility of something better, of safety and at last perhaps the

gift of happiness. This story has shown how the pathway to this destination involves a process paved with the cornerstones of *hermeneutics of the heart*. What does this mean? Its meaning emanates from the research contributors' voices, again and again, as they advocate for the paramountcy of caring, meaningful engagement and respect. Sometimes we may be diffident to explore such an idea. We maintain a distance, protect ourselves by detachment either physically or emotionally. Connection can mean emotional involvement and in the case of family violence the present state of the landscape means that emotional investment can demand a high cost. Yet we have also seen such an investment can reap dividends far beyond what we might imagine as outlined in our theme of *going for gold*. For those not afraid to open their hearts the journey can be rich and satisfying. Mel, Tom and Stuart clearly bring to our attention their belief in the necessity of such an endeavour.

At the end of the day they judge me on my caring ability. (Mel)

Respect. That is something I would certainly add here on how that is and quite often people overlook that. (Tom)

One of the most critical elements is the personal relationship that can be brought together by the person that is facilitating or counselling or whatever it may be, what's the personal relationship. (Stuart)

In the complex and harrowing environment of family violence these accounts show us that a simple ideology can create a strong foundation to begin the journey back from the brink of what may have been forgotten amongst all the issues that emerge from the family violence landscape; all the polarisation, fragmentation, empire building, the searching for the perfect model and

magic solution. A deep engagement and caring connection with one another is primary. Without this, George suggests our efforts may be futile.

I do think men need to have empathy and be aware of the impact of their behaviour and umm I do, but the way that's delivered which is maybe the essence of what your enquiry is about and what's useful comes down to how do I have a solid enough relationship with this man so I can ask him the hard questions. (George)

Renee shows us the authenticity of change experiences involves the connecting of our minds and hearts.

To bring about the change of mind and the change of heart. So, it's not so much looking at the change of behaviour because it's superficial and it's usually consequential but actually, if we're able to target the mind and the heart, line them up then, less likely to be, continue with that. (Renee)

Heart connections can be created anywhere. They can be found not only in relationships with service providers but in our communities, with friends or strangers, doctors, teachers, work colleagues and our families and whānau. Teachers and health professionals can play a crucial role in helping children and adult victims to get support (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014).

Mel outlines how finding the “right people” to help each family is important.

It has to be right people, respected. I want to know who the best person to talk to is. (Mel)

The “right people” were not conceptualised in a one-size-fits-all approach. People who lived their own lives in a non-violent way and did not engage in activities that could compound the problem, such as illicit drug taking, excessive alcohol consumption or criminal activities, were sometimes the type of people who were most likely to foster positive change. Sometimes people who experienced abuse and people who used abuse could show how positive change is a lived possibility. People who understood the dynamics of domestic violence and could offer safe support were essential. Professionals and individuals who embraced ethical practices and were respected in their community were more likely to be trusted by people. The issue of recognising the “right people” is particularly pertinent given there is a deficit of knowledge concerning child abuse and domestic violence by professionals, including front-line workers and the public in Aotearoa New Zealand (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014).

Susie places importance on maintaining hope, the belief in change and an ability to identify and celebrate even small signs of positive changes.

You have to retain the hope I suppose and the little windows I see. (Susie)

Susie brings an understanding that transcends the cumbersome shackles of negativity that can be so encompassing that they eclipse our ability to see anything positive in the harsh family violence landscape. However, this is not understood to mean overestimating change in people who use violence. Finding the “right people” also related to collaboration in responding to family violence in ways that involved a team approach. Mel introduces us to her interpretation of such an approach.

Team approach. I think it has to be a collaborative approach. Not just one person responsible for it. (Mel)

This could mean that people in need of support were not solely reliant on one person.

Collaboration also involves drawing upon different perspectives on what might help. It is about alliances across the family violence landscape with families and communities, not just between providers or governmental partners. The FVDRC report (2016) highlights the importance of collective, protective responses focusing on safety where survivors are not expected to achieve safety alone or with only advice on how to keep themselves and their children safe. Mel, however, expresses concern and reservations around capability that act as a barrier for her to form alliances with others. She brings her understanding with her experience of confidentiality and her lack of confidence in some of the approaches that people may take.

I'm really picky who I work with for my whānau. There are certain agencies that would be my last call to go to because I don't think that they hold confidentiality well. (Mel)

Mel is protective of families and whānau and wanted to make sure if other people became involved, they would support families in a trustworthy way.

I think it's about who you trust and if I trust someone then I'm willing to put that person out to my vulnerable person to say to trust them and if I don't trust them, I'm not going to do that to that person. No way and they know if someone's genuine. (Mel)

Implicit in her position is the understanding that families can identify the authenticity and the genuineness of care offered by others and consequently know who to trust or distrust. Identifying

who were the best people within families, cultures, agencies and communities meant looking at who had the knowledge, ability and respect to undertake the relevant tasks including the ability to build rapport and trust while avoiding collusion with people who use abuse and responses that are harmful. Effective knowledge would incorporate an ability to identify and respond to ‘red flags’ that could signal a warning of risk and an understanding of patterns of abuse. This was particularly pertinent given the FVDRC report (2016) provides examples that illustrate how viewing domestic violence as isolated incidences, not a series or pattern of behaviour, means that sometimes perpetrators’ risk is underestimated and goes unaddressed, with deadly consequences.

We can be led by our families in relationship with them. The cues may be subtle or obvious as to whether we have understood their rhythms. This story has already indicated ways that these have not been understood, resulting in the creation of “performing seals”, downright rejection, continued attempts to get help or perhaps simply going quiet. Mel illustrates when the “right people” were not available to support in a way that promoted well-being and safety this could compound issues within families and lead to further involvement in ‘the system’.

So sometimes they have taken in relatives. They’ re not trained themselves and then they take in all their whānau but they’re all using. In my work you know, they’re using because that’s how they cope and then they say “we need a social services agency to stop the kids using”. (Mel)

They have to have some knowledge of working on the ground. What does safety look like rather than as long as we take the kids away they’re safe. (Mel)

Support from ‘the right people’ included both whānau and governmental responses. Mel talks of the simplistic understanding that underlies responses assuming that taking the children away from their family resolves their risk to violence. Many layers of understanding may be absent in this approach. It may be considered a partial response. What about the children’s need or want to maintain some type of relationship with their parents? What if more children are born into a family that has not achieved positive change? Where is the consideration of the need of change and support for those people other than the children involved, and whose experiences of violence touch others? Moving with the rhythm of the families means moving beyond basic or ‘default’ strategies to creative solutions that are uniquely tailored to families where there is a foundation of comprehensive understanding of their complex needs. In Mel’s conception, experience and applied knowledge are advantageous.

They have to understand the cycle of abuse and you know what leads to abuse and the triggers and how those things work. I guess it’s important to me that you’ve had some fieldwork not so much the qualification. Some fieldwork and experience. (Mel)

Other characteristics such as an ability to stand up, question and speak up if unsafe situations were occurring were characteristic within the parameters of the *hermeneutics of the heart*. In this perspective, there could be an understanding of a place where rhythm towards safety involves taking measures to avoid collusion with unsafe understandings of responses and strategies for change. It could mean responses that were perceived by families as contrary to their immediate wants, especially if their ability to assess safety was compromised by issues such as drug use. It could mean advocating in interagency meetings if the rhythm of safety was not embodied sufficiently in intervention plans, such as the case of assuming separation will mean improved

safety from IPV. Tom thought an ability to challenge and creatively activate actions to facilitate safety was particularly important.

I will challenge you I will say 'cos everyone around the desk is saying god I hope someone says this 'cos I really want them to ask this. I'm that guy. I am that guy. I'm going to say hey, look, you know, I am going to make them wriggle in their seat you know. I want to 'cos I want to know the answer. I'm sure everybody else probably does as well. I think that ability to get that all together or conjure up is what makes us a great social worker. It gives us an idea of you know what the job's about. What your priorities are. How you're going to deal with it. What your strategy is that you're going to take on if that happens. You know how you're going to deal with the violence. (Tom)

There is practicality and directness in his understanding of challenging; a bringing out into the open covert thoughts and intuitions. This connects with Shawn's insight into creating a supportive culture that allows for challenge which emerged from the theme *in the shadow of empire builders*. Sometimes this meant challenging colleagues, family and others. Challenges could take the form of collaborative collective actions, as Susie exemplifies.

Everyone working together to push (statutory agency) to take an action they seem reluctant to take but it needs to happen 'cos of the feedback that everyone has banded together. (Susie)

Victims may not be believed and the manipulative strategies perpetrators use can capitalise on the mistrust of their experiential accounts (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). Coercive manipulation used by people who use violence puts crucial importance on the issue of enhancing people's

ability to acknowledge when abuse has occurred, take action for safety and report it even if it is within their whānau or family. Mel suggests that non-reporting is connected with misunderstanding ethics.

If they haven't got the ethics where's the confidentiality if they've got the ethics side of things where's the, you know, like I see it, but I can't report it because you're family or my whānau. (Mel)

Here she suggests that prioritising confidentiality has the potential to jeopardise safety if it is used to protect family from embarrassment and facilitate a covert cover for abuse. She understands how family loyalty can eclipse the ethical responsibility to take actions to ensure safety and the elimination of abuse within the family or whānau.

The difficulty of responding to violence within your own family or whānau was not lost on Susie who recognised that standing up against violence could be challenging and isolating. It took a strength of character, going against pro-violence social and family scripts and a clear understanding and conviction of the need for safety.

If you're the person that wants to make the changes on behalf of your family, it's a very lonely undertaking because you're often doing it by yourself. (Susie)

Without enduring the challenge of loneliness that Susie recognises, there could be more likelihood of abuse continuing, further emphasising the need for warm support. In another layer to the issue, Tom outlines how professionals may have a lot of power and influence in what happens to families from a statutory perspective. Their recommendations, advice or reports could

be submitted for consideration by judges or statutory agencies such as child protection. They could strongly influence the outcomes of custody disputes. Yet, as we have seen, simplistic and procedural understandings of our families' journeys to safety may underlie some responses that prove unhelpful and sometimes harmful. Faced with the possibility of inappropriate actions taken by others in the family violence landscape, the challenges of loneliness in attempting to make changes within your own family become even more complex. Susie's contribution further illuminates the importance of discovering the rhythm of our families: what are their specific dynamics? What may keep them safe? What are their workable solutions to eliminating abuse? What are their dreams and hopes for the future? Listening to their rhythms goes hand-in-hand with a strong knowledge of the ability to identify patterns and strategies of abuse including grooming strategies, even when these were covert in nature, as is often the case in family violence. Caution is needed in terms of keeping recommendations within the scope of workers' expertise and always holding safety considerations at the forefront of their actions and analysis. Perhaps this could be partially achieved through backing up recommendations with comprehensive evidence from a multitude of sources to cross reference, consolidate and verify information. Tom acknowledges his learning around this issue.

I have a very strong feeling and I'm quite outspoken and I think that comes from my first beginnings. You're swinging your own opinion into that report and you really don't have the expertise in that area and I'm toning that down. I have to. (Tom)

The self-reflection evident in his account reminds us of the temptation to push beyond what may be our knowledge or insist on what we assume, or think is 'best' for families when we are in the position of making recommendations. So, there is a balance to be achieved. There is a need to challenge things that are unsafe yet not impose ill-fitting ideologies, assumptions or

marginalising understandings. Accompanying this is an incorporation of openness to multiple pathways to safety and avoiding assumptions that the pathway we envisage is the only route.

Connecting of our hearts to rhythms and meanings of the families comes from deep understanding of their experiences. It is seen in creatively going beyond the rigidity of procedural approaches to practice on a journey that is flexible enough and brave enough to engage with people who use abusive behaviour, and traumatised or suicidal people, no matter how 'high-risk' they may seem. It means unfolding safety in relation to their safest way, even if this way is surprising and unpredictable. It involves remaining with our families through mistakes, relapse, anger and unwellness to hold open a place for surviving, transforming and perhaps in time, thriving. Mel has shown us how police demonstrate this when they engage with young people.

They (the police) actually got alongside them, and they spoke to them in a respectful manner and they offered them a ride home to stop something happening. (Mel)

Here police are preventing and protecting against risk, building trust and positive relationships. Mel's perspective speaks of the advantages of relationship building before or beyond any crisis. However, there are circumstances in which relationship building challenges procedural and institutional ways of working. Stuart talks about a kind of personal and professional divide that means keeping professional relationships separated from more personal or socially informal interactions and different perspectives relating to this.

Some people say no that's my personal and that's my professional and to say to some extent, blurr the lines, but to some extent I see them as connected and so if I see someone

at the supermarket who I've been working with then generally speaking I'll speak to them and they will speak to me and we'll have a conversation whereas other people I know that I've worked with will say I just I don't do that because that encroaches on me as a person (Stuart)

As is the case for Stuart, from the perspective of IPA, the professional role cannot be separated completely from the person themselves. Their lived experiences, their phenomenological being in the world, their reasonings and their understandings all impact on how they fulfil their professional role. Stuart feels he brings more personal connection to his work than others by not strictly dividing personal time and layers of his self that are more private, from professional time and his professional self. In doing so, he challenges some assumptions of this divide as it is practiced in the family violence landscape.

If we were to make this shift in thinking to expand beyond the predefined or assumed separations of layers of the self, we could explore in more depth what would be needed to engage in heart-based practice that is not constrained by procedural or simplistic responses. It is important to acknowledge that emphasising heart-based practice is not saying it is presently missing from the family violence landscape. However, it can be confined, constrained or institutionally limited so its effect is not liberated to its full potential. This research story has clearly told of the frustration, the barriers, the wish to do more and do things differently. Peter and Susie, speak to their sense of these experiences.

We can do much more and I think that's my frustration. I suppose I started off in that space of treating a guy and helping him, wanted to make changes, and now having done this work for twenty years I see a whole lot of things we could be doing better that could

really make a difference if we had the will and a lot of it wouldn't even cost us that much more. Actually, it might not cost us anymore, but we'd be doing more prevention. We'd be much better enforcing our legalisation. We'd make sure there was a capacity for supporting victims and the most change happens in any community so how do we resource our communities to acknowledge our families out there, acknowledge the problem in order to get involved and make change. (Peter)

We're trying to do a hard job in an environment that doesn't seem to be helping. (Susie)

They provide evidence of constrained practice and limitations to support. Renee brings into focus the intersection and interface between personal and professional systems of support that provides more creative possibilities. Working with young people, she is building supports around them which can endure beyond the limits of professional interventions and activate capacity to journey alongside them in their daily lives. Her experiences are indicative of an expansive involvement that is not constrained but long-term and comprehensive.

I want to know who in the whānau is the best person to talk to because if mum and dad aren't getting it on and koro is violent himself and has a history of it he's not the right person. You know so I want to know who the right person is and sometimes that might be ohh that might be cousin's wife. So, you're trying to extend our support systems for all the [clients] that we see so they can talk to someone when you only have an hour with them a week, sometimes two hours a week. (Mel)

Here too, Mel returns to the importance of involving the “right people” in support systems. In her experiences they are people who can stay involved, people who are part of family or the

community around young people. Characteristics of people who make a difference include being genuinely caring, being non-judgemental, patient, compassionate, willing to listen, being responsive and willing to take action, take risks and 'stick their necks out' and put in extra effort (The Glenn Injury, 2014). George reminds us to have hope in the face of the challenges within and across the family violence landscape.

I think there's some really useful leads in terms of D.V about how do we work in more rr hopeful ways. (George)

George suggests that we seldom attain resolution, restitution, reparation and accountability. Our interventions, our engagement, our responses may be cut short in relation to exploring and investigating wellness beyond physical survival or temporarily abstaining from physical violence.

In fact, I think we should be working in more enhanced ways where if particularly if the couple are remaining in the relationship in some fashion that actually there be some parallel individual work and then at some point exploring where it can be joined. Umm so I think for instance D.V running accountability meetings where those the man should be accountable to are invited to hear where he's going, how is he facing up, how's he progressing, what his safety plans look like. What's he putting on the table umm to stay safe. Similarly, if you think of restorative justice processes this is an opportunity for survivors to hear what this person is putting on the table in terms of apology. In terms of acknowledgement. In terms of restoration. Umm so a model I've been developing for a long time is resolution therapy. So how do you develop, how do we have resolutions and

what I'd say is we seldom have resolutions. We get people to a certain point and then we just say goodbye. (George)

In his conceptualisation, George sees opportunities and ideas for expanding beyond constrained practice. What does the victim want, rather than how are the people who are using violence being accountable as defined through programme completion or prison terms served? This perspective on accountability was one of the understandings that influenced the analysis process and helped produce some understandings of a way forward through conceptualising a spectrum of surviving to thriving where engagement with transformative change and creating safety was established through an approach based on working with heart connections. Yet support and intervention does not stop with accountability and exploring a movement beyond surviving to thriving is significant. The idea of a movement from surviving to thriving for perpetrators and victims, where we gauge progress as a process, produces an understanding of family violence that accommodates and is open to support in a different way. What is needed for successful change may only be discovered in the moment, or it may take a long time and committed heart work in trusting relationships. The moment of where change becomes possible may be predictable or unexpected and result in diverse actions that could be creative, controversial, conventional or unique. There also needs to be flexibility because at another time, the following week or year, something else entirely may be required. Life circumstances may change, risk could increase or decrease, impacts of abuse and the support required could change. So, for all these contingencies, there is a sense that we need to discover the rhythm of each family, be in sync with this rhythm and in doing so, discover what will work for them. Renee highlights how we may be out of sync with how best to help perpetrators because we have not always listened and deeply understood their experiences.

We don't have these impacts because we've just put them over there. So, I think yeah their voices need to be heard. What is the impact on these guys? Limited research on impact of violence on the perpetrators themselves. Their voices could be heard through the national network of stopping violence. They could do that kind of research. What is the impact on these guys? It will give us some points of leverage for change. Target mind and heart. (Renee)

Here too, we see the importance of looking not only at stopping the violent behaviour but also listening to the men themselves and hearing their experience. Again, it is the heart work that is imperative. This is not to be confused with collusion but is about discovering and understanding opportunities for change and bringing these to fruition. If the right people are selected to participate in this process, they can enhance the chance of moving beyond boundaries of intervention and gain progress in processes of change beyond surviving. When we consider the examples that emerged in this research and recall the case of the boy who stood up to violence, paving the way for his family to be safe in our theme *living the experience*, we could ask what might have happened if the entire response had engaged in heart-based practice with him. In his case, the parameters of intervention had not even reached the point of surviving as he was continuing to be abused. With heart work through the response, would his story of abuse have been heard, not dismissed? Would those responding have understood better how to help his family and wrap around them the right, caring people to assist them? Instead he and his family continued to endure abuse for a long time. The family violence landscape is littered with cases of similar types of missed opportunities for effective intervention and support, reoccurring over and over. There is continued isolation and silencing of victims and their experiences of the difficulty of accessing help and support (The Glenn Inquiry, 2014). There are clear indications of trauma

and abuse being perpetuated by the system set up to protect against it (The Backbone Collective, 2017).

So, this research story understands that the heart of the matter is the place where caring happens, where culture is embraced and there is reason for joy and celebration of even the smallest of breakthroughs or positive changes. Sensitivity supersedes the imposition of ill-fitting criteria which are eclipsed by listening with the hearts to needs and wants of families, and where all voices are heard, especially children, young people and survivors. Transformation is essentially about a heart connection between people, no matter what your background is and what you might have done in your past. From this framework, the work takes place in a language of respect, of genuine partnership filled with narratives of hope. Collaboration is not a term for procedural compliance but a process of inclusion and consultation, where finding the rhythm of families and listening to the voices of heart- workers' experiences is valued as a priority. In heart work there is space for families to use their own terminologies and self-determined solutions for safety. Even if mistakes are made from a place of warm engagement, it is about improvement, not collusion with abuse or condemnation. Working from the heart actually opens up working at the heart of the matter because by its very nature it is safely inviting people to explore the darkest, deepest thoughts and feelings, fears and angers they experience and in this way find a supported pathway to change. In this chapter, the learnings from contributors indicate superficial work could denote procedural compliance and "performing seals", where those who attend interventions just give the responses they think the workers want to hear. These did not delve into the depth and heart of the matter to reach for genuine, workable solutions.

Journeying beyond our current landscape of family violence: laying a place at the table for others

What are needed are creative out-of-the-box strategies rather than procedural tick-box solutions. To achieve such creative change in the landscape of family violence requires brave leadership, solid and respectful relationships and fit for purpose investment. George indicates his clear view that creative and flexible approaches need to be taken.

So, I'm one, I think the sector needs to be rethought. I would like to see money put into more creative approaches to working with D.V. and moving out of siloed interventions.

(George)

For our policies, resourcing, strategies, interventions and support to be effective the themes of this research suggest they must reflect this understanding. To “rethink” ways of doing things, to analyse and question if they are fit for purpose to, in combination, achieve elimination of violence. We must connect, learn and build across spheres of knowledge in research, lived experience, government and non-government organisations, family, whānau and communities (see Diagram-Appendix J). This means laying a place at the table for others, not inviting tokenistic contribution or omitting to seek contribution that is vital for success. Bringing others into our institutions and agencies to work alongside us, to share specialist and expert knowledge about family violence that will enhance endeavours towards the overall vision of achieving non-violence. This way, with time spent together, in discussion and warm relationships, we may be able to draw upon a vast knowledge base that is needed to achieve our goal. This means at times ceding power, listening and keeping our minds and hearts open. I know myself I have still much to learn about family violence, more to hear about, more to understand. In doing this we take the

learnings from the chapter on empire building and create a different story for the people of Aotearoa New Zealand. One that holds hope and promise and safety. This is of critical importance. The system that impacts people experiencing family violence is extensive and includes their experiences in the criminal justice system. A recent report into this system indicated system users, especially victims, are impacted negatively. There is a call for compassion. This is where hermeneutics of the heart and heart-based practice would not be misplaced. There was also the importance of hope (Te Uepū Hāpai i te ora, 2019). In this story we hear the contributors' voices still retain hope in the face of the struggles they experience in the family violence landscape.

From a systems' thinking perspective, this means placing importance on the perspective of people with lived experience, bringing the whole landscape metaphorically 'into the room' to understand the multiple perspectives within it and the importance of evaluation. Such gatherings can be made difficult because agencies can struggle with cohesion between themselves and with government agencies (Carne, Rees, Paton & Fanslow, 2019). Critical is the requirement of kaupapa Māori models in reducing disparities evaluating and measuring outcomes, particularly concerning the care and protection of tamariki Māori in the family court system (Williams, Ruru, Irwin-Easthope, Quince & Gifford, 2019). Continuous improvement is important. This can only be achieved when all voices are at the table and have an ability to influence the system in a coordinated and collective way that embodies safety and equity (The Backbone Collective, 2018). Allowing for actions that fall outside the predetermined boundaries is important in order to incorporate a spontaneous adaptability and flexibility sometimes required to create a progressive movement in the family violence journey. When we predetermine the boundaries of the work that is undertaken - the number of sessions required or the service units, the expected policy to be made - we make assumptions and standardise what is needed across diverse situations and widely differing family and whānau experiences. Our models become mismatched

with actual needs, as evidenced by testimony of the disconnection of help and acknowledgement of the need for supports that extend beyond current limits. This research has identified examples such as benchmarks for prosecution, programme completion assessed only by attendance, rejection of family work as a matter of principle and regardless of the needs and hopes of the family, funding limits and barriers to hearing victims' voices as experiential understandings of disconnected help and fragmented intervention systems.

From surviving to thriving

As a way forward, we could explore possibilities of expanding our vision to move beyond predetermined points as markers of successes. How can we move beyond survival and embrace connecting to the relationships, experiences and events that grow and nurture people? These may be forgotten when immersed in violent situations. It can create a type of tunnel vision where violence overtakes and eclipses everything else. We need to explore how to expand survival beyond physical survival to what is needed to liberate minds from debilitating fear, sadness and anger in the space of hope. What needs to happen to create moments in time to enjoy, to relish, to celebrate? How far is it possible to expand these moments? These are just some of the things that could be considered in our work, in our journeys to non-violence, in the process of heart practice.

For workers, it may be to have support for themselves, so they can engage their hearts with families and not be afraid of burn out because they have their own support to return to. For systems to support and resource them comprehensively so they have the means to engage in heart-based practice. To gift them the investment to have another meeting, the ability to call someone else into help, get support or further knowledge for themselves, do whatever is required to help create movement in the surviving to thriving journey. Natalie was grateful for such support.

We very much like there's a fantastic cultural supervision put in place for us all.

(Natalie)

It is the gift of investment from and of the heart that people experiencing and using violence, their families and whānau need as well, filling the gaps that have been identified in this story, reaching for reparation, accountability, justice, resolution and restitution. In reducing practice led by procedure and removing barriers to help, we could ironically save money in the long run, as needs could be met in a timely manner and reduce risks of reoffending and re-victimisation, yet most of all the potential of healing hearts becomes open.

So, this research produces an understanding of process and people rather than a definitive prescribed formulation of a pathway through the family violence landscape. In this it connects the governmental, research and coalface voices transcending the boundaries that currently divide these sectors. Heart voices in research, heart voices at the coalface and heart voices within government, bringing the potential to connect and reach the heart of the matter. While there may be a sense of discomfort about the lack of standardising our approach, the hesitancy to formulate, denote and proclaim a singular ground-breaking model and solution is, in itself, indicative of a freedom that is deficient in the experiences, not only by survivors of abuse in the family violence landscape, but also the workers in the response system. Within the chapters of this story are ideas and understandings founded on decades of experiences and I take these as gifts of knowledge not directives for action. I suggest that understanding and applying *hermeneutics of the heart* may be one way for the needs, wants, understandings and perspectives of many to be understood and included. Consequently, a way to navigate beyond the boundaries of our current landscape, to create routes beyond surviving and towards thriving. I suggest that policies, strategies,

interventions and resourcing could be effectively positioned by following the rhythm of families in the way that has been conceptualised by the heart-work collaborators in this study. Critical in this process is the movement from intention to successful implementation. The story of this research and our historical lessons have shown the relationship between intention and implementation can be fraught and flawed. Sometimes we do not understand what is needed for the people at the centre of the storm immersed in violence. We need the understanding, and we also need *hermeneutics of the heart* to help us reach for safety, reach for well-being, reach towards our families and whānau experiencing family violence. This is clearly distinctive from empire building. It is about inclusion and a collaborative rhythm.

EPILOGUE

As I reflect on a journey that began with my concern for losing some of the knowledge of workers that had been at the forefront of responses to family violence for decades, I acknowledge how the participants expanded my horizons. They led the research from the narrower focus I had envisaged, to a journey that was much broader. I followed their understandings through an IPA approach as they determined the scope through the breadth that their narratives encompassed. In doing so they expanded upon the existing body of research where a predominant focus lies on evaluating roles and programmes, models and parts of the system response, as well as in engaging in critique of evaluative research. Examples are evident in a predominant focus on parts of the system that can be found by reviewing the literature and in the literature reviews themselves. A rapid review of 13 articles concerning men's behaviour change programmes found none of the articles included evaluations based on programme logics, assessment of integrity of program delivery or system processes. Exploration of the links between men's accountability and responsibility to children and women's safety was also absent (O'Connor, Morris, Panayiotidis, Cooke & Skouteris, 2020). An international literature review of Family Violence Courts found a lack of strong evaluative research highlighting evaluative challenges such as research design issues, lack of analysis focused on staff cultural competency requirements and certain stakeholders such as defences lawyers being omitted from research evaluations (Mills, Thom, Meehan & Chetty, 2013). The lens of fragmentation found within the family violence landscape response is therefore sometimes seen mirrored in approaches to evaluation, where a lens of evaluating parts of the system fragments from a wider systemic lens being applied.

Applying more of a system level lens allowed the current study to explore how the parts of the system interacted to impact on families and whānau through the insights of the advocates who

worked with them. Participants often shared understandings of more than one part of the family violence landscape so it would not have been sufficient to focus on one part of the landscape when their narratives clearly spoke to a broader understanding. This meant however that a more comprehensive and deeper exploration of just one part of the landscape had to be balanced with exploring multiple parts in less depth. The literature reviews mentioned above demonstrate that even when a narrower focus is applied, comprehensive coverage may still not be achieved, and the research may still lack sufficient depth to address specific research questions. I believe that the complex nature of the family violence landscape means many lenses need to be applied through many research projects in order to understand both the whole and its parts, and ultimately appreciate how transformation is occurring or can occur. In Aotearoa New Zealand the importance of resourcing and investing in kaupapa Māori research is critical to our understanding of this transformation.

This thesis departed from expected traditions of critically reviewing literature and analysing participant contributions critically in favour of IPA's focus on the experiences and understandings of the participants. Attempts to distinguish the criteria needed for qualitative research in general have been considered for some time. Forchuk and Roberts (1993) articulated a critique process that involved a series of specific questions: Was the topic appropriate for qualitative enquiry? Did the research methodology fit the topic of enquiry? Was the literature reviewed consistent with the methodological choice? Was there robust description of the participants, context and researcher? Were the methods of information gathering and analysis appropriate? Were the conclusions sound and relevant? Students are sometimes taught to use quantitative criteria for assessing qualitative research. This can be inappropriate as terms used in quantitative research may not fit qualitative research approaches (Leininger, 1994). More recent literature still points to the need for distinction between qualitative and quantitative assessment

criteria, raising the concern that when applying criteria from a context of quantitative research, qualitative research's rigour has been called into question. This is misplaced and does not understand the differences between the two research approaches (Sarma, 2015). Credibility (believability of the findings) and confirmability (confirming of ideas through repeated documented evidence) highlight other ways of evaluating qualitative research (Leininger, 1994). IPA's focus on idiographic exploration does not place the same emphasis on repetition for confirmation. IPA considers each person's sense-making as unique and valuable without needing evidence that their contribution is supported or replicated by others. Qualitative research has been considered more difficult to critique than quantitative research, yet nevertheless the literature emphasises the importance of doing so to not accept research on 'face value' and determine the strengths and limitations of qualitative research (Ryan, Coughlan & Cronin, 2007; Leininger, 1994). One reason for this difficulty may be that qualitative research is a large category that encompasses different epistemological approaches with differing theoretical perspectives, requiring differing approaches to specific criteria for critique.

In ethical commitment to the principles of IPA, my goal was to implement a strategy of amplification of the voices of the participants. To understand the participants' voices as set against a context of dominant and powerful voices, privileged by dominant knowledge-making structures and in the shadow of empire builders, acknowledging challenges to dominance of the landscape as "a whipping to nowhere". My research therefore implements an interpretative strategy that amplifies rather than critiques or assesses their voices. It amplifies through connecting the literature to the participants' narratives in ways that support their story and sense-making. It immerses in their narratives, rather than a critical analysis of the literature and voices that came before this story. In this it does not seek to demean the valuable contributions of others, but this story is the participants' story, their heart voices. Such an ethical approach

challenges and contrasts with other qualitative inquiry that can hold expectations of researchers' role to critique the contributions of research participants. Challenging such expectations speaks into the power differentials highlighted in this story, considering how we may privilege researchers over participants by normalising researchers in the role of the 'critic'. IPA takes a stance to reflect upon what has already been done and consider it within the framework of the IPA methodology, allowing the lens to be altered and reframed in a new way. IPA enables us to ask: "must *every* research project *always* critique participants to contribute to research knowledge or can we sometimes choose to amplify narratives and stories in consideration of the context of power and privilege?" When we critique, do we sometimes move into the space of debate and argument, rather than taking all opportunities to expand and immerse in diversity of *understanding* knowledge embedded within participants' storytelling? Sometimes in research, storytelling can be dismissed as superfluous to need yet it can provide richness and depth to understanding (Kendall & Kendall, 2012). The participants' stories from this research added a vividness and depth to the themes that were shared across and within their contributions. Critiquing them may have led focus away from their stories, interrupted the structural integrity of the thesis and diverted attention away from engagement in the depth of their understandings.

As such then, this research story might stand out from a body of literature that engages in critical analysis as a consistent, normative expectation. We see this more normative expectation of critique in more focused evaluations of stopping violence programmes. Normative critiques have identified short follow up periods in regard to recidivism and failure to distinguish programme effects from other factors (Robertson, 1999; Laing, 2002). Even when an improvement has taken place within a specific programme, evaluation results may not articulate the process by which the improvement was achieved. Patton (2014) explains this in terms of a black box where knowledge of the internal process by which the outcome was achieved is

hidden. Opening up the box involves discovering how change has happened and the possibility that change may not be linear in its process. If we apply a critique to the literature on programmes, in the chapter *going for gold* for example, we would highlight the focus on self-report as a limitation rather than amplifying the aspirations and lived successes of those who are telling us what they know as they share their stories with us (Hester, Lilley, O'Prey & Buddle, 2014).

There is a history of controversies, questions and critiques regarding therapeutic responses to domestic violence. Among the debates are questions such as: is patriarchy the main cause of domestic violence? When applying a therapeutic or educational theory to interventions, does therapy turn a crime into a psychological problem? In terms of systemic family therapy and gendered violence: Does systemic family therapy hide men's responsibility for violence? Anger management courses have raised concerns with some feminists that this frames family violence as an anger control problem. Just by attending treatment abusive partners may give women false hope before actually taking responsibility and becoming accountable and safe (Brown & James, 2014). All these issues highlight the importance of ensuring safe and capability responses to enable positive transformation, considering the application of any theory to family violence intervention needs to be done safely and with safety as a priority.

Types of patterns of IPV have been explored. Four types of key patterns of IPV that have been outlined in the literature include situational couple violence (where there does not appear to be power and control dynamics), violent resistance (victim response to the primary aggressor), separation violence (after a relationship ends when there was not violence within the relationship previously) and coercive control (psychological intimidation and/or physical violence), yet little research has been conducted in Aotearoa New Zealand on prevalence of types of violence. Such

knowledge could add value to understanding effective treatment and support (Morrison & Davenne, 2016). Johnson (2010) identified typologies, such as intimate terrorism, violent resistance and situational couple's violence. He highlights that failure to make distinctions between different types of violence has led to overgeneralisations in the research literature. Leone, Lape and Xu (2014) found women were more likely to cite fear as a barrier to seeking help when experiencing intimate terrorism (physical violence used as a pattern of coercive control) than situational couple violence. Situational couple violence victims were more likely to say they did not need help. An investigation of Johnson's typologies representation with a general population of Aotearoa New Zealand women could not identify all types as described by Johnson suggesting mutually exclusive typologies of IPV do not exist. This has prompted the need for further investigation into typologies and their purported link to appropriate responses (Fanslow & Gulliver, 2015).

As we reflect on this research, the research participants provided many insights for transforming family violence responses. They highlighted system fragmentation and the problems associated with disconnected services. Responding to family violence through integrated response systems is advocated as holding much promise for change (Polaschek, 2016). Sometimes agencies working with men using violent behaviour have not been connected with a wider and integrated family violence safety response. This has meant that the men could be assessed as taking responsibility and accountability for their behaviour because agencies working with them were unaware of other information available in the wider system indicating the men were continuing to use violence (Tolmie, 2020).

Participants emphasised the importance of understanding complex needs, advocated for maintenance groups for men who had used violence, trauma informed responses, 24 hour crisis

phone support for men using abusive behaviour and flexibility in funding. Polaschek (2016) highlighted the need to not only respond with crisis services but also continue to support change beyond the crisis, just as the participants have advocated for the need for long-term support.

Participants articulated processes of heart-based practice that worked at the heart of the matter through providing a trusting relationship to turn away from positions as “performing seals” and explore ‘terrible truths’ in order to discover a path to non-violence. The importance of the therapeutic relationship to therapeutic outcomes is widely acknowledged. There are moments of deeper relational connection that have been identified which enable further positive outcomes through the client deciding to share more vulnerability (Knox & Cooper, 2011). These could be understood as moments of heart connections, moving deeper into the layers of the self. In a New Zealand study evaluating adult domestic violence programmes run by Relationship Services Whakawhanaungatanga, researchers found facilitators, their clients and Māori consultants all confirmed the importance of a facilitator and client connection and understanding the client’s worldview (Dixon & O’Connor, 2010). Other research highlighted 40 % of outcomes relating to extra-therapeutic factors, 15 % to the therapist’s attitude such as conveying a sense of hope, 15% to the model of intervention and 30% to the client/therapist relationship (Miller, Duncan & Hubble, 2004, as cited in Cagney and McMaster, p. 14, 2013). These findings place significant emphasis on relationships, on heart connection and encouraging hope. All cornerstones of heart-based practice.

Heart-based practice also involved having bravery to stand up and speak out in order to respectfully challenge practice that was unsafe and members of whānau and family also standing up for non-violence. Tolmie (2020) highlighted the potential of agencies to collude with men's abusive behaviour by unwittingly minimising it and failing to recognise their dangerous

behaviour. Tom highlighted the importance of reflecting upon ourselves. He wrote reports that could impact the lives of children and acknowledged sometimes he had learnt to amend the recommendations and advice he supplied. He learnt to reflect upon himself and consider the impacts of his practice and the knowledge from which he drew for his work; to ask perhaps heart-based practice questions such as “what voices have I listened to in considering the advice I have given?” “Have I tried to stand in the shoes of others, to understand the experiences of families and whānau?” “Have I considered the place and power of privilege that sits with making recommendations that affect the lives of others?” “Have I maintained hope and considered safety, strengths and embraced the aspirations of the people journeying through the family violence landscape?” Tom asks us to look after our communities and relationships beyond role expectation in service provision. Looking to ourselves as people in communities, connecting to others with our hearts and minds is crucial. Thus, Tom challenges us to go beyond tick-box responses such as sighting children and making assumptions about their needs and wants instead of providing a safe and caring environment for them to be listened to and understood. This did not mean doing away with procedures, policies and processes that enhanced continuous improvement and safety, helped produce robust and effective assessment of risk and protective factors and connected with support that families and whānau needed. Some of these organisational practices may involve ‘ticking boxes’, for example, as part of a larger risk and needs assessment process, but they were not about ticking a box as a quick replacement for understanding what is needed to respond effectively. The research story has told us to adhere to ethical practices and reach for thriving rather than tick-box solutions of programme completion meaning a cure from violence. It has highlighted the need to step outside our own ‘train station’ and help to provide a journey that is a connection of help in the experiences of families and whānau. This means understanding the rhythm of families by moving from superficial understandings and assumptions to the layers of self beneath, examples of which are outlined at

the beginning of chapter six. Listening and understanding layers and rhythms of selves and families leads us to understand that people at the end of hope are not being attention-seekers, to recognise quietness may be shyness and shame not defiance, to know there are many manifestations of impacts that trauma produces. This story has told us heart responses and warm, caring responses can open a space to explore abuse and alternatives to violence. They can be a pathway to unfolding those layers of self, of trauma, of darkness and anger; creating and strengthening the pathways for non-violence and wellbeing, igniting hope for change. Part of ethical practice means engaging with 'high risk' in ways that reach for solutions. Heart-based practice lays down a challenge to us all to ask what more could be done, how could I do better, placing onus on the system rather than judgment on the victim.

Family Violence Death Reviews in Aotearoa New Zealand indicate both practitioners and policy-makers sometimes use language that minimises the experiences of victims. This can place responsibility for safety with victims, misunderstanding the consequences of perpetrators' control and their increase in violence in response to acts of resistance (Wilson, Smith, Tolmie & De Haan, 2015). Theories such as empowerment theory have been commonly applied to work with women victims of IPV (Morgan & Coombes, 2013). This has served to burden women with the responsibility for successfully actioning safety plans, framing them as having both choice and autonomy, rendering tactics of perpetrators and structural inequities invisible (Wilson, Smith, Tolmie & De Hann, 2015). The result can be perpetrators evading responsibility and accountability while victimised women and children are put at greater risk of harm.

In Aotearoa New Zealand studies of perpetrators of family violence have commonly been small in scale so there is a need to expand our knowledge in this area. While there has been a focus on measuring effectiveness of programmes, less focus has been placed on family violence

desistance. It is commonly accepted that perpetrators should be accountable, however further exploration of what it means for perpetrators to be accountable in practice is needed (Morrison & Davenne, 2016). We have learnt in this story the need for perpetrators to be accountable in ways beyond mandated completion of a stopping violence programme and the need to consider accountability through a cultural lens. Accountability could be enhanced through further development of sentencing options and alternatives to prison that uphold safety and are just and effective (Tolmie, 2020). Suggestions for future research would include focusing on men that use violence and ways to support them to not only lead non-violent lives but find a place where they can be accountable, make a positive contribution to communities and lead lives that are happy and fulfilling for themselves as well. While it is important that work with men who use violence does not reduce resources available for women and children, thresholds for accessing services for men in the context of scarce resourcing often prevent them from receiving help in a timely way (FVDRC, 2020). Therefore, more resourcing is urgently needed for them without compromising the resources provided for services to women and children.

More researcher-practitioner collaboration should be present in on-going research and evaluation (Polaschek, 2016). Certainly, this research has highlighted the importance of collaborating with practitioners and demonstrated the benefits of understanding from the perspective of researcher-practitioners within the context of service provision. The need to amplify knowledge from communities with more extensive research-practitioner collaborations is essential.

The lack of children's and young people's voices in research and in talk about family violence responses highlights an urgent need to amplify and champion these knowledges and voices.

In the current system, voices from LGBTQ+, disability, ethnic and migrant communities and elderly communities have also not been amplified. We lack resources and skills to respond to diversity (Lambie, 2018). Unfortunately, the broad scope of this research meant an in-depth exploration of many diverse voices was not undertaken. Although it is also worth mentioning that the layers of selves of participants were not fully disclosed, so we cannot assume that all of the communities who were not specifically recruited for this research story were necessarily excluded. Future research should seek to bring missing voices into the literature and strengthen and expand the response system in line with their specific knowledges and insights.

As we draw near to the end of this story, I think it leaves a warm invitation to its readers to come on a heart journey to non-violence. Its elimination can only be achieved by a collective effort. No matter who you are, no matter where you are, there may be people awaiting a heart response from you: A neighbour who reaches out in a safe way to help. An aunty who leaves a cooked dinner at the door and opens up an invitation to chat. A colleague who cares enough to ask: “are things ok?” A collective response does not mean responding without the knowledge of how to respond safely. It means each of us taking the time to understand and seek advice from experts if we are unsure.

It is fitting that the closing words for this story belong to a young mother who, in the end, found a path for herself and her children out of the darkness of violence and into the light. It is her case vignette that increased understanding of the impacts of grooming in the theme of *conditions of abuse*. It is her poetic voice that challenges us to “grab our chance to change things” and that I end this story with, since it is voices just like hers that have been silenced for too long and are our greatest guides in joining the rhythm towards the elimination of family violence.

**The future, she held to
He gave, not a slight
Love heart, stabbed open
He killed her, that night...
Her body, raw battered
Mind shattered, displaced
Worn face, days crooked
Make-up, a time waste.
She lay, in cold coffin
True love, her eyes saw
Her young, babes wailing
For mum, and once more...
One tear, leaked release
Rolled down, dew wet
Never see, her babes safe
She died, in regret**

**A chance will come, in form of escape,
Grab now, in breath, as death is too late**

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Letter of support Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga



Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga
National Network of Stopping Violence

7.12.2012

To whom it may concern

Ref: Letter of Support for Adrienne Everest Doctoral Thesis Research

I am writing to confirm that I am happy to endorse Adrienne Everest in her research for her doctoral thesis on “effectiveness within domestic violence programme”.

I have known Adrienne for over decade. I first worked with her as an agency Manager with the community organisation Wellington Violence Intervention Programme, and subsequently as National Manager Strategic Relationships and Advocacy for Te Kupenga / National Network Stopping Violence, a network of community organisations working to eliminate domestic violence.

I am confident that Adrienne has the work experience, professional skills and personal values to undertake her proposed research.

I am pleased she has chosen to focus her doctoral thesis on effectiveness of domestic violence programmes. Our work in this field is still relatively young and I believe the work will be of significant value in supporting effective programme practice.

Our organisation is happy to support Adrienne in whatever way is useful to see the successful completion of her doctoral thesis.

If you have any questions please feel free to contact me on ph 04 802 5402, mobile 0274 529556 or email brian.gardner@nnsvs.org.nz.

Nga mihi nui

Brian Gardner

National Manager Strategic Relationships and Advocacy

Appendix B: Memorandum of Understanding – Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga National Network of Stopping Violence Services

This Statement of Understanding is for the purpose of establishing a professional understanding between Adrienne Everest and the National Network of Stopping Violence Services/Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga.

Adrienne Everest will be conducting research on domestic violence services as part of her work towards a PhD at Massey University. This research will involve interviewing experienced facilitators of domestic violence programmes to identify effective strategies and initiatives being used to treat clients.

Adrienne will consult with Brian Gardner from the National Network of Stopping Violence Services/Te Kupenga Whakaoti Mahi Patunga on aspects of the research. She will obtain advice and information where appropriate and agreed by both parties. This may include but is not limited to access to relevant documents, support with cultural issues, suggestions for participant invitations, information to facilitate the process of literature reviewing and a letter of support for the ethics committee.

Research Participants identification will be confidential. Data gathered during research will be stored securely. The research will adhere to the Massey University Code of Ethical Conduct for Research, Teaching and Evaluations Involving Human Participants.

Adrienne will be available to answer questions throughout the research process. She will supply the participants and the National Network with a summary of the findings of the research. She will be available to discuss the research findings further with these people should they wish this.

The above understanding is agreed by both parties

Signature:

Adrienne Everest
PhD Researcher
Massey University
Date: 7/12/12

Signature:

Brian Gardner
National Network Of Stopping Violence
Services
Date:

Appendix C: Interview prompt schedule

Interview Schedule

The following questions will be covered in the interview, but participants will be invited to provide their own accounts and raise issues of concern to 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 issues of interest to the researcher are raised. Interviewers identify appropriate responses within the key informant's account as it is told from their own point of view and prompts are not used if relevant information has been provided spontaneously.

Starter

Thank you for participating in this research. We are most interested in hearing about your experience of working men who have been violent

Questions

How would you define and measure effectiveness of interventions?

What are the most effective strategies being used at present and historically?

What strategies would you like to see implemented in the future?

What ideas do you have regarding family work, models, practices and frameworks?

What do you think are the most important issues regarding facilitation?

Appendix D: Information Sheet



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Experienced facilitators' understanding of practices that contribute to the elimination of violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

Information Sheet

This project will be conducted by Adrienne Everest for her doctoral research. Adrienne is an experienced facilitator of stopping violence programmes and has also worked with sex offenders, victims of violence and young people affected by violence. Associate Professor Mandy Morgan and Doctor Leigh Coombes are supervising this project. Our contact details are at the end of this information sheet.

The purpose of the research is to identify effective strategies and interventions used in interventions aiming to reduce or eliminate violence in the home. The project will use a qualitative approach to improving our understanding of best practice in violence interventions through interviewing expert facilitators about their experience of interventions and change processes. It will use an Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) research methodology.

The interview data will be organised into themes and concepts and recommendations made from this information. Interviews will be conducted until no new information is obtained from further interviewing. We expect that between fifteen and twenty people will take part in this research. Potential participants have been identified through consultation with people who work in the field of domestic violence treatment provision including members of the Te Kupenga/National Network of Stopping Violence Services and the researcher's own personal contacts in the field.

You have received this Information Sheet because you have been recommended as an expert facilitator whose experience would be valuable to this research. I would like to invite you to take part in the project. Your time and input would be greatly appreciated.

If you agree to participate you will be involved in an interview which will last between one to two hours. Your participation in the project will be kept confidential. The location and time of the interview will be scheduled so it is suitable and convenient for you. The interview will be digitally recorded with your consent. The interview data will then be transcribed. All identifying information will be deleted and a copy of the transcript will be sent to you to edit as you wish. I will also ask you if you're willing for me to use parts of your transcript to report on the analysis. This will enable information from interviews to be used to help form research conclusions that may be published and included in the final thesis. All information collected will be accessed only by me and my supervisors.

The digital recording will be destroyed or returned to you after transcription. The transcript data will be stored on a password protected computer. Consents forms will be stored in a locked cabinet at Massey University away from the other data. At the completion of the project all documentation will be destroyed apart from one copy of the transcript data which will be stored securely at Massey University for five years. It will then be destroyed by the Head of the School of Psychology or nominee.

You will be sent a summary of the research findings via email or post, whichever you prefer.

The research findings may be presented or disseminated to relevant groups and individuals working with domestic violence clients or researching domestic violence topics as well as to academic audiences through publication.

You are under no obligation to accept this invitation. If you decide to participate, you have the right to:

- decline to answer a particular question
- withdraw from the study at any time
- ask any questions about the study at any time
- provide information on the understanding that your name will not be used unless you give permission to the researcher
- be given access to a summary of the project findings when it is concluded
- ask for the recorder to be turned off at any time during the interview

This project has been evaluated by peer review and judged to be low risk. Consequently, it has not been reviewed by one of the University's Human Ethics Committees. The researcher(s) named above are responsible for the ethical conduct of this research.

If you have any concerns about the conduct of this research that you wish to raise with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact Professor John O'Neill, Director, Research Ethics, telephone 06 350 5249, email humanethics@massey.ac.nz.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information. Should you have further questions regarding the research please contact Adrienne Everest at everest@hotmail.co.nz, 021 1476771

or the researchers supervisor Dr Mandy Morgan, Massey University, Private Bag 11222,
Palmerston North 4442. C.A.Morgan@massey.ac.nz, ph 06 356 9099 ex 2063

Appendix E: Participant Consent form (with original research title that was iterated over time to reflect the research contributors' contributions) - Stage one



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
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TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Experienced facilitators' understanding of practices that contribute to the elimination of violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name -

printed

Appendix F: Authority for the release of transcripts - Stage one



Experienced Facilitators' understanding of practices that contribute to the elimination of violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF TRANSCRIPTS

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the transcript of the interview(s) 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 _____

Appendix G: Summary of findings - Consultation stage

Understanding of practices and processes that contribute to the elimination of family violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis – Consultation Stage

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the consultation phase of this study. As you are aware, I have already interviewed experienced facilitators with the aim of identifying successful strategies for stopping violence interventions. The results were somewhat surprising, because the themes that were covered by participants primarily concerned issues that were affecting successful interventions.

When we meet, I will be very interested to hear your views on the following key findings from study 1. You will also be welcome to add to the considerations below. If you wish, you can focus on just a couple of the findings, or you can decide to cover them all, in any order you choose.

I will look forward to meeting with you.

Key findings of stage one

Fragmentation, polarisation and a lack of unified vision has impacted negatively on the response to domestic violence and therefore this needs to be addressed to improve effectiveness in dealing with family violence

A gender analysis should be applied to our understanding of domestic violence

Voices of children and survivors need to be strengthened

Perceptions and stereotypes about domestic violence have a significant impact on responses to the problem

Victim blaming perceptions continue to create obstacles for survivors and strategies that focus on the elimination of these perceptions is advisable

Perpetrator grooming has a significant impact on response systems and gains strength from victim blaming perceptions and some societal stereotypes regarding perpetrators. Recognition and education about this grooming will enhance positive change

Some initiatives and strategies have not been implemented well and sufficient monitoring and evaluation has not taken place so current and future initiatives need to remedy this

Comprehensive, long term investment approaches are preferable to perceived “magic solution” short term approaches to the issue

More research is needed to understand the nuances of the problem in minority groups and aid better resourcing in these areas

Some effective strategies have been implemented successfully. In particular social change messages and initiatives such as White Ribbon and the It’s Not OK campaign

Expanding prevention and education work is advisable

“Affordable safety” needs to be able to be accessible to all survivors

A systemic approach from a governmental, community, family and whānau perspective needs to occur

Pro social environments are a key factor in the maintenance and prevention of violence

An eclectic approach to intervention work with the application of dynamic and interactive techniques is recommended

The sector needs to be rethought and creative ways of addressing family violence incorporated in responses

Appendix H: Participant consent form – Stage two



MASSEY UNIVERSITY
COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES
AND SOCIAL SCIENCES
TE KURA PŪKENGĀ TANGATA

Understanding of practices and processes that contribute to the elimination of family violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis – Consultation Stage

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM - INDIVIDUAL

I have read the Information Sheet and have had the details of the study explained to me. My questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I understand that I may ask further questions at any time.

I agree/do not agree to the interview being sound recorded.

I wish/do not wish to have my recordings returned to me.

I agree to participate in this study under the conditions set out in the Information Sheet.

Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

Appendix I: Authority for the release of consultation data



Understanding of practices and processes that contribute to the elimination of family violence: An Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis – Consultation Stage

AUTHORITY FOR THE RELEASE OF CONSULTATION DATA

I confirm that I have had the opportunity to read and amend the consultation data of consultation discussion(s) conducted with me.

I agree that the data from this may be used in reports and publications arising from the research.

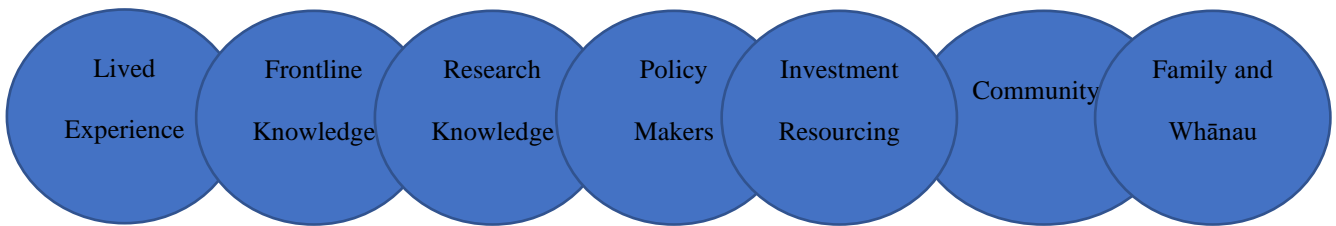
Signature:

Date:

Full Name - printed

Appendix J: Diagram - Journey beyond our current landscape of family violence: Laying a place at the table for others

**Journey beyond our current landscape of family violence:
Laying a place at the table for others**



Connecting, through hermeneutics of the heart, the spheres of lived experience, frontline, research, policy, investment, community, family and whānau in the journey towards the elimination of violence

Who may still need to be invited to the table?