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THE MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:

A CONSTRUCTIVIST INQUIRY

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work at Virginia Commonwealth University.

by

MONICA RENÉ LEISEY

Master of Social Work, Virginia Commonwealth University, 2002
Bachelor of Arts, University of North Carolina, Greensboro, 1988

Director: Mary Katherine O'Conner, Ph.D.
Professor, School of Social Work

Virginia Commonwealth University
Richmond, Virginia
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Dedication page

For my girls, Elizabeth and Victoria, who shared the 'school years' with me

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Abstract

THE MULTIPLE MEANINGS OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE:
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Spurred by the work of the Battered Women’s Movement, domestic violence has been responded to since it emerged as a problem in the 1970s. At first the response was providing places for victims to stay and recover from the violence while also providing

opportunities for consciousness raising and empowerment work. As domestic violence became a more recognized problem, policies were created and enacted to end the problem. Through the 1980s and 1990s, changes in federal policies in regards to domestic violence were incorporated. The criminal justice system began incorporating such policies as mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies as well as using batterer intervention programs (BIPs) to provide services to those accused of domestic violence charges.

In Virginia, domestic violence advocates, batterer intervention program service providers and members of the criminal justice system worked together to create coordinated community responses with the stated goals of safety for domestic violence victims and accountability for perpetrators of domestic violence. The coordination, however, seemed to be fraught with difficulties, as domestic violence advocates, BIP providers, and the criminal justice system continued to struggle with the implementation of the standards. It seemed that although all three groups were able to agree upon the goals of accountability and safety, there were underlying issues of difference that were not being considered.

The participants of this inquiry had congruent understandings of the term domestic violence; however their understandings of the social problem domestic violence were quite different. Because the way a social problem is understood influences policy as it is created, implemented, and experienced, it is important to strive for clarity concerning the social problem to which the policy is responding.

This inquiry is an exploration of the multiple understandings of the social problem domestic violence as understood by those who participated in the inquiry. The tentative findings, or lessons learned, are not to be understood as generalizable findings, but as the unique, co-created understandings of the multiple meanings of the social problem domestic violence as understood by the participants and the inquirer.

Chapter 1: An introduction

I provided services to domestic violence survivors and their children for many years before considering the implications of the services I was providing. In the extensive training I received, the theoretical and ideological roots for domestic violence were explicit – domestic violence was a consequence of the hierarchical and patriarchal system within which we all live. It was a logical outcome to the socialization that we experienced as young women. What was needed to fix the problem was empowerment, consciousness raising, and additional services for survivors. It was not until my second year internship during my Masters in Social Work program that I began to consider the implications of those underlying assumptions.

My Experiences

My internship placement was at a domestic violence resource center housed within a community corrections department. I was working for the system – a problematic situation for a feminist raised, and trained, to believe that the system was the problem. It was there I began to question the theoretical basis for the services as well as the actual services I had been providing domestic violence survivors for many years. During my internship I had the opportunity to begin attending a meeting of individuals who focused not on providing services to victims, but on providing services to batterers. I also had the opportunity to speak with police officers and parole officers who provided supervision to individuals charged with and convicted of domestic violence offenses.

What these officers, many of whom were women, shared with me was a different view of the problem of domestic violence. These new insights provided me with a perspective that had previously not been part of my understanding of the problem of domestic violence.

I also realized that domestic violence is not a crime. Domestic violence is not defined within the legal code for the state within which I work and live. There are actions that are illegal to commit, such as assault and battery, but the term domestic violence does not have a legal definition. Never having worked within the criminal justice system, I had also not considered the fact that police officers are required to respond to the situation as it presents itself in the moment; judging whether or not a crime has been committed in that specific instance. The police respond to incidents, not to the dynamics of a relationship. Here, I became familiar with a new language to use when speaking of domestic violence. No longer were there *survivors* and *abusers*, but in this realm there were *victims* and *perpetrators*. These new terms seemed to have a different meaning, although on the surface they were simply replacing the terms I had learned and used when providing direct services to domestic violence survivors.

I also began to explore the meaning of the services commonly thought of when providing interventions for domestic violence situations. I had begun to get to know individuals, most of whom were men, who provided services to those charged or convicted of using violence within their relationships. Listening to the work these men were doing, I began thinking about the lack of attention paid to this important area of domestic violence intervention. During this time, individuals who provided services to

batterers were working with domestic violence advocates to create standards for how batterer intervention programs (BIPs) should operate. These standards included the domestic violence advocates' concerns about survivors' safety, the criminal justice system's concerns about holding perpetrators accountable, and the BIP providers' concerns about providing interventions that create change for the abuser (Batterer Intervention Program Certification Board, 2004).

The discussions that created the state's standards were often heated and contentious. Although it seemed each group was interested in the same ultimate outcomes, providing victims safety and holding batterers accountable, each group had a different idea about what those outcomes implied for implementation. In the meetings, I heard many different words used to refer to the same individual or situation. For example, individuals to whom batterer intervention programs were provided were seen by domestic violence advocates as *batterers*. The batterer intervention program providers referred to them as *abusers*. The criminal justice system considered them *perpetrators*. Similarly, the individuals against whom the violence was directed were either *victims* or *survivors* depending on which stakeholder group the speaker belonged.

Even the construct *domestic violence*, something I had been trained to understand from within a particular context, was not spoken of in the same manner. For the criminal justice system, *domestic violence* was understood as an incident defined by the legal code as some other concept, such as assault, that was against the law. Furthermore, it was a non-gendered definition. No mention of either the batterer's or the victim's gender was ever made, unlike the definition provided by domestic violence advocates. The domestic

violence advocates (with whom I worked) understood *domestic violence* as being a pattern of abusive behavior which was inherently gendered. Finally, the batterer intervention program providers spoke about *domestic violence* as a dynamic within a relationship between the abuser and the victim. Some acknowledged a gendered component, while many others felt that a gendered understanding was not at all appropriate.

Standards were eventually adopted by the stakeholders, as was a process for certifying a program's adherence to the standards. Although both the standards and the certification process were accepted by the three stakeholder group members, including domestic violence advocates, members of the criminal justice system, and batterer intervention program providers, discussions concerning the standards have continued. Specifically, BIP providers continue to complain about the nature of the standards. Some of the complaints are that the standards are too gendered, being only written for male abusers. Other complaints are that the standards are based on an understanding of domestic violence viewed through a feminist ideological lens. Many BIP providers do not believe that this ideology is a sound theoretical basis from which to develop an intervention for abusers. Regardless of these complaints, the standards are still considered by many to be best practice. In fact, since the creation of the BIP certification board to manage the certification process, the state has included the certification process in legislation that addresses possible outcomes for all individuals charged with or accused of family abuse (SB 236).

It is not yet clear how this policy will influence those involved in intervening with domestic violence situations. The three stakeholder groups, domestic violence advocates, the criminal justice system, and batterer intervention program providers, continue to struggle with the differences of understanding the construct *domestic violence* that exists between and among the stakeholder groups, while continuing to work towards what appear to be congruent yet different goals (Hagemeister, 2005).

Multiple Perspectives

Although the three stakeholder groups are involved with responding to the problem of domestic violence, at times it has seemed that the difficulty of working across the different understandings of the construct has created untenable situations. For instance, often the criminal justice system refers female perpetrators to BIP providers for interventions. Many BIP providers accept these referrals into their certified programs. Certified programs are those programs that provide interventions based on the adopted standards. The standards, however, were designed specifically for programs providing services to male batterers (Batterer Intervention Program Certification Board, 2004). Although many BIP providers believe that the standards are appropriate for female clients, other BIP providers, and many domestic violence advocates do not believe that female clients should be provided the same intervention. Often BIP providers do not believe that they can turn clients away, yet they do not have an adequate client base to provide separate groups for male and female clients (M. Skinner, Personal communication, March 11, 2005). This situation is very common and a constant source of discomfort for both domestic violence advocates and BIP providers.

Consequently, the three stakeholder groups have begun to move away from engaging in the difficult negotiations that are needed in comprehensively responding to this difficult situation. At one time domestic violence advocates and BIP providers were active members in each other's professional communities. Representatives from each group participated in the activities of both professional communities; trainings were jointly attended and sponsored, resources were used collaboratively, and open discussions were possible between individuals with differing opinions. Since the adoption of the standards and the continuing disagreements about the enactment of the certification process, however, that mutual engagement has ended. Although members of the BIP community often remain members of the domestic violence advocates' professional group, there is very little communication or collaboration between the two important stakeholder groups. The criminal justice system's engagement with the problem of domestic violence has been primarily through community involvement, such as joining domestic violence task forces. Their recent involvement in the BIP certification process is an indication of their interest in responding to the problem of domestic violence effectively and efficiently (T. Skinner, personal communication, March 5, 2004).

When I began this project, I hoped to facilitate the continued engagement and collaboration of all three stakeholder groups. The project was to provide a process through which stakeholder group members would be challenged to think critically about their own assumptions and biases about the construct *domestic violence* while also considering alternative views of the construct. Throughout the process of collecting data, information and understandings gleaned from project participants was to be shared

among the participants, creating a process through which all participants (including myself as the inquirer) would become more sophisticated in their understanding of the construct *domestic violence*. I had hoped that the heightened awareness and understanding would enable the participants and me to continue to struggle with the paradoxes inherent in responding to the problem of domestic violence.

In order to explore the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence, a research methodology was needed that would allow for individual understandings of the term to be critically considered and for those understandings to influence the direction of the project. Constructivist inquiry provided a framework within which this work could be facilitated. As a social worker who had worked within each of the stakeholder groups, I believed that I would be able to share information across disciplinary and perspectival boundaries. I also believed that I would be able to engage and challenge participants to critically consider the underpinning assumptions of their own perspectives.

I was also aware that I brought to the project my own values and perspectives. Most importantly as a social work researcher, I brought to the project the value of social justice. I believed that each possible participant would bring to the inquiry a perspective that would add richness and depth. I entered into the process with the perspective of learner – that each individual had something important to share. I was also aware that I brought to the project my own understandings of the term as I had heard it used in numerous locations and situations. Before beginning the process, I spent time examining my own biases in regards to what domestic violence was *supposed to mean* when I had been trained to work with domestic violence survivors, and how that meaning shifted as I

acquired more information and my perspectives changed. As I was able to consider alternatives to my own underpinning assumptions, I hoped to facilitate that same process for those who chose to be part of the process.

The Inquiry

With the many perspectives that I expected to encounter, it became important to consider how and why so many perspectives existed about a term as ubiquitous as domestic violence. Standpoint theory provides a way to think about how to make sense of the various understandings. This theory asserts that what one thinks and understands is directly linked to that individual's life experiences and social position. It follows, then that each stakeholder group would have a unique perspective based on the commonalities of group membership, while within each group there would also be differences in understanding. My growing awareness of the potential for such differences led me to wonder what the result of such differences in understanding a problem might be.

I have always been aware that not everyone perceives domestic violence as a social problem. For many, it is simply how things are; some relationships are just violent. At the same time, though, policies are created and implemented to respond to domestic violence as if it is a problem. When reflecting on this paradox, I began to consider the possibility that it was the process of defining something as a social problem that indicated what the problem was. Part of the acceptance, then, must also include gaining an understanding of the social problem. If that was so, the creation of policies and consequently programs were directly connected to stakeholders' understandings of the social problem.

Stone's (2002) policy analysis method provided a way to explore the process by which the problem of domestic violence was identified and responded to. The approach also incorporated the existence of multiple realities and understanding so important to standpoint theory and constructivist inquiry. As a social worker, I knew that there was more than one dimension to a policy. There was the policy as it was created, the policy as it was put into actions, and the policy as it was experienced by those who were affected by it. Guba (1984) gave me a rubric for understanding these multiple levels. He refers to them as policy-in-intention, policy-in-implementation, and policy-in-experience. All three levels are influenced by the way the problem is understood by those involved. Rein's (1983) value critical approach asserts that within each level, and importantly within the policy-in-implementation level, the values and priorities of each group influences the understanding not only of the problem, but also of what is done and experienced.

Relying on the congruent underpinning assumptions of standpoint theory, Stone's policy analysis framework, and Rein's value critical approach with constructivist inquiry, I set out to explore the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence. What emerged, though, was an exploration of the meaning of the social problem of domestic violence, as the participants helped me to understanding it. For some of the participants the social problem of domestic violence is a structural, societal problem. For other participants, it is a relational problem. For others, the problem of domestic violence is considered an individual problem. Understanding the multiple ways this social problem is understood, while at the same time realizing that all of the social problems are referred to using the

same conceptual term, helped me to understand the divergence of meaning that I had experienced in my interactions with the participant groups with whom I had interacted before beginning the inquiry. I was also able to consider what the implications were of the multiple understandings for all of us who participated in this project. Through the use of the hermeneutic dialectic (Rodwell, 1998), a richer, more sophisticated understanding of the social problem domestic violence emerged. This meaning, along with the implications it suggests is presented in the narrative found in chapter four. The research question for this project was: What are the policy implications of the multiple meanings of domestic violence?

As with all constructivist inquiries, the lessons that I learned from this process are not meant to be accepted by the reader of the narrative as truth or fact, they are to be considered as lessons that might potentially be congruent with other, similar contexts within which domestic violence is being considered. They are only the lessons that I have learned through the process. Along with a richer understanding of the social problem domestic violence, I have also learned that although the term domestic violence is considered to be a very wide label, the response to the problem in this context has focused on physical violence, which occurred in an intimate relationship, for which adequate evidence exists to prove a crime was committed. Supporting this response seems to be a belief that the social problem domestic violence is an individual problem, for which the perpetrator must be punished.

At the same time, many of the participants shared that they understand the social problem domestic violence to require interventions responding to more than just the

physical violence. For these participants the social problem of domestic violence included such dimensions of abuse as emotional, spiritual, and psychological abuse. What I understood from these participants is that much of the social problem is about not knowing how to manage and maintain a healthy relationship. I have also learned that the way our community responds to the problem of domestic violence does not satisfy the needs of those who receive or those who provide services.

To make matters more complicated, because the social problem of domestic violence emerged from the understanding of the Battered Women's Movement (the Movement), the problem still seems to be understood as a gendered problem, resulting in the provision of services, in this area, that are uniquely gendered. This creates a gap in available services for those individuals who do not fall into the traditional role expectations that are embedded in our community.

The following chapters trace my experience completing this constructivist inquiry. Chapter two provides the framework on which my understanding, questions, and design is built. It begins with a brief overview of how the behavior that we now describe as domestic violence has been understood throughout history and its transformation from that of a personal, private issue to a public social problem for which a solution was needed. Stone's (2002) policy analysis framework is used to explore how this shift was facilitated. Rein's (1983) value critical perspective is used to grapple with the seemingly paradoxical policies that were implemented in response to the newly acknowledged problem. The underpinning assumptions of both Stone's framework and Rein's perspective compelled me to find a way to make sense of the multiple views involved in

the process of exploring the social problem domestic violence. Standpoint theory is introduced as a way to make sense of those views and to understand the importance of their existence.

In chapter three you will find a recounting of the constructivist inquiry completed. The three phases of constructivist methodology are described including the fourteen essential elements of constructivist inquiry. For each phase I have included the requirements of a constructivist inquiry along with the specifics of this project. As the inquiry is described, the steps taken along the way, entry, data collection, data analysis, are shared, including the reasons why those specific steps were followed and how evidence of those steps was collected and maintained. Additionally, rigor for a constructivist inquiry is described, including its two dimensions: trustworthiness and authenticity. The audit trail created and maintained for this inquiry and the audit are also identified and described.

Chapter four is the completed case report. Similar to more traditional research methodology results, this chapter presents the co-created understanding of domestic violence that emerged from the hermeneutic dialectic (Rodwell, 1998). This case report is a story, created using all of the data gathered through out the data collection phase. The vehicle for the narrative is a town hall meeting held during the month of October. At this meeting a panel of service providers shares with the audience their understandings of the term domestic violence. In the audience are two service receivers who share with the readers their understandings, perspectives, and reactions to the information shared by the service providers. A moderator helps to move the story along, providing clarity and

summarizing what is shared by the panel. The characters in the story are composite characters, having been created from my own experiences collecting and interpreting the data shared. Kathy, however, is not a composite character, merely part of the vehicle to present my understandings in a meaningful way. The chapter ends with my tentative lessons learned. These are the lessons that I have learned through the completion of this project. As the case report is analogous to the results of a more traditional research methodology, the tentative lessons learned may be considered similar to more traditional methodology's findings. These tentative lessons learned can not, however, be generalized to any other context or situation, although they may be transferable. That determination is the responsibility of the reader.

The implications of the tentative lessons learned, as I understand them, are presented in chapter five. As I used Guba's (1983) policy level rubric to explore the many levels of domestic violence policy, I return to this rubric to suggest what the tentative lessons learned might mean for the future of practice, social work education, and research for each of Guba's three levels. The implications of the tentative lessons learned span all three policy levels because of my belief that the understanding of a social problem is fundamental to all three areas. How the problem of domestic violence is understood influences the policies and programs that are created and implemented; the education provided to social work students; and the types of research that are conducted. Before domestic violence was a problem, there was no policy created to respond to the problem; there was no education about the problem; and there was no research being conducted to understand or learn about the social problem.

Chapter 2: Domestic Violence

Abusive, violent relationships are not a new phenomenon. Throughout history, there is evidence that violence has been part of many relationships. The first laws concerning marriage were written in Rome 753 BC. These laws included the *Laws of Chastisement*, which endowed husbands with the legal right to physically discipline a wife to prevent her from committing any action that the husband, who was the legal citizen, would be held accountable for (Schechter, 1982). This structure continued through the development of the Catholic Church and the Holy Roman Empire. Constantine the Great, a Roman Emperor, was known to have had at least one wife burned at the stake (Lemon, 1996).

Continuing through the Middle Ages, the Renaissance, and the Age of Enlightenment, husbands were given permission to control their wives and children through the use of force (Lemon, 1996; Schechter, 1982). In the 1700s, Sir William Blackstone, an English lawyer and professor wrote an analysis on the common law of England entitled: *Commentaries on the Laws of England*. In this political analysis, Blackstone explains marriage as a civil contract within which husband and wife are one person under the law. Legally, according to Blackstone, the wife becomes part of the husband, having been incorporated into his existence. Because of this, the husband is permitted to give his wife “moderate correction” because he is answerable for her behavior (Blackstone, 1765; Siegal, 1996).

European immigrants to the new world based their laws on the English Common-Law, which did not prohibit a man using violence in his home (Martin, 1976; Schechter, 1982). The Puritans were aware of the use of violence within households (Pleck, 1987). The first code of laws established by the Puritans, the *Massachusetts Body of Liberties* was written in 1641 and stated that only in defense could a husband use physical violence against his wife (The Massachusetts Body of Liberties, 1641). Unfortunately, the Massachusetts Body of Liberties did not hold sway over the majority of the citizens of the colonies. As the United States of America emerged, abusive relationships continued.

As late as 1869 John Stuart Mills wrote *The Subjection of Women*, presenting the slave-like legal position of wives and requesting that they be given to the right to petition for divorce on the grounds of violence and cruelty (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Mills, 1869). Women were also demanding the right to be treated as citizens within the United States. From the mid 1800s to the passing of the 19th amendment in 1920, the U.S. suffragist movement worked to have women recognized as citizens and given the right to vote. Subsequently, by the early 1900's American society no longer considered a marriage simply a contractual arrangement folding the wife into the husband's existence. Marriage was considered to include, and even be based on, an affective dimension, moving society away from an acceptance of the *Laws of Chastisement* (Siegal, 1996). Although women began to be considered individuals, not simply property; the notion that a *man's home was his castle* remained. As 'king' it was the husband's duty and responsibility to take care of what happened in his home. This socialization provided support and encouragement for husbands to use whatever force

they deemed necessary within the marriage (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; MacKinnon, 1989; Schechter, 1982).

As the position of wives shifted in definition from that of property to that of independent agent, the American court system also began to define marriage differently. Instead of husbands having the right to discipline their wives to maintain order, the courts now defined marriage as a relationship-based institution which should not be regulated. Marriage was a private matter (Siegel, 1996). This right to privacy provided a screen behind which violence occurring within one's home could be hidden. What happened within a family's home was private business, not to be discussed outside of the family. As private business, violence within a relationship may have been a private issue, a personal concern or worry, but was not considered a social problem.

The Emergence of a Social Problem

Private issues, such as violence used in relationships, become social problems when a group within a community frames an issue as a problem that is widespread enough to present a serious threat to a community through the breakdown of social standards (Hardcastle, Wenocur, & Powers, 1997). The use of violence within a relationship was first framed as a problem by the feminist movement (Felter, 1997; Meyer-Emerick, 2001; Schechter, 1982). The feminist movement, a grassroots movement of the 1960s and 1970s, was firmly grounded in the belief that the United States, as a patriarchal society, was based on an inherently flawed hierarchy of power. This hierarchy, supported by American's embrace of the idea of a person's right to

privacy, used violence to maintain order (Schechter, 1982). The secrecy of the violence was often not even shared with extended family.

As the feminist movement grew in strength, women began talking about the violence that traditionally had been kept very quiet and very private. As common concerns emerged, women began working together to provide comfort and support for others experiencing the violence. They also began to lay claims for social redress and response. Claims, according to Rein (1983) are distributional rules that reflect society's expectations and priorities. Social identities for women and men had been clearly defined throughout modern history, and had become part of what was expected as the natural order (Peattie & Rein, 1983). The women's movement, like other social movements, disrupted what was expected as natural or normal (Peattie & Rein, 1983). By the early 1980s the conversation about violence perpetrated against wives became louder, making it possible for domestic violence to be considered a social problem (Felter, 1997; Schechter, 1982).

Social problems are responded to with the creation of social policies. Policy is a fusion of the abstract values that are cherished, the operating principles agreed upon, and the strategies of change that have been accepted (Rein, 1976). They reflect the way a community understands a problem. Stone's (2002) model of policy analysis is also built on the underlying assumption that what is understood about a problem, issue, or solution is inherent in the response or non-response to a problem. Because of the congruity between Stone's (2002) policy analysis framework and Rein's (1983) value critical approach, these two perspectives will be used as a framework to explore the problem of

domestic violence, the policy created to address the problem, the goals inherent in the policy, and the solutions provided by the policy. Stone provides a framework to critically consider the problem and response, while Rein provides a framework to critically consider the implementation of the policies that emerged. Both of these frameworks are congruent with the constructivist approach used in this project.

Stone's framework uses, as its point of reference, the polis, or the political society, as the driving force of all policy. A polis is comprised of individuals whose motivations include both public and private interests. From this perspective, the process of adopting a policy is not linear. It is not driven by the market forces of supply and demand. Rather it is driven by ideas, persuasion, and alliances. Information in a polis is not precise and complete but ambiguous, interpretive, and most importantly strategically manipulated. Collective effort, collective will, and public interest come together in the policy arena to find solutions to common problems (Stone, 2002). Often the work done in the public interest is incongruent with private interests. For instance, responding to the problem of domestic violence as a social problem could be understood as being inconsistent with a family's right to privacy.

The Problem

Problems are not simply the difference between identified goals and the current problematic situation. In a polity, problems are the strategic representation of situations (Stone, 2002). Each description of a problem is specific to the individual or group presenting the problem. There is no single correct definition or understanding. Problems are contextual and grounded in the perspectives of those defining the problem (Scheon, &

Rein, 1994). Violence within relationships was understood by the Battered Women's Movement as a social problem, not a private issue. They labeled this problem as violence against women in an effort to legitimize the idea that violence and abuse within relationships was a problem. If a problem has a name, it must exist (Felter, 1997; Meyer-Emerick, 2001). More commonly, the term domestic violence was used to refer to the social problem (Meyer-Emerick, 2001).

Faced with a new social problem labeled and defined by the Battered Women's Movement, the United States Senate, House of Representatives, and the Civil Rights Commission held hearings in 1978 on the issue of battered women and domestic violence. During these hearings, domestic violence was framed as an issue of rights and citizenship. Women, as citizens, were due the same rights as men – the right to be protected by the state from violence (Naranch, 1997). It was suggested for the first time that domestic violence should be treated like other similar criminal activities (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). Although the problem remained the same, it seemed to be framed in what appear to be conflicting problem setting traditions (Rein, 1983). In other words, there was a significant difference between how the problem was understood by the two different groups of people. The Movement understood the problem to be a social problem, requiring a change in society. The political community understood the problem as an individual one of rights and citizenship being threatened by an individual committing, or threatening a criminal act.

Framing the problem.

Although the Battered Women's Movement was responding to the problem of domestic violence in the early 1970s, the common understanding of domestic violence as a private family matter was evident in the greater communities' lack of response to the issue. Framing the issue within the feminist movement created opportunities for the Battered Women's Movement to provide support and safety to victims of violence (Meyer-Emerick, 2001; Schechter, 1982). Women, working collectively began the first hotline in St. Paul, Minnesota, and opened the first battered women's shelter in Urbana, Illinois. Prior to women beginning to provide these services for each other, there were no shelters for wives who were victims of violence perpetrated by their husbands, nor were there laws against such actions (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Epstein, 2002). Hotlines, support networks, and shelters were created, provided, and maintained by grassroots organizations because officially there was not yet a problem. Concurrently, there were also no formal avenues of redress. Women in dangerous situations, though, occasionally reacted by calling the police (Danis, 2003).

During the 1970s, police departments considered domestic violence to be a family matter or personal issue – not a matter for police intervention. Most police departments used such tactics as mediation, separating the individuals involved for a short period of time, and walking the husband around the block for a cooling off period, when called to a domestic situation (Bohmer, Brandt, Bronson, & Hartnett, 2002; Epstein, 2002, Fagan, 1996). The majority of police departments considered violence in this situation to be much different than that which occurred between two strangers; violence between

husband and wife was not yet considered violence (Robbins, 1999). For an arrest to be an appropriate response at this time, the violence either had to be witnessed by the police officer, or the assault had to be considered a felony by the officer (Buzawa, Austin, Bannon, & Jackson, 1992). If the responding police officer did not feel that an arrest was warranted, the victim still had the right to press charges against the perpetrator of the assault, although that decision was discouraged (Fagan, 1996). Not only were police departments reluctant to get involved in these situations, but magistrates and prosecutors were also reluctant to become embroiled in what had been defined and understood as family squabbles. Protective orders were only granted to women who were filing for divorce (Fagan, 1996) and prosecutors considered domestic violence cases to be relatively unimportant (Robbins, 1999).

Even though the Battered Women's Movement had defined violence against women as a problem, and the United States Government had held hearings about the problem of domestic violence, the response of the polity did not demonstrate the existence of a problem. To spur the polity to recognize and respond to the problem of domestic violence, domestic violence needed to be framed as a problem, something threatening the fabric of the community. To this threat, it was expected that the polity would respond with a solution. Persuasive strategies, such as the use of metaphor to question priorities and values (Rein, 1976), are often used to raise the status of a private issue to that of a public problem. Use of narratives, including speculation about the cause of the problem, and numbers (Stone, 2002) to tell the story of the problem were strategies used by the Battered Women's Movement to urge communities to take the issue seriously

and consider the abuse to be unacceptable behavior (Bohmer, Brandt, Bronson, & Hartnett, 2002).

Using narratives for understanding.

One effective way to persuasively present an issue as a problem is through the use of a narrative or story (Stone, 2002; Rein, 1983). During the 1970s a number of sensational stories about police departments not responding to victims of domestic violence were being heard by the United States public. Lawsuits were used to challenge communities' lack of response to women in need. A class action lawsuit filed and won in Oakland, CA highlighted police neglect, where neglect would not have been identified before (Sparks, 1997). The Bruno lawsuit in New York City redefined a domestic violence victim's right to protection as a constitutional issue. It was no longer her husband's right to control his family and household. The Thurman v. City of Torrington case explicitly demonstrated the lack of adequate police protection for women being hurt by their husbands. The brutal story of how Tracy Thurman and her son continued to be beaten even after the police arrived was promulgated by the media and used by the Battered Women's Movement as an example of how inadequate the communities' response to domestic violence was (Danis, 2003; Epstein, 2002, Robbins, 1999).

An alternative story about domestic violence was provided by Pizzey and Shapiro (1982). In *Prone to Violence*, Pizzey and Shapiro suggest that there are women who find themselves in relationships with men who turn out to be violent and who want to get away from the violence. These women are very similar to the women that the Movement sought to help: battered women. But, according to Pizzey's experience, there are also

women who are unable to stay away from violence. These women were, in Pizzey's opinion, prone to violence, not the same as battered women. Before the publication of *Prone to Violence*, Pizzey was invited by the Movement to speak about her experiences providing interventions to women who had experienced violence and abuse in relationships (Pizzey & Shapiro, 1982). Once the book was published, however, she was no longer a welcome addition to the Movement (M.K. O'Connor, personal communication, November 12, 2006 as told to her by E. Pizzey). It may have been the incongruity between Pizzey's analysis of the problem and the narratives that the Movement was using that caused the ostracizing of Pizzey from the Movement. The notion that there was more than one problem being responded to in domestic violence shelters did not fit into the narratives used to convince society that there was a real social problem and it certainly did not fit into the causal arguments for change that emerged.

Causal arguments for change.

Although the narrative provided by the Movement identified the patriarchal structure of communities as the cause of domestic violence, it was not society that was ultimately held accountable for the violence being committed. The inherent source of domestic violence provided by the Movement and reinforced by the legal system was an abusive husband or male partner (Sherman, 1992). As Stone (2002) points out, causal arguments in the polis are often used to assign blame and identify who is responsible for fixing a problem and compensating victims. Through the 1980s and 1990s, blame was assigned to men who used violence within their relationships, and the criminal justice

system was held responsible for fixing the problem (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Sparks, 1997).

During the same time period, a few researchers were questioning the presumption of the Movement that all violence perpetrated within a relationship was done so by men. In 1979 the Conflict Tactics Scale was developed by Strauss to assess the level of violence used to settle conflicts within relationships (Straus, 1979). This scale was used throughout the 1980s and 1990 to compare the use of violence used by men to that of women. Many researchers found that women were as likely to use violence as men within a relationship (Margolin, 1979; Pan, Neidig & O'Leary, 1994; Strauss, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1981). These findings were countered by researchers who questioned the use of the conflict tactics scale. Reasons the Conflict Tactics Scale was believed to be an inaccurate assessment of the problem were that it did not take into consideration the motivation for the use of violence, the consequences of the violence or the implications of the use of violence (Kimmel, 2002).

The numbers story.

Another important dimension of representing an issue as a problem is the use of numbers (Stone, 2002). Not only do numbers add to the legitimacy of the existence of the problem, but they can also be quite persuasive in spurring communities to action. Throughout the 1980s, statistics continued to provide evidence that more needed to be done to respond to the problem. In 1982, Russell (as cited in Meyer-Emerick, 2001) suggested that between 21 percent and 34 percent of all women would be physically assaulted by a male partner during adulthood. In 1987 the Bureau of Justice Statistics

reported that the number of violence against women incidents continued to escalate (Meyer-Emerick, 2001), although the problem of violence against women had been recognized for over 15 years. In 1988 the FBI Uniform Crime Report, *Crime in the United States*, reported that “every 15 seconds a woman is beaten” (as cited in Meyer-Emerick, 2001).

By 1990, it was estimated that between two and three million women each year were being assaulted by male partners (Straus & Gelles, 1990). Researchers were asserting that women were more likely to be victims of violence at the hands of their male partners than through any other means (Browne, 1993; Straus & Gelles, 1990). It was estimated that an average of four million women were being severely assaulted by male partners each year (Browne, 1993; Meyer-Emerick, 2001; Straus & Gelles, 1990).

In 1992 the Council on Ethical and Judicial Affairs of the American Medical Association declared that, because of the prevalence of the problem of domestic violence, physicians were ethically bound to contribute to the work needed to end the abuse by acknowledging the abuse their patients experienced (Council on Ethical and Judicial Affairs, American Medical Association, 1992). Research findings released the next year indicated that of the four million women who were physically abused by their partner, 92% of them did not discuss the incidents with their physicians (Commonwealth Fund, 1993). Based on the findings of the Commonwealth Fund (1993), the American Medical Association began its *Campaign Against Family violence*. After attending to the problem for four year, however, the rates of domestic violence did not seem to be declining. In 1997 the US Department of Justice reported that 36% of all women who accessed

emergency medical care for violence-related injuries did so as a result of violence committed by a male partner (US Department of Justice, 1997). Although the percentage of men reporting being injured by their female partner was much lower, it is interesting to note that almost 30% of all patients accessing emergency room services did not disclose their relationship with the person who caused the injury. Of the individuals who received emergency medical care, two-thirds of them were men (US Department of Justice, 1997).

The Solution

Given the success that the movement had in framing domestic violence and having it accepted by the public as a social problem, a solution was needed. Policies are solutions to social problems. According to Guba (1984), there are three levels at which policy can be examined. The first level is the policy-in-intention level. At this level, policy framers create a strategy to solve a problem (Guba, 1984). Once a policy is agreed to, it is implemented, most commonly at the agency level. During implementation, programs are designed according to the designer's interpretation of the policy created. Often there are multiple aims embedded within the policy that create value dilemmas. Program designs are strategies for coping with the value dilemmas found within policies (Rein, 1983). One way that program designs cope with value dilemmas is to shift the understanding of the purpose of the policy at each stage of implementation (Rein, 1983). At the third level, the policy-in-experience level, the lived experience of those who have provided and experienced the programs implemented are explored for meaning and understanding.

The creation of policy is a political process driven by an understanding of the problem and shaped by the underpinning values of those involved (Rein, 1976; Stone, 2002). It is a strategy for coordinating behavior to achieve a collective purpose. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the Movement was able to comprehensively frame the community's understanding of the problem of violence in relationships as a public not a private matter (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). During this same time frame, however, the political climate seemed to support an understanding of the problem as a matter to respond to by the criminal justice system, as that was the response created. The use of newspaper stories and commercials supporting a general anxiety over the level of crime in the US was used to push for a stronger more punitive response to crime at all levels, including the response to the crime of domestic violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1992). An important aspect of the platform that resulted in Reagan's election was his 'tough on crime' stance, and his belief in a smaller, less intrusive government (Wisensale, 1996).

As a result of the Movement's success in reframing the issue as a problem and because of the shift in public values, communities began responding to problem of domestic violence. For victims, the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act and the Victims of Crime Act were passed in 1984 providing resources to shelters and other related services to survivors of violent crime, including victims of domestic violence (Brooks, 1997). The criminal justice system response was also changing. Not only was the problem being defined as an issue of equal protection, but there were real and valid concerns about the liability of municipalities for a failure to respond appropriately (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

Prior to 1984, police officers did not have the authority to make an arrest for a misdemeanor crime without a warrant unless the crime was committed in their presence. Following the Attorney General's recommendation, based on the findings of the Minneapolis experiment (Epstein, 2002), police departments around the country began instituting either pro-arrest policies or mandatory arrest policies in cases of domestic violence. This shift was the first institutionalized policy response to domestic violence and defined such physical violence as a crime (Bohmer, Brandt, Bronson, & Hartnett, 2002; Fagan, 1996). It also gave police greater arrest power than they had for any other category of crime (Epstein, 2002). Going even a step farther, a number of states began implementing mandatory arrest laws. By 1992 five states had implemented a mandatory arrest law, and by 1994, twenty-one states and Washington, DC had done so. The changes enacted within criminal justice system were advocated for by many domestic violence advocates (Sparks, 1997).

Since policy creation is the prioritizing of goals and objectives (Rein, 1976), the passing of the Violence Against Women Act of 1994 reflected the confidence of the policy makers that the criminal justice system could end the problem of domestic violence. For many, the intervention of the criminal justice system into the family realm was an uncomfortable situation. The criminal justice system goal of protecting citizens against violence is not, in this problem area, congruent with the goal of protecting families as social institutions (Straus & Lincoln, 1985). This type of policy dilemma, conflicting mutual aims, is often created when a change has occurred in the political

context of the situation. Without the Movement's push for domestic violence to be considered a problem, this dilemma would never have existed.

The dilemma could be seen in the incongruent responses within the criminal justice system. Throughout the 1980s as arrests for domestic violence incidents rose steadily, prosecution and sentencing guidelines changed little (Menderos, 2002). As a result, advocates pushed for no drop policies and changes in the civil justice system (Epstein, 2002; Mankowski, Haaken, & Silvergleid, 2002). No-drop prosecution policies in prosecutor's offices also became more common throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s. No-drop prosecution policies define the criminal activity as a crime against the state and require the prosecution of the alleged perpetrator regardless of the victims' wishes. The responsibility of deciding to press charges was shifted from the victim to the prosecutor, so that the decision could be based on the amount of evidence available. Support for these changes was provided by the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges in 1994 (Epstein, 2002).

After the passing of the Violence Against Women Act, the criminal justice system responded in a more systematic manner. Within the civil justice system, protective orders, which had only been available to women who were also filing for divorce, became available to all wives. This removed the divorce barrier and expanded protective orders to include such stipulations as no assault/stay away provisions, temporary child custody provisions, and emergency ex parte relief provisions (Epstein, 2002). In many states the availability of protection orders was also extended to non-marital couples

(Fagan, 1996), and violating a protection order became a criminal offense (Epstein, 2002).

As the number of men arrested for domestic violence increased dramatically due to the changes in social policy, the criminal justice system was faced with the growing problem of what to do with the perpetrators of these crimes (Holtzworth-Munroe, 2001; Jackson, Feder, Forde, Davis, Maxwell, & Taylor, 2003). The criminal justice system needed a response that would provide safety for victims of domestic violence, as victim advocates demanded, while also attending to their need to hold the perpetrators accountable for misdemeanor offenses, which were not suitable for incarceration (Holtzworth-Munroe, 2001). Batterer Intervention Programs were adopted to provide those services. These new policies, written at the local and state level often created new programs and units within the criminal justice system (Dobash & Dobash, 1992).

The Goals

The problem frames used to define and persuade the polis of the existence of a problem are value based (Scheon & Rein, 1994) and social policy is concerned with the choices made between competing values (Rein, 1976). Dominating this competition are the goals and values of equity, efficiency, security, and liberty (Stone, 2002). Very seldom is there one goal agreed upon by all. Most of the time, there is a plurality of goals and inherent conflicts of goal priorities (Rein, 1976). Complicating matters is the fact that even the goals most often agreed upon, equity, efficiency, security, and liberty, are not consistently constructed (Stone, 2002); such is the case in the realm of domestic violence policy.

Equity.

State intervention in the arena of domestic violence is a double edged sword for many members of the Movement. Some members consider state intervention a positive change enabling the Movement to work for social change. This perspective asserts that considering domestic violence a crime implies that women are equal citizens of the community and should be provided equal protection under the law (Naranch, 1997; Robbins, 1999). Not all members of the Movement agree with this perception, however. Many feminists believe this position implies that women, in order to be considered equal, must become more like men, adopting a rational, self-sufficient way of being in the world. Furthermore, because law makers represent the interests of the dominant groups, laws often reflect and maintain the unequal power relations between men and women. Feminists assert that the use of gender neutral language does not change the lack of social power that women wield (Naranch, 1997).

What is considered fair, however, may not be considered equal. The *Violence Against Women Act of 1993 (VAWA)* specifically identifies women as the victims of domestic violence. Criminal justice laws and policies, though, are written with gender neutral language, erasing the inherently gendered nature of domestic violence as understood by the Movement and as incorporated into the federal policy. Consequently, according to the Movement, the sanctions supported by VAWA that are written into jurisdictional laws and policies to protect women, may be used against women. Applying the laws equally to both sexes may or may not be a fair interpretation of the intention of the policy.

Efficiency.

Efficiency is often determined by considering the benefit provided by the financial cost incurred by the policy, but it can also be determined by the policy's ability to adequately address a problem. The effectiveness of the policy is an important consideration of the efficiency of the policy (Stone, 2002). Responding to the problem of domestic violence is currently the purview of the criminal justice system, which responds to the individual accused of causing the hurt. Many believe that the gender neutral language used in the criminal justice system's incorporation of mandatory or pro-arrest policies and no-drop prosecution policies limits the effectiveness of system's response to domestic violence (Sparks, 1997). Because the criminal justice system's responses are incident driven, it is the existence of evidence for specific incidents that determine whether an arrest or prosecution occurs (Brownstein, 2000). Not taking the dynamics of a relationship into account while making that determination often produces outcomes, such as dual arrests, that are antithetical to the Movement (Sparks, 1997).

Once arrested and charged, perpetrators are often placed under the Courts supervision and commonly are sent to batterer intervention programs (BIPs) either as part of their sentence or as an alternative to criminal sentencing (Danis, 2003; Gregory & Erez, 2002). Although standards for BIPs have become commonplace throughout the United States, providing some uniformity of intervention for the criminal justice system, (Arias, Dankwort, Douglas, Dutton & Stein, 2002), it is not yet clear that BIPs are effective. A study of BIPs in Virginia concluded that treatment was not effective in reducing recidivism rates (Gordon & Moriarty, 2003).

Security.

A government can provide many different kinds of security to its citizenry including economic, physical, and psychological security (Stone, 2002). Most of the federal policies directly address physical acts of violence, attempting to provide women with physical safety through providing domestic violence hotlines, shelter services, and counseling services. Domestic violence as understood by The Movement included physical abuse as part of the violence that women experienced at the hands of their abuser; but that was only one dimension of the violence experienced. The Movement also included emotional and verbal violence in their definition of domestic violence (Danis, 2003; Mederos, 2002; Pence & Paymar, 1990; Sparks, 1997). These dimensions of the problem are not incorporated into the federal policy, nor are they part of how those policies were implemented. Additionally the state has the responsibility of providing security to the community. This is often provided through implementing policies that rely on deterrence, persuading someone to not do something through the threat of sanctions. By supporting mandatory arrest policies and no-drop policies, VAWA provides avenues for both general deterrence, keeping everyone from committing and act, and specific deterrence, convincing one person to not re-offend. This may facilitate safer communities, while at the same time not providing for the safety and security of individual women. One possible unanticipated consequence of responding to domestic violence with a criminal justice response may be that individuals, aware of the possible sanctions for using physical violence, may begin to use more emotional and

psychological abuse tactics and violence instead of physical violence, thereby reducing the possibility of criminal sanctions.

Liberty.

The concept of liberty implies that people have a right to do what they want as long as they are not causing harm to anyone else (Stone, 2002). This definition is fairly straight forward until policies are put into place to punish the causing of harm. For the Movement, harm included patterns of physically, psychologically and emotionally abusive behavior (Danis, 2003; Mederos, 2002). Conversely, the criminal justice system defines punishable actions by the legal code of each state, relying on physical evidence to prove that harm has been committed. Additionally, because the criminal justice system is incident driven, the evidence must be relevant to the situation as it appears in the moment. Providing evidence of patterns of abusive behavior, especially non-physical abusive behavior can be quite difficult and is often impossible. This results in the inability of the criminal justice system to curtail an individual's personal liberty through the provision of sanctions.

Liberty has also been conceptualized as self-determination. Mandatory arrest and no-drop prosecution policies inhibit a domestic violence victim's ability to determine what consequences are appropriate for the situation. If the criminal justice system's response to domestic violence hinged on the wishes of the victim, it is possible that the power of the criminal justice system could be used against the individual who most needs protection. Individuals in domestic violence situations may not have the resources or

social support available to make the decision to hold the perpetrator of the violence accountable for the abusive or violent behavior.

Although domestic violence policies attempt to incorporate the values of equity, efficiency, security, and liberty, these values are prioritized differently within the multiple programs developed. This multiplicity is demonstrated in the many foci of the programs financially supported by VAWA grants. Some communities rely on the financial support provided by VAWA to train and educate members of the criminal justice system. Other use VAWA financial support to provide resources to victims of violence. Each community, or polis, has differing priorities based on the values of the individuals applying for VAWA allocations (Urban Institute, 1995).

Keeping in mind Guba's (1984) three levels of policy, one can see the successful framing of the problem of domestic violence and the intentions included in the policies created to respond to the new social problem at the policy-in-intention level. The second level, policy-in-implementation, is also identifiable, as one can identify the programs and projects put into place to deal with the problem of domestic violence. What is less clear, however, is why there are so many different perspectives about the problem and what should be done to solve the problem.

Standpoint Theory

One way to make sense of the multiple perspectives implicit in the intentions and goals discussed above is through the use of standpoint theory. Solutions to the problem of domestic violence, domestic violence policies, have been and continue to be influenced by the various and often competing values within and between the members of

the domestic violence intervention community. Therefore, it is imperative to include those values and beliefs within this research project. Standpoint theory provides a way to understand the multiple yet often conflicting accounts of reality, and the problem of domestic violence, based on the social position of the groups involved (Harding, 2004; Hartsock, 1998; Hekman, 1997). According to standpoint theory, the multiple understandings of those involved must be considered and included in order to have a comprehensive and democratic understanding of the issues and problems under review (Holmwood, 1995). Standpoint theory also posits that research is about politics and change, power and empowerment, and can be used to identify and challenge inequalities creating new accountings of society for better social relations (Hartsock, 1997; Trinder, 2000). As lives are shaped by social structure (Hennessy, 1993), standpoint theory acknowledges the impact of the multiple perspectives of each group on the development, implementation, and experience of policy. The underpinning assumptions of this theory provide the foundation for the methodology chosen for this inquiry.

Philosophical basis of standpoint.

Standpoint theory was created in opposition to the systemic exclusion of women from the dominant social reality (Harding, 1997). The first philosophical grounding for standpoint theory was Marxism. Hartsock's (1983) groundbreaking book *Money, Sex, and Power* provided Marxist philosophical explanations for why and how a feminist standpoint theory could provide guidance for creating change concerning feminist social justice issues. Although standpoint theory continues to maintain a critical theory orientation, Marx is no longer the only philosophical support provided by standpoint

theorists. Hegel's, Gramsci's, and Foucault's, work are also provided as philosophical foundations upon which standpoint theory rests (Harding, 1997; Hekman, 1997; Hennessy, 1993).

Hegel's assertion of the existence of a bifurcated understanding of the world held by those in marginalized positions is central to standpoint theory (O'Brien Hallstein, 2000). The double vision inherent in marginalized groups provides a way for group members to understand their own vision of reality and the dominant group's perception at the same time. The dominant group's perception of reality creates and maintains arrangements understood to be 'common sense' and perpetuates the cultural power and dominant hegemonic discourse. Standpoint theory's counter hegemonic stances identify the power arrangements inherent in society (Gramsci as cited in Hennessy, 1993, p.5).

As a critical theory, standpoint clearly articulates the connection between power and knowledge as posited by Foucault (O'Brien Hallstein, 2000). Standpoint posits that knowledge always arises from a cultural context that is embedded in the power relations of society. What can be known is structured by material life, which is structured in turn by the ruling class. It is the ruling class which defines what is considered real (Heckman, 1997) until the articulation of subjugated knowledge redefines reality to assert alternative habits and practices (Hennessy, 1993).

The underpinning assumption of all of these philosophers is a relationship between power and knowledge that impacts reality and our understanding of that reality. According to Harding (2004) it is the most reasonable readings of the theory that are truly unsettling, for they conflict with other deeply-held beliefs about both science and politics.

If in fact knowledge, and therefore truth, is relational and subjective, it becomes impossible to assert that one's position is the 'Truth' of any matter. Ambiguity about what is known replaces the firm footing that science asserts. All voices become equally important, up-ending the privileged voices of those who traditionally have been at the top of the social power structure. One possible consequence is that focusing on the many differences may imply a rigid categorization of groups. This categorization could result in marginalized groups with important similarities separated. Separations of this nature could make it impossible to gather together the needed cohesiveness for amassing political power. Alternatively, focusing on commonality could imply a false universal of views – negating the uniqueness of each individual (Lenz, 2004). Because no one woman could speak for all women, it would appear that any feminist standpoint would be partial (Flax, 1990). In order to deal with what appears to be a paradox, Code (as cited in Cosgrove, 2003) suggests that it is important to keep in mind the purpose of the theory: “to expose the unnaturalness of a patriarchal social order...not to aggregate women within a single, unified, or putatively representative standpoint (p. 88).

Standpoint relates to both the structural location of all women as well as to the unique understanding of the experience of each woman (Pease, 2000). It is a product of social collectivity with enough commonality of circumstance to develop a shared knowledge of social relations and reality (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 2000). A standpoint provides knowledge that is essential for members of a group as a collective to work to change the structurally inherent inequalities that exist.

Group identity.

Central to standpoint theory is the notion of women as a collective: that there is enough commonality among women's experience of the world to assert the existence of a standpoint. One characteristic of a group is that some permanence exists over time, existing independently from individual members. Therefore, a group's reality transcends individual experiences and does not disappear even when including the unique experiences or characteristics of individuals (Collins, 1997). A group's history implies a shared experience of location in relationship to power (Collins, 1997). The group identity claimed by traditional feminist standpoint theorists is that which developed through the oppositional consciousness of the 1970s (Hennessy, 1993). This oppositional consciousness, the feminist movement, was similar to another oppositional consciousness emerging during the same time frame: that of the civil rights movement. The civil rights movement of the 1970s also created group identities based on group memberships in relation to the power structure of that time period.

The importance of a group's experience is its collective consciousness achieved through the group's struggles (Jameson as cited in Harding, 2004, p. 1). The commonality among women is their shared common experience of marginality via men (O'Brien Hallstein, 2000). Both dominant and subordinate groups achieve consciousness through their experiences (Jameson as cited in Harding, 2004, p.1). Individual women, as part of a marginalized group, have struggled to understand that their oppression is not a personal problem, but a problem for the collective of women. Each woman is oppressed because of her membership to this collective, or group, not because of a personal

characteristic (Harding, 2004). This struggle, a liberatory political struggle, not only provides membership to the collective women, but also provides the foundation for a standpoint

Politics and science.

A critical theory, standpoint is used in order to create or at least facilitate social change. It presumes a connection between what is known and believed and how policies are created and implemented; asserting that what is possible to know is both shaped by and creates ideology which is shaped by and creates reality. Reality is, therefore, always shaped by social relations (Hennessy, 1993). As Stone (2002) indicated, political claims, the basis of policy, are often considered to be universal truths, ignoring multiplicity of viewpoints. Standpoint theory posits that multiple viewpoints are products of individuals' social locations which are key to understanding relations of power (Mann & Kelly, 1997).

Not all locations, however, are equally advantageous positions when trying to understand the dynamics of a system. Less powerful members of society experience a different reality as a consequence of their oppression (Pease, 2000). Dominant groups have more at stake when questioning the status quo, including determining what questions are right to ask. Because of the differences in the implications of social locations, some sources of data are richer than others; they provide 'less false' perspectives (Harding, 1997; Janack, 1997). Less false perspectives are those that provide an understanding of reality that, although not 'true' in a modernist sense of the word, are less false than other claims to which they may be compared. Standpoint

theorists would assert that any understanding of the world presented from a standpoint would be less false than a perspective provided by a position of power because it is an emic perspective, emerging from the groups' lived experience. It is not an understanding based on observation and judgment. Members of oppressed groups have a perspective on the world that is not just different from non marginalized groups, but also epistemically advantageous (Janack, 1997). The perspective is known through experience.

Epistemic authority, the assumption that one knows something correctly, is conferred through social and political practices (Janack, 1997). It is the result of people's judgments of sincerity, reliability, and trustworthiness of the individual who claims to know (Janack, 1997). Epistemic advantage does not necessarily confer upon that individual a privileged status. It simply implies that the individual has the ability to produce their own self-defined descriptions of the world and of themselves (Janack, 1997). Because of epistemic authority, women have demanded their own voice (Janack, 1997). Knowledge of an experience is authentic. Information about domestic violence is powerful because it is based on the experiences of individual women (Trinder, 2000).

Separating epistemic authority from epistemic privilege, the right of an individual to know the 'Truth' about something, provides a means of intervening politically without having to presume that the 'truth' of the narrative is the only truth available. The focus, then, can be on the political changes that are needed, as identified through narratives including all the voices, not on trying to determine which narrative is absolutely the truth. Changes are then possible because of the inclusion of all voices, the voices of all groups

with epistemic authority and epistemic privilege. It connects knowledge production with social and political practices (Janack, 1997).

Epistemic authority within standpoint theory is a product of the cultural position of women as well as from the individual ways of making sense and knowing the world (Hennessy, 1993). Feminism, including standpoint theory, has abandoned the idea of a single truth for all women (Hekman, 1997). In fact, it has been asserted that truth from one standpoint can not be complete and all-encompassing (Ruddick as cited in Hekman, 1997), for no group has the ability to discover absolute truth (Collins as cited in Kelly & Mann, 1997). Most standpoint theorists admit the legitimacy of all stories, even those that conflict with those that are held dear (Harding, 1997), believing that it is through understanding many groups' stories that a more comprehensive understanding of social relations can be obtained (Kelly & Mann, 1997). This position avoids any false sense of universalism of social reality (Holmwood, 1995).

Domestic Violence Policy Implementation

Our unique experience of policy depends on what level of the policy we experience. For individuals who provide domestic violence services, the experience is that of policy-in-implementation (Guba, 1984). In Virginia, the implementation of federal policies responding to domestic violence has been very similar to that of other states. Policy implementation, however, is more than simply translating the purpose of the policy to form. When a policy is implemented it is the expression of the values and expectations of those interpreting the policy to be implemented. It often includes

compromise between conflicting interest groups (Rein, 1983), as was the experience in Virginia.

In 1979 Virginians Against Domestic Violence (VADV), a grassroots movement, was formed to raise awareness of the problem of violence against women and to provide a community where individuals could come together to work towards the goal of ending the violence. In 1994, the year VAWA was first signed into law, The Coalition for the Treatment of Abusive Behaviors (C-TAB) was created to provide community for those individuals who provided services to batterers. That same year, the Virginia General Assembly established the Virginia Commission of Family Violence Prevention (the Commission) (Batterer Intervention Programs Certification Board, 2004). The goals of this Commission were to study the problem of family violence, identify the existing services and resources available, and to increase public awareness of the services and resources needed to address and family violence. In 1997 the Commission was charged by Senate Joint Resolution 272 with developing standards for BIPs. A year later, the Commission suggested to the General Assembly that the Department of Criminal Justice Services develop standards. The General Assembly tabled the discussion to explore the possibility of the private sector developing standards and a monitoring process for BIPs (Batterer Intervention Programs Certification Board, 2004).

In 1998 C-TAB and VADV proposed to the Commission that these two private organizations assume leadership for the project. The proposal was accepted and development of standards and a certification process began. This process was conducted through a collaborative effort that brought the two groups together under the VADV

organizational umbrella in order to facilitate funding the effort. The collaboration was not an easy partnership for the stakeholders in either organization (J. Forte, personal communication, October, 2001). The majority of VADV members understood domestic violence from a feminist ideology, focusing on the importance of providing interventions for male batterers that highlighted the position that the use of violence is always a decision for which the man needed to be held accountable. Although some C-TAB members agreed with the feminist position, many C-TAB members did not agree, believing that this type of intervention did nothing to facilitate change, development and growth for their clients. Simply punishing the batterers was not enough. These BIP providers wanted to provide more therapeutic interventions based on psychological theories – not on feminist ideology (S. Bachman, personal communication, February 12, 2004).

As the certification process began in 2002, C-TAB members became dissatisfied with the standards as they were implemented. During policy implementation, changes in perspective about what a program should do and what is feasible to do often change (Rein, 1983). C-TAB members began to question the standards that had been accepted by both organizations and collaborative efforts became ineffective. Relationships between VADV and C-TAB became so strained that C-TAB officially separated from the VADV umbrella. Consequently the two organizations communicated only through certification board meetings (K. Radwani, personal communication, March 5, 2005).

One serious problem for the BIP providers was that male perpetrators were not the only referrals being received by Virginia courts (M Skinner, personal communication,

March 5, 2005). BIPs were also receiving female referrals. The standards that were developed were written specifically for programs providing interventions to men only groups. In order to address this issue, and to enhance the accountability of batterers within the criminal justice system, an additional stakeholder group was invited to join the certification process. This new member organization, The Virginia Community Criminal Justice Association (VCCJA) is an association of agencies that provide pretrial and community corrections programs for the Commonwealth of Virginia. VCCJA joined the certification process in the summer of 2003.

While the certification process continues in Virginia, the General Assembly has not completely removed itself from the process. In the General Assembly Session of 2004, legislation was proposed and enacted that stated that the Commonwealth would develop standards for the approval of education and treatment programs for persons accused of assault and battery against a family member (SB 236). Since 2005, the Secretary of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth of Virginia, while working in partnership with both the statewide coalition and the Batterer Intervention Programs Certification Board, has provided guidance for the Commonwealth's criminal justice system in the referral process for individuals accused or convicted of assault and battery of family members (SB 236). It is still not clear, however, what the implications of this new policy will be for batterers, the criminal justice system, or the BIP certification process underway.

My experience.

What is clear, however, is that the language used in the legal system is not congruent with the domestic violence advocates' understanding of the problem. To incorporate the idea of all people being equal, the language of the criminal justice system is gender neutral in contrast with the gendered problem discussed by domestic violence advocates. My experience working with all three of these service provider groups is that the problem is firmly rooted in the multiple perspective and beliefs about what the actual problem is. Domestic violence as a concept has been defined by Domestic Violence advocates as the manifestation of the patriarchy within intimate relationships (Pence & Paymar, 1990). It involves a pattern of coercive use of power to control the life of another individual. Domestic violence advocates evolved from the Movement in order to facilitate domestic violence survivors' use of the criminal justice system. Within the criminal justice system, the definition is even murkier. Working within the system, individuals who provide services specifically to domestic violence situations often talk about the issues of power and control and how that should be part of the response to domestic situations (C. Heisler, April 27, 2004 personal communication). Incorporating this into the law, however, presents additional layers of complexity. The laws now used to determine sanctions for the use of violence within relationships are defined by the illegality of the actions involved. The incidents prosecuted that seem to fall within the scope of domestic violence are those perpetrated by family members or intimate partners. It seems that perhaps it is not the act itself that define the situation as domestic violence,

but it is the location of the actors, their standpoint, that make it domestic violence and not just assault.

BIP service providers have not provided an understanding of the construct, although intervention services often use language implying the use of power for control (Menderos, 2002). The early batterer intervention programs developed through collaboration between the feminist domestic violence movement and the first BIP service providers (Mederos, 2002). Although the first BIPs provided the Country's first response to those who had been accused of domestic violence, the Movement was often not satisfied with the work that was being done. In 1979, the Duluth Domestic Abuse Intervention Program (DAIP) was begun. DAIP was designed to challenge the role that the greater community and community based institutions played in perpetuating the abuse of women as well as reframing accountability of batterers as a criminal justice issue (Mankowski, Haaken, & Silvergleid, 2002).

Based on traditional feminist ideology, however, it was not sufficient to simply sanction batterers. It was necessary to provide a space for batterers to understand and then change their own behavior. The program produced a curriculum, the Duluth Model, as a way to hold batterers accountable while at the same time increasing their consciousness concerning the issue of domestic violence. The curriculum focused on such issues as minimization, denial, victim blaming and importantly gender roles (The Duluth Model, 2004). This model was different than the earlier models because of its incorporation of a cognitive behavioral approach combined with Paulo Freire's ideas about learning (Mederos, 2002). The goal of the Duluth Model is to pose moral and

ethical challenges to men who choose to use violence against their partners in an effort to create a situation where the men choose to be non-violent (Pence, personal communication, June, 2004).

Many BIPs state that their programs are based on the Duluth model also implying a feminist basis for their intervention (Menderos, 2002). The models described by many of these providers do not seem to be congruent with the underlying assumptions of the Duluth model (E. Pence, personal communication, June, 2004). Based on my observation of C-TAB, it is not my understanding that the majority of BIP service providers in Virginia believe in a gendered meaning of the construct domestic violence.

There is no consensus, in any of the professional literature, of what the term domestic violence means. Fagan (1996) believes that the construct has not been conceptually studied, nor does he believe that a theoretical or conceptual understanding of violence generally should be the same as a theoretical conceptual understanding of domestic violence. Jenkins and Menton (2003) comment that if domestic violence is more than simply aggression and hostility then interventions must do more than simply focus on changing behavior – there must be a more transformative change. Johnson (in Piispa, 2002) would agree, and has posited that there seems to be two general categories of the use of violence within relationships: expressive violence and domestic violence. Expressive violence is understood to be the occasional expression of strong emotions that sometimes occurs using violence. Domestic violence, on the other hand, has been presented as the systematic use of violence to control. Kimmel (2002) supports this understanding of violence stating that any definition of domestic violence must include

both the cause and the consequences. For Kimmel domestic violence includes needing to control or subdue another individual, not simply the exhibition of violent behavior.

Hamberger, Lohr, Bonge, and Tolin, (1997) also point to the importance of motive, commenting that motive and function must be separated in any understanding of domestic violence.

The Research Question

The framing of a problem is directly related to the community's response to the problem, as well as to the way a problem is defined and understood. In my experience working with all three of the service provider stakeholder groups, there seems to be conflicting understandings of the problem of domestic violence. Understanding the various interpretations of the problem may help to understand the current situation and how to incorporate the various perspectives and values of the community. The question being explored in this inquiry is: what are the policy implications of the multiple meanings of domestic violence?

Chapter 3: The Inquiry

The intention of this project is not to determine a cause of domestic violence or even reasons why domestic violence should be responded to in particular ways, but to provide a process whereby the many understandings of the construct can be explored and synthesized, bringing together the multiplicity of views concerning both the problem and the community's response. It is hoped that by providing an opportunity for the participants to recognize the plurality of meanings associated with the term domestic violence and the policy implications of those meanings, the community may eventually be able to provide comprehensive, holistic interventions that respond to the problem of domestic violence. Part of considering the multiplicity is questioning what is currently believed. Standpoint theory facilitates those questions because it intends to disrupt the limits of legitimate knowledge, including who the subject is and what questions can be asked (Hennessy 1993) in order to explicate how dominant knowledge remains central to maintaining unjust systems of power (Collins, 1997). Exploring the relations between the power structure and knowledge in order to create change is an essential element of standpoint theory (O'Brien Hallstein, 2000).

Having the similar goals, constructivist methodology provides a process whereby participants can critically consider their own perspectives, their own epistemic authority, while also considering the epistemic authority of other voices as they all affect domestic violence policies. I am not advocating replacing science with politics, nor am I

advocating replacing politics with science (Harding, 2004). From a standpoint perspective, I am recognizing the connection of the two; science is always socially and historically situated (Harding, 2004, Diesing, 1991). Grounding this project within standpoint theory shifts the questions asked from how to eliminate politics from science to “which politics advance and which obstructs the growth of knowledge; and for whom does such politics advance or obstruct knowledge?” (Harding, 2004, p.30). Too often, data are used by scientists to express and reinforce social relations structured by the dominant group (Chafetz, 1997). It is hoped that this project will not simply reinforce that which is already believed, but will spur new, critical thoughts about the term domestic violence.

Standpoint theory provides a conceptual framework that focuses on decentering inherent power relationships (Lenz, 2004). Like constructivist projects, standpoint projects are socially situated and politically engaged in pro-democratic ways (Harding, 2004), advancing democracy by following Dewey’s assertion that those who bear the consequences of a decision should have a proportionate share of making the decisions (as cited in Janack, 1997). Schratz and Walker (1995) assert that “seeing something in a new light can be transformative” (p.214). It is the inclusion of emic perspectives provided by marginalized groups that shift the position of truth from that which has always been to a new, ‘less false’ position. Inclusion of all the participants’ voices provides a space for this shift to occur in the process of the inquiry.

Because knowledge is contextual (Harding, 2004; Hartsock, 1998), it is affected by the conditions under which it is produced, grounded in both the social location and the

individual location of the inquirer (Mann & Kelly, 1997). In order to gather data that is not limited by dominant social structures, information must be directly collected from participants who have epistemic authority on the subject matter (Chafetz, 1997; O'Brien Hallstein, 2000). The internal subjective meaning of the experiences of the participants is paramount so that the inquiry does not simply mask inequalities constructed by researcher ideologies (Holmwood, 1995), but that it increases the awareness and understanding of those epistemic authorities that are implicitly discounted by the dominant social structures.

Because of the different social position of each stakeholder group, it is not unrealistic that each group would have a standpoint to explore. It is important to engage each standpoint, as well as the multiple personal perspectives of the individual participants in the research process. The use of constructivist methodology, which incorporates multiple standpoints and value positions, is a logical choice for conducting this inquiry, allowing for all voices to be heard.

The question being explored in this inquiry is: what are the policy implications of the multiple meanings of domestic violence?

Constructivist Method

Constructivist inquiry is a research methodology that incorporates multiple standpoints in an effort to achieve a more sophisticated understanding of the issue being explored for all the participants, including the inquirer. Standpoints are brought together in a non-hierarchical manner, valuing all positions as equally relevant and important for investigation and analysis. The constructivist research method provides guidelines and

processes that facilitate the managing and negotiating of what are often disparate viewpoints (Rodwell, 1998). Requiring the contemplation of all possibilities and all perspectives, this research methodology values and honors the multiple views that are brought to the inquiry.

Research methodologies and designs should be chosen based on the kind of question that the researcher/inquirer is attempting to explore or answer. The underpinning assumptions of the question should be congruent with the underpinning assumptions of the methodology. There are three dimensions of congruity that constructivist inquirers must assert prior to the beginning the inquiry. These are fit, focus, and feasibility.

Fit.

For any constructivist inquiry, the theory used to ground the inquiry must be congruent with the underpinning assumptions of constructivist methodology. Ontologically and epistemologically, constructivist methodology is congruent with Stone's polis policy analysis framework, Rein's value critical approach, and with standpoint theory. All four, constructivist methodology, standpoint theory, Stone's analysis framework, and Rein's value critical approach are based on the following underpinning assumptions: knowledge is believed to be constructed, contextual, multiple and value laden (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 2000; O'Brien Hallstein, 2000; Rodwell, 1998); and the way to know, especially when considering social reality, is through one's experience (Harding, 1997; Janack, 1997; Rodwell, 1998). The implication of these underpinning assumptions is that the findings

which emerge from such a project will be a co-construction created by the participants and the inquirer (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Manning, 1997; Rodwell 1998).

The findings are understood to be value laden and tentative in nature. This project does not purport to provide causal explanations. It only explores the possible meanings and subsequent implications for the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence, hopefully resulting in a more sophisticated understanding based on the meaning constructed through the network of relationships associated with the lived experiences of the participants.

Throughout this project, each participant added their understanding of the term to the inquiry increasing the richness and vibrancy of the inquiry. During the data deconstruction and reconstruction, which happens during formal data analysis, the many dimensions of the term and the implications for those dimensions emerged. It is this multi-dimensionality that creates the sophistication of understanding that is sought. Problems explored with constructivist methodology are presumed to be complex (Rodwell, 1998), implying a lack of causal explanation.

As the mutual understanding of the term increased, it is possible that the participants experienced empowering consequences creating the potential for change. Inherent to constructivist inquiry is the assertion that knowledge is power (Rodwell, 1998). This assertion is also shared by standpoint theorists such as Hekman (1997), Harding (1997), and Hennessy (1993). Because constructivist inquiry is conducted in a non-hierarchical manner, it is acknowledged that power exists in the participants of the exploration; their free will is manifested through the creation of the reality they assert

(Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Traditional social sciences have often asserted that it is the rigorously trained scientist who has the power to bring to light the truth of the issue being explored (Harding, 1990). Constructivist inquiry, like other non-traditional alternative research methodologies, asserts that research is a social activity, bound by values.

Another consideration of fit is that the question being explored must be congruent with the underpinning assumptions of constructivist methodology, as well. Included in the assumptions of constructivist methodology are the beliefs that multiple realities must be of interest, no single cause will be asserted, findings are context dependent, values are honored and central to the inquiry, and the inquirer must interact with that which is being explored (Rodwell, 1998). This research question shares these underpinning assumptions. Included in the project are the unique understandings and perspectives of each participant concerning the construct domestic violence. These ideographic understandings of the construct are based upon the lived experience of providing or receiving domestic violence services. Each reality and its corresponding value position were important to the development of a more sophisticated holistic understanding of the construct.

Table 1: Underpinning Assumptions shared by Standpoint Theory and Constructivist Methodology

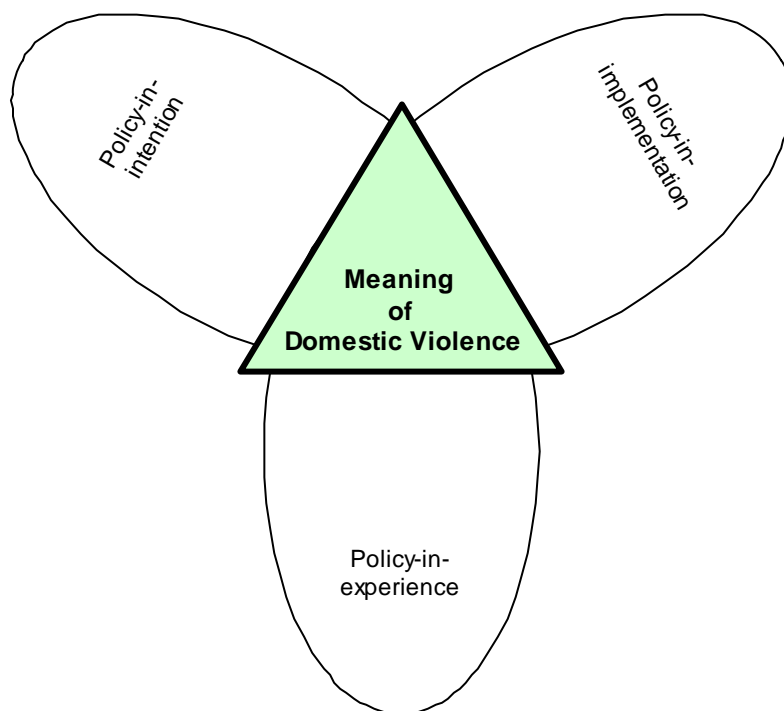
There are multiple perspectives based on lived experience	Knowledge is power
The way to know, especially when considering social reality, is through one's experience	Power exists in the participants of the exploration
Knowledge is believed to be constructed, contextual, multiple and value laden	Research should be non-hierarchical, honoring the expertise of the participants
Truth is a co-construction	Research is a social activity

Values are central to constructivist inquiries (Rodwell, 1998), as they are to standpoint theory, the polis policy analysis framework, and the value critical approach. For constructivist inquirers, values and facts are inextricably linked – it is the valuing of a position that provides the basis for considering the position a fact (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The values of the inquirer as well as the values of the participants are incorporated into each constructivist inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Values influence the entire inquiry process from the development of the research question through the conducting of the project and into the presentation of the case report (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The values I brought to the process included the professional values of honoring diversity and social work's defining principle of social justice (Walkefiled, 1988).

Focus.

The initial focus of this inquiry, the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence and the influence of those meanings on the community's response to the problem, influenced where I began, providing the boundaries of the inquiry, and determined inclusion and exclusion criteria for data collected and participants for the project (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Rodwell, 1998). I expected this inquiry to be categorized as 'pure' research, as it would investigate the multiple dimensions of a phenomenon (Rodwell, 1998), exploring the meanings of domestic violence and the implications of those meanings. As the process emerged, the focus expanded to include the three dimensions of policy: policy-in-intention, policy-in-implementation and policy-in-experience (Guba, 1984).

Figure 1: Domestic Violence and Guba's Framework



Constructivist research provides the flexibility to incorporate all three levels because of the inter-relatedness of the levels. At the policy-in-intention level, policy framers are engaged in preparing a strategy to solve a problem and guide discretionary action (Guba, 1984). Policy-in-intention is meant to address and solve problems, which is often done using rules which guide actions and inducements for following the guidance suggested (Stone, 2002). Policy-in-intention is also prefaced on the understanding of the problem by the policy creators (Stone, 2002; Rein, 1983).

Once a policy is adopted, it needs to be implemented. This most often happens at the agency level where programs are designed according to the interpretation of the guidelines and incentives provided (Stone, 2002). Value dilemmas, conflicts that arise because of incongruent and multiple goals, found within policies are dealt with strategically through the design of programs (Rein, 1983). These value dilemmas need to be dealt with at the policy-in-implementation level. One way that program designs cope with value dilemmas is shifting the understanding of the purpose of the policy at each stage of implementation (Rein, 1983). These shifts influence the experience of those who are affected by how the policy is implemented.

Policy is also the lived experience of those who have provided and experienced the programs implemented according to the policy guidelines. Domestic violence policy directly affects five groups of individuals: domestic violence advocates, the providers of BIPs, members of the criminal justice system who work directly with people experiencing domestic violence, and those who have experienced domestic violence either as the person hurt, or as the person who is responsible for causing the hurt. Every

group has a stake in how the community understands and responds to the problem of domestic violence and therefore is considered a stakeholder for this project. The struggles experienced by the various stakeholder groups are directly related to their conception of what the problem of domestic violence is.

Feasibility.

The third dimension to be explored before beginning the inquiry is feasibility. The inquirer needs to be reasonably certain that the project is do-able. A constructivist project requires a commitment from both the inquirer and the participants so that the inquiry can produce a co-construction of reality based on the many perspectives that exist. The participants must feel that they are capable of providing data and input without the fear of negative consequences (Rodwell, 1998). The political nature of such an inquiry should not be underestimated. The process intentionally facilitates the empowerment of participants (and the inquirer) through the creation of the co-construction (Rodwell, 1998). This co-construction is done through a dialectical hermeneutic process that encourages disparate views to be considered and discussed. It also provides the potentiality for conflict. If there is potential for the participants to incur harm through the experience of this process, it may be that the participants are not able to engage openly, honestly, and trustingly. If this is the case, the inquiry may not be feasible for the inquirer to conduct. My experience in facilitating this inquiry supported my expectation that many of the stakeholder group members were quite eager to engage in a process that critically considers alternative views. Throughout this inquiry, the

participants continued to be very accessible and seemed capable of engaging without fear of negative consequences.

Participants must also be able to engage in the process with integrity. They must be comfortable with the nature of the process, being at ease with the idea of listening to other perspectives as well as prepared to share their own thoughts and insights. It is also important that the participants are able to be honest with the inquirer, engaging in the process without any hidden agendas. When I began this inquiry I believed that the participants were interested in engaging in a dialogue concerning these issues (S. Bachman, personal communication, March 5, 2005). Throughout the process it was my experience that participants were interested and able to engage openly and honestly, even when disagreeing with the inquirer. That is not to say that individual participants did not occasionally feel uncomfortable when considering alternative views, but at no time did any participant reveal that they were too uncomfortable to continue the conversation.

As a social worker, whose profession is defined by its social justice mission (Morris 2002; Wakefield, 1988), it is important to me that social justice concerns are part of every research project. The potential for an inherent power differential between social work researchers and their participants is a concern. Constructivist methodology provides a non-hierarchical model that honors the unique voice and understanding of each participant which is congruent with the social work principle of acknowledging the inherent value of each individual and the many ways of being in the world. The goal of constructivist inquiry, understanding and empowerment, is again congruent with the social justice values that are important to me as a social worker.

Constructivist Design

The congruence of social justice values and constructivist design is a result of the methodological elements embedded in each constructivist project. These elements are based on the underpinning assumptions of constructivist inquiry. Once it is determined that the nature of the project is congruent along the lines of fit, focus, and feasibility with constructivist inquiry, the inquirer can attend to each of the elements required to assert that the project was, indeed, a constructivist piece of inquiry.

Constructivist inquiry is conducted through three phases: orientation and overview; focused exploration; and a comprehensive member check. These phases are not mutually exclusive categories of process, but often overlapping areas of focus. The first phase, orientation and overview, begins the inquiry process including attending to dimensions of rigor, bounding the inquirer's subjectivity, and becoming well acquainted with the context of the issue being explored. Phase two, focused exploration, is primarily the formal collection of and analysis of data. These two phases often interact as new areas of inquiry emerge and focus shifts. The third phase, comprehensive member check, includes the completion of the final case report, completing the final member check, and submitting the inquiry for an official audit.

Table 2: Inquire Phase and Methodological Elements

Inquiry Phase	Methodological Element
Orientation and Overview	
	Prior Knowledge
	Natural Setting
	Emergent Design
	Purposive Sampling
	Problem-Determined Boundaries
Focused Exploration	
	Qualitative Methods
	Human Instrument
	Tacit Knowledge
	Inductive Data Analysis
	Grounded Theory
	Idiographic Interpretation
Comprehensive Member Check	
	Negotiated Results
	Tentative Lessons
	Audit

Orientation and Overview

Entry.

The orientation and overview phase of a constructivist project provides the inquirer with enough information for her to determine whether or not a constructivist inquiry is an appropriate research design for the project. This information begins with *prior knowledge* of the focus of the inquiry. For this inquiry, I brought my own

experience of working with the many stakeholders involved as well as the information I gained through conducting a prior ethnography. A prior ethnography follows many of the traditional stages of an ethnographic study: gaining entry, building rapport (trust building), collating data, analyzing data, and reporting data (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Spradley, 1979; Wolcott, 1999). The first two stages of a prior ethnography, gaining entry and building rapport, are very similar to a traditional ethnographic study. Entry is gained and trust is built using very similar skill sets. The third, fourth, and fifth stages of a prior ethnography are quite different from those of an ethnography. In a prior ethnography, the researcher uses the information co-created with the participants to gain an emic perspective in order to determine whether or not the inquirer is able to and willing to complete the project. Collecting, analyzing and reporting data are completed according to the underpinning assumptions of constructivist methodology.

The prior ethnography was completed in the *natural setting* of the focus of the inquiry. I attended statewide domestic violence advocate meetings, batterer intervention program service providers meetings, and meetings of the Virginia Batterer Intervention Program Certification Board. It is important to the integrity of the method that the inquiry is conducted in context. Without experiencing the context of the natural setting, the inquirer would not have ability to gain a full understanding of the subject matter as it exists within patterns of influence and interaction (Rodwell, 1998).

Research Design.

The patterns of influence and interaction influence the unfolding of the research design. Constructivist inquiries are not linear processes but are flexible in order to

incorporate the values and standpoints of all the participants. These perspectives are incorporated through the inclusion of *emergent design*. The non hierarchical nature of the method provides the opportunity for participants to influence the way the process unfolds. For this reason, it is be impossible for the inquirer to know before the end of the process exactly what will happen and what can be expected (Rodwell, 1998). I began with my own understanding of the topic, the context, and the participants, while acknowledging that these understandings would probably shift and change through interaction with the participants.

Sampling.

Because of the participants' importance in regards to shaping the design, it is important to invite participants using *purposive sampling*. Purposive sampling is used to achieve maximum variation of viewpoints and perspectives. Unlike random or representative sampling, purposive samples are comprised of both the typical cases as well as the extreme, political, or convenient cases (Rodwell, 1998). Participants of any constructivist inquiry should reflect maximum variation of characteristics that the inquirer believes will be important to enhance the depth of the conversation (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998). The dimensions of gender, ethnicity, roles, and geographic locations were expected to be of importance for this inquiry. Although not able to find willing participants in each of the five regions, there was variation across geographical location. Additionally, variation across the other dimensions and in perspectives of domestic violence was achieved. Gatekeepers, individuals who can provide or prevent access to sources of information (Rodwell, 1998), were identified

from within each stakeholder group and were invaluable in my ability to find the number of stakeholders that I was able to include, especially the service receiver stakeholder groups.

Table 3: Maximum Variation

Participants	Female	Male	Total
Ethnicity			
Caucasian-American	6	8	14
African-American	3	4	7
Hispanic-American	2		2
Total Ethnicity	11	12	23
Role			
Domestic violence Advocate Service Provider	3	1	4
Batterer Intervention Service Provider	1	3	4
Criminal Justice Service Provider	3	4	7
Domestic violence Advocate Service Receiver	4		4
Batterer Intervention Program Service Receiver		4	4
Total Role Categories	11	12	23
Geographical Location			
Urban	5	3	8
Suburban	3	4	7
Rural	3	5	8
Total	11	12	23

Generally, sampling for a constructivist design is conducted using purposive serial nominations. Because of Internal Review Board (IRB) concerns about privacy and risk, only participants who provided services were included in this manner. The stakeholder groups identified and sampled in this way included domestic violence advocates, the community of BIP providers, and the criminal justice system. The two other stakeholder groups, individuals who have requested assistance because of violence in their lives, and those who have been accused of using violence in their relationships, were not able to be serially nominated. To include these two stakeholder groups I invited participation through the use of flyers posted in areas where services could be received. Although I was not able to find as many service receiver participants as I had hoped, there was variation in the participants and in the data they shared. The maximum variation of the participants for this project is included in the table.

Incorporating the participants' viewpoints also provided *problem-determined boundaries* within which the focus of the inquiry is explored. Through their input, the participants identified the important topics within the focus area that needed to be explored further and those that were of less importance. The bounding of my own subjectivity also began as I began to understand the emic perspectives of the participants. A very important element of bounding my subjectivity was the advise, support, and general engagement of my peer reviewer.

A peer reviewer is an individual not directly connected to the inquiry who can facilitate the inquirer's process throughout the inquiry by asking critical questions, providing sympathetic support, and helping to explore methodological issues (Rodwell,

1998). The role of the peer reviewer is part critic and part cheer-leader. It is the peer reviewer's job to point out to the inquirer the aspects of the process not being attended to or the biases that the inquirer is not aware of and their impact on the process. Michael Howell (Mike) was chosen because of his knowledge of constructivist inquiry and the relationship that he and I shared. As I began the process, I believed that our trusting, honest relationship would allow me to be open to his critical feedback and questions. I also expected our relationship to provide the opportunity for me to rely on him for support when it was needed. Fortunately, both of these needs were met during the process. Mike helped me throughout the process by sympathetically listening to ideas and problems that I experienced and by providing valuable insight, often pushing me to consider ideas and concepts which had not yet occurred to me. Furthermore, the relationship that Michael and I had before the peer review process was an important aspect of our being able to openly and honestly engage in the constructive criticism that he brought to the project. This information was incorporated into my reflexive journal, while Michael kept a peer review journal, documenting our conversations in order to facilitate the audit process.

Because of the emergent and contextual nature of the process, the beginning point of the process developed from the specifics of the inquiry (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Based on the information I gathered during the prior ethnography, I was able to develop two working hypotheses that were the beginning points for the inquiry. Working hypotheses, or hunches, are statements of what the inquirer believes are important

(Rodwell, 1998) while being context dependent and tentative (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

The working hypotheses for this project were:

- There are many understanding of the term domestic violence
- These understandings contain dimensions shaped by the policy levels within which the participants worked.

Focused Exploration

Phase two of a constructivist inquiry involves a more formalized data collection and data analysis process (Rodwell, 1998). The intention of this phase is to facilitate a process that critically considers the participating stakeholders' multiple viewpoints.

These viewpoints are shared through the use of a dialectic hermeneutic circle, in an attempt to synthesize the views into a more sophisticated understanding of the problem.

Grounded in my own understanding of the context and the subject of the prior ethnography, I developed questions based on my working hypotheses. These questions, referred to as foreshadowed questions, guided my early data collection (Rodwell, 1998). Foreshadowed questions are fluid, providing the inquirer with a framework from which to begin exploring the phenomena (Rodwell, 1998). The foreshadowed questions at the beginning of the inquiry were:

- What is your understanding of the term domestic violence?
- How did you come to that understanding?
- Has your understanding changed over time?
- What is your role in the community as it relates to the problem of domestic violence?

- Why do you provide services to the population you work with?
- What influence if any do VAWA block grants have on your role in responding to domestic violence or the services you provide?

As expected, the questions shifted and changed over time. The shifts were in response to the participants' beliefs about what areas were the most salient in terms of understanding the meanings of the term domestic violence. The first four questions remained unchanged throughout the inquiry. The last two questions, however, were replaced with the following questions:

- Would domestic violence exist in a gender-less world?
- Can you share with me how your understanding of the term domestic violence and your involvement with domestic violence are connected?

The replacements occurred as participants reported that the original two questions were not important aspects of their understanding of the term domestic violence. As the questions shifted, I returned to participants who had not had the opportunity to respond to the new questions in order to include their unique perspectives to the conversation.

Data collection.

Data for a constructivist inquiry is collected using *qualitative methods*, specifically through the use of interviews. The early interviews were based on the original foreshadowed questions. As the process emerged, the interview protocol was changed to include the participants' priorities (see Appendix A). During each interview, field notes, recording of observations, events, and activities that occur during the interviews (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002; Monette, Sullivan, DeJang, 1999; Spradley, 1979;

Spradley, 1980; Wolcott, 1999), were taken. I used a simple notepad to make notes of the interview. Within twenty-four hours of the interview, these notes were expanded and typed into expanded field notes, more comprehensive recordings of the information shared by the participants (Rodwell, 1998). The expanded field notes were linked to the original field notes through the use of the Julian date of the interview and the use of the participant's initials. Additionally, the page and line number of each field note was noted within the expanded field notes to identify more specifically the origin of the information. This coding is used to facilitate the audit process.

An important part of constructivist inquiry is the idea that all the participants are able to reflect and critically consider the information shared throughout the process. For that sharing to occur, the creation of a hermeneutic circle is important. A dialectic hermeneutic circle is a process through which information is collected and shared so that each viewpoint can be considered and reacted to by each participant (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998). In this inquiry, the hermeneutic circle was one of sharing information over time. My role was facilitating the sharing and testing of information and knowledge gained from the participants. My understanding of what participants added to the conversation was shared with the other participants in an effort to challenge what was emerging and to broaden everyone's understanding of the differences within our community. I believe that these challenges created space for more sophisticated understandings of the construct domestic violence while critically examining the influence of those constructions on the policies that the stakeholders advocated for, implemented, or experienced.

The foreshadowed questions were used to first collect and then share information between the participants. Through the dialectic process of the interviews, I challenged and probed the participants' thoughts and understandings, while also asking them to consider alternative views provided by the other participants. When an alternative view or idea emerged that had not been considered in previous interviews, I would contact previous participants and ask for additional input. Each participant had an opportunity to address the alternative ideas, thoughts, and beliefs brought forward.

As the facilitator of the hermeneutic circle, the most important tool that I used was myself as the *human instrument* working both as the inquirer and the recorder. I took seriously my responsibility to make sure that all voices were heard throughout the process, serving as a conduit through which questions, concerns, and paradoxes were presented, explored, challenged, and evaluated. While listening to and sharing participant's narratives, I listened for contradictions, gaps, and submerged stories of which the participants may have been unaware for it is the culturally shaped narratives that shape and make sense of our experiences (Chase, 1995). I relied on my *tacit knowledge* of the participants and the stakeholder groups to raise questions about topics not being mentioned, areas of complexity, and unspoken assumptions.

I kept confidential each participant's views which provided a non-hierarchical context to hear alternative voices. I do not believe at any time that any participant was able to identify the source of the perspectives that I shared during the conversation. It seems that facilitating the emergence of the participants' knowledge in propositional form provided opportunities for everyone to become aware of their own positions

concerning the concepts and topics under discussion as well as the knowledge of other, equally valid positions.

Throughout and at the end of each interview, I checked my understanding of the information shared with the participant to make sure that I was able to correctly capture what they were sharing with me. These member checks, reviews of my understanding of the information shared, were recorded in my field notes, to demonstrate that the notes taken were congruent with the information and understanding shared by the participant (Rodwell, 1998). The member checks are also noted in the expanded field notes.

Human subject protection.

Part of facilitating a non-hierarchical hermeneutic circle is sharing information from one participant to another without disclosing the source of the data, including the role of the participant who provided the information being discussed. Because information is shared between participants, however, it is important that each participant is aware of how much confidentiality is possible throughout this type of inquiry. This was managed through the use of comprehensive informed consent prior to each interview.

Incorporating comprehensive informed consent also mirrors my concern for the integrity of the process and the importance of the value social justice. Before each interview, I made sure that each participant understood the nature of the inquiry and the potential risks and benefits – including the potential for change which may be interpreted as either a risk or a benefit, or in most cases, both. I also explained that the participants had the freedom to remove themselves from the project at any time and, if they chose to

do so, all of the information collected from the individual would be returned to them. I also explained that what I learned from their participation could not be unlearned, and would influence the remainder of the project. (See appendix B) Because of the sharing of information, it was important for the participants to realize the amount of confidentiality that I could ensure. I explained that although every effort would be made to maintain confidentiality, it might be possible for one participant to identify other participants' ideas or thoughts. I assured them that if a participant tried to guess the identity of other participants, I would not confirm any of their conjectures. I also shared with the participants the potential for multiple contacts, as well as the need for member checks throughout the process. Once these conditions were understood and agreed to by the participants, consent forms were signed and the discussions were begun.

Data collection was completed with 23 participant interviews. Data collection was brought to a close after it appeared that I had reached saturation; that I had gathered as many understandings of the concept as was possible given the context of the project. To determine this point, I reflected upon the process in my reflexive journal and discussed the issue with my peer reviewer. It is also noted in my methodological journal. The methodological journal is kept to track decisions made as a result of the emergent design. My methodological journal was used to keep track of methodological decisions after the ideas had been explored both in my reflexive journal and with my peer reviewer.

Data Analysis.

There are two stages of data analysis within a constructivist project. The first stage, thematic analysis, occurs during and between each interview (Rodwell, 1998).

During each interview, I used member checking to be sure that I understood what each participant was sharing. Part of the member checking process was summarizing the important themes that I heard during the interview. Identifying these themes during the interview allowed me to ask additional probing questions and helped my understanding of the participant's perceptions. After each interview I considered the most salient themes, including any that had not been included in the original foreshadowed questions. As these alternative themes became apparent, the shifting of the foreshadowed questions, as discussed previously occurred.

The second stage of data analysis occurred after the completion of the focused data collection process. The strategy of constant comparison was used to help make meaning of the data collected. This data analysis strategy was developed by Glasser and Strauss (as discussed in Rodwell, 1998, p. 154). It facilitates the deconstruction of the information collected in order to reconstruct a more sophisticated and holistic understanding of the data. Additionally, it relies on *inductive data analysis*, incorporating all units of data. From this analysis, *grounded theory* can evolve, as the many contextual value laden perspectives of the participants can now be incorporated (Rodwell, 1998). Constant comparison relies on the data first being deconstructed into the smallest piece of understandable data. This is referred to as unitization. Once this is completed, each unit is compared to every other unit. To unitize my expanded field notes, which were in word format on my computer, copies of each word document were created. The copies were then reformatted as 4x6 cards and printed. The unitized data cards were linked to the expanded field notes using a coding scheme that identified the

age, gender, ethnicity, and role category of each participant along with the code identifying the original interview. Each card was numbered sequentially for each interview, allowing for the exact location of the information to be located. There were approximately 1,300 individual units of information.

Once printed, the cards were mixed together in a bag to ensure that as each card was retrieved to be compared to the other cards, the information was understood according to what was actually on the card, not what I remembered from the interview. As the cards were compared, they were placed into categories with other units of data with similar meanings. This categorization is often called lumping and sorting (Rodwell, 1998). The lumping and sorting process was conducted using two 4'x6' tables, resulting in approximately 150 original categories. These original categories were at different levels of abstraction. Subsequent analysis reduced the number to 90, then to 30 and then finally to 5 categories at similar levels of abstraction. These categories and the relationship between and among them were the focal points in understanding the meaning of the data.

The reduction of categories occurred as the categories were compared and relationships identified. In many cases, categories became sub-categories of one of the original categories. In other cases, categories were combined to create an over-arching category that conceptually represented the combination of the original categories. Based on my understanding of the categories, I created a conceptual framework by drawing a schema, a structural rendition, of the categories as I understood them. Numerous drawings were created before I thought that I had finally captured the most holistic

reconstruction of the data. These renditions were shared and discussed with Mike, my peer reviewer. All of the drawings were included in my reflexive journal and saved for the audit.

After the completion of the picture, or schema, I created the case report based on the meaning making that had occurred during the lumping and sorting process as well as the creation of the picture. A case report is a narrative that uses thick description (Geertz as cited in Rodwell, 1998) to present the co-constructed reality of all the participants. The initial case report was written and revised numerous times before the description was considered thick enough to provide a vicarious experience of the inquiry (Rodwell, 1998). Because all of the data gathered is contained within the report, all participant voices are present. Importantly, the case report is to be read as an *idiographic interpretation* of the data as I understood them. No cause is meant to be inferred in the report, and tentative findings, as understood by me, are provided as inherently connected to the context of time, place, and participants that created my understanding of the information gathered. Congruent with both constructivist assumptions and standpoint theory, the findings are not to be considered objective truth; rather they are to be considered as possible lessons to be learned that are both contextual and value laden.

After the completion of a preliminary case report, my peer reviewer, Mike, read through the report critically reflecting on the ability of the report to provide an emic, or insiders', perspective of the data that he heard from me throughout the first and second phases of the project. He also read the report in order to assess my handling of sensitive information and my ability to make clear my own voice from those of the participants.

Once Mike was comfortable with my attention to these matters, the preliminary case report was provided to participants for the final member check, the last phase of the emergent process.

Throughout this phase, the audit trail necessary for a comprehensive audit was maintained. Continuing from phase one, the use of the reflexive and methodological journals continued as did peer review sessions when they seemed appropriate. All information collected was kept in a manner meant to facilitate the warranting of the processes' emergence. Once the data were collected and analyzed, the last phase of the inquiry was begun. Phase three included completing the case report, having a final comprehensive member check, and lastly, having an independent audit completed to warrant the assertability of the project.

Comprehensive Member Check

The final case report was completed after the final comprehensive member check was finished. For this member check, I attempted to contact each participant and request their input and critique of the preliminary case report that I had completed. The participants who agree to provide one more check of my understanding of the data were also asked to consider the picture that I created as a part of the findings of this process. The intention of this member check was to ensure that I had understood the information shared with me and that the participants heard their own voice in the final report (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998). The participants were asked to consider the picture and whether or not it matched their understanding of the term domestic violence. They were also asked to read the story and to answer three questions: if they heard their voice in the

story, if there were any factual inaccuracies, and what they would say they had learned from participating in the process. Of the five stakeholder groups included in the data collection phase, members of three of the groups were available for member check (see Appendix D).

I was able to contact members of all the service provider groups including domestic violence advocate service provider participants, batterer intervention program service provider participants, and the members of the criminal justice system who provide domestic violence services. I was not able to contact any participants who received domestic violence services. Of the eight service receiver participants, seven of them were no longer reachable at the phone number I had used to contact them previously. It appears that one member continues to use the same phone number however I could never directly contact that participant, only leave voice messages that were not returned.

Of the service provider participants I was able to contact, twelve were available and willing to participate in the grand member check. Of these twelve, there were four domestic violence advocate service providers, four members of the criminal justice system, and four batterer intervention program service providers. None of the service providers identified any inaccurate factual data. All of the service provider participants shared that both the schema and case report included their understanding of the social problem of domestic violence. Additionally, all of the participants shared that they had learned something in being part of the process.

The final case report contains the *negotiated results* of the completed hermeneutic process. The quality of the hermeneutic circle was attended to in a number of ways. Throughout the inquiry, I actively searched for participants who had dissimilar views about domestic violence. As data were collected, they were informally analyzed to identify salient themes that had not yet emerged in the conversation. As the interviews continued, data collection shifted from being quite open and fluid to a more structured process as the hermeneutic circle achieved a more sophisticated understanding of domestic violence (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). The perspectives of all participants, including the inquirer, are incorporated into the case report. The case report also provides a list of my *tentative lessons* learned. Depending on the reader's perception of the applicability of the lessons, these and the story itself, may inform other situations that are similar to those experienced in this context.

After the revisions were made, an independent *audit* was conducted of the process to assert the integrity and quality of the inquiry (see appendix C). An audit is considered to be one way of determining the value of the data based on the process that created the data (Schwandt & Halpern, 1988). The constructivist audit has been considered by some as the most important step in providing evidence of the integrity of the findings of a constructivist inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Constructivist audits are modeled on the metaphor of a fiscal audit (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998), comparing the product of the inquiry with the process with which it was produced.

In order to assert both dimensions of constructivist rigor, trustworthiness and authenticity, a comprehensive audit of the project was conducted by Jon Singletary, Ph.D.

Audits should be conducted by an independent and external agent, chosen because of their methodological expertise and knowledge of the substantive area of the inquiry (Rodwell, 1998). Jon, an accomplished constructivist researcher, was chosen to be the auditor of this process because of his constructivist expertise and because of the professional relationship that Jon and I share. His experience with and understanding of constructivist methodology provides him with the necessary skills to conduct a comprehensive audit of this project. Additionally, as it is with the peer reviewer, the inquirer must also have a trusting relationship with the auditor in order to freely and openly share the minute details of the process. I felt that this openness and intimacy would be possible with Jon.

Auditors systematically review the data provided by the inquirer, and assess the compatibility of the process completed with the underlying assumptions of the method. This review includes deconstructing the case report to ensure that the report is grounded in the data. It also includes a comprehensive examination of the process for the inclusion of the participants' voices (Rodwell, 1998). The auditor must be able to follow the audit trail in order to provide assurances of the project's integrity. The audit trail includes all data created or obtained during the process including field notes, expanded field notes, unitized cards, data analysis products, all logs, notes, and journals. The trail must logically demonstrate the emergence of the project noting all methodological steps and decision points along the way (Rodwell, 1998). An audit trail was created and maintained throughout the inquiry process. This trail included all notes, journals, and

documents obtained or created during the inquiry. All of them were made available to Jon during the audit.

There are two types of audits that correspond with the two dimensions of rigor. A trustworthiness audit examines the product that emerges from the constructivist inquiry process – the case report. Credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability are assessed using background material, the audit trail, and the case report provided by the inquirer (Rodwell, 1998). An authenticity audit examines the process of the constructivist inquiry. In order to assess this dimension of rigor, the auditor must assess whether or not the process spurred critical thinking, through the use of the hermeneutic dialectic, and if the process provided space within which change was considered and possibly manifested (Manning, 1997; Lincoln & Guba, 1985, Rodwell, 1998). Both audits are imperative to assert the warrantability of the inquiry.

Rigor

Rigor for a constructivist inquiry is demonstrated in two dimensions: *trustworthiness* and *authenticity*. Trustworthiness is parallel to the rigor used within more conventional methodologies such as validity, external validity, reliability, and objectivity. These traditional dimensions of rigor are not appropriate for constructivist inquiries for they are not congruent with the underlying assumptions of the method (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998). Traditional dimensions of rigor such as reliability, validity, and objectivity are established on the assumptions that knowledge is not contextual, not value based, nor dependent upon human perception or understanding. From a traditional scientific view point, rigor is determined by the ability to infer

causality and generalizability. Not only are these dimensions of rigor not appropriate for a constructivist methodology, but these dimensions are antithetical to the underlying assumptions of constructivist methodology. Developed to be understood from a traditional methodological position, trustworthiness attends to the quality of the inquiry product. Trustworthiness, when warranted, provides confidence in the research findings (Rodwell, 1998).

There are no parallel dimensions of rigor in traditional research methodology to that of the second dimension of constructivist rigor: authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Manning, 1997; Rodwell, 1998). Authenticity, as a dimension of rigor, emerged from the underlying ontological and epistemological assumptions of constructivist research and reflects the method's interest in the quality of a process that seeks to educate, empower, and elicit action towards change (Rodwell, 1998). It is this dimension of rigor that conveys the complexity of the context (Manning, 1997), and provides the interventionist dimension which is at the heart of this constructivist inquiry. Both trustworthiness and authenticity are necessary for a constructivist inquiry to be deemed rigorous.

Trustworthiness.

There are four dimensions of trustworthiness to be demonstrated: credibility, dependability, confirmability, and transferability (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998). Credibility resembles internal validity in that it asserts the accuracy of the process and product. Credibility is demonstrated through prolonged engagement with the participants, persistent observation, triangulation, peer debriefing and member checks. To incorporate credibility into the process, I engaged with participants to hear and

understand their unique perspectives and insights, bringing their understandings to the other members of the hermeneutic circle. I attended to the quality of the hermeneutic circle in a number of ways. Participants who I believed had dissimilar perspectives and attitudes about the problem of domestic violence and how our community should respond to the issue were recruited for this project. I also asked each service provider participant to nominate additional participants who were believed to have differing views concerning domestic violence. Using my reflexive journal and my peer reviewer, I attempted to be as aware of my own biases and underlying assumptions about the process as was possible. Evidence of this dimension is found in my reflexive and methodological journals, field notes and expanded field notes, and in the peer debriefing journal.

Dependability, the second dimension of trustworthiness, most closely resembles reliability in that it demonstrates that the inquirer followed the procedures that constitute constructivist research. To demonstrate this dimension, I documented all information gathered; making sure that it all was included in the final case report. I made extensive use of my reflexive journal and my peer reviewer to bound my subjectivity, recognizing that I brought to the project my own thoughts, values, and perspectives. My reflexive journal, similar to a diary of my journey through the inquiry process was written by hand and kept in a large three – ring binder. I used the journal to track what I thought I knew, what I thought I was learning, the meaning making I was experiencing, and my feelings, thoughts, and reflections about the process. The shifting of and the emergence of new areas are evidenced there. My methodological journal was used to keep track of

methodological decisions after the ideas had been explored both in my reflexive journal and with my peer reviewer.

The third dimension of trustworthiness, confirmability, most closely resembles objectivity as it demonstrates that the inferences made by the inquirer are reasonable and logical. While it is not the goal of this project, or of constructivist inquiry, to assert that 'Truth' was obtained through the process, it is imperative to demonstrate that the findings are concretely linked to the data. Throughout the case report, units of data are documented and can be traced back to the unitized card, the expanded field notes, and to the original field notes. Additionally, I have noted my own evolution and growth in my reflexive journal. Further evidence of this dimension is found in the member checks documented in the methodological and reflexive journals, the field notes, and the decision rules used to capture the meaning of the categories used.

Lastly, transferability most closely resembles external validity. The possible lessons learned from this experience may be used by the readers of the case report if the lessons learned seem applicable to the reader. Transferability is made possible by the use of thick description in the case report, the importance of context in the case report, the data shared by the participants in field notes, and the description of the problem in the reflexive journal and the case report (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Rodwell, 1998).

Importantly, I have trusted that by following the guidelines of the process has enabled me to produce a final case report that is indicative of the more sophisticated understandings of the problem of domestic violence that the participants were able to synthesize through the process of negotiating the outcomes of the project.

Authenticity.

There are five dimensions of authenticity: fairness, ontological authenticity, educative authenticity, catalytic authenticity, and tactical authenticity (Guba & Lincoln, 1989; Manning, 1997; Rodwell, 1998). The first dimension is fairness; the importance of all voices being heard equally. This dimension is ascertained through many of the trustworthiness dimensions of rigor. Because there is credibility, dependability, and confirmability, I have also demonstrated fairness. Strategies used to ensure fairness were: sampling for maximum variation, collecting data that reflects the participants' emic perspective, conscientiously managing the hermeneutic circle, and choosing to conduct individual interviews instead of focus groups to neutralize any possible power differentials.

Ontological authenticity, an increased understanding of the issues explored during the project, has been presented in the case report and peer review journal and through statements made by the participants through the member check process. Statements made by participants that they had not been aware of the many dimensions of their own perspectives of domestic violence are evidence of this dimension of authenticity.

Educative authenticity, a more comprehensive understanding of alternative understandings of the issues is identifiable in the statements made by the participants regarding their new understanding of other perspectives of domestic violence is evidence of educative authenticity. These are found in the expanded field notes, the reflexive journal, and in any feedback, including the member check information, received by the inquirer. The last two dimensions of authenticity are not included in this inquiry, as there

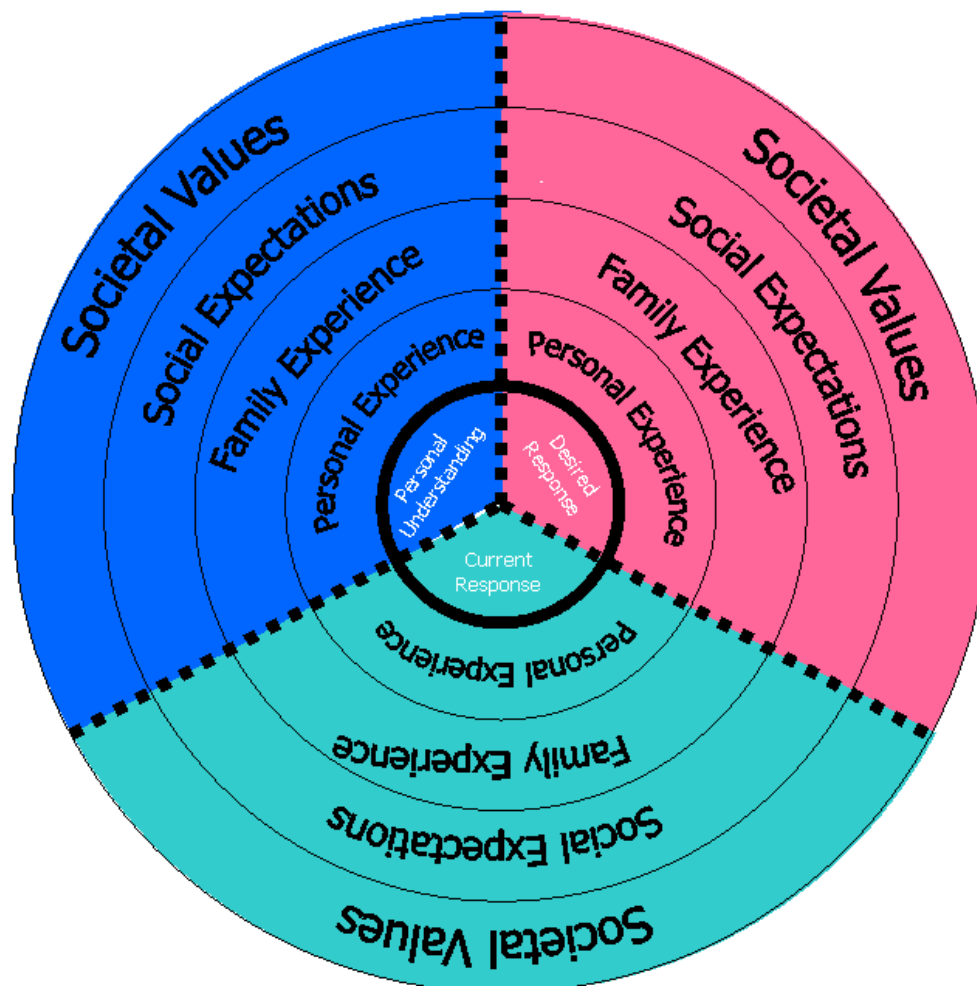
was not adequate time to observe these types of changes. Although it was hoped that the inquirer would be able to continue to monitor VADV, C-TAB, and certification board meetings, list-serves, and any policy presented to the general assembly for six months after the completion of data collection to gauge if any change had actually occurred, that was not possible. List-serves were monitored and the general assembly was watched, but it was not possible to attend additional stakeholder group meetings after the completion of the data collection. VADV no longer exists as it did at the beginning of the project, making it impossible to attend further meetings. C-TAB meetings and certification board meetings were held; however because of conflicting obligations, not all of them were attended.

To ensure that authenticity was attended to, I critically listened to the information shared by the participants to understand and gain an emic or insider perspective of their understandings of domestic violence. I listened to their responses to the alternative perspectives that I brought to them through the hermeneutic circle, hoping to identify changes in perceptions about the problem of domestic violence. I documented all the information shared to provide an audit trail that incorporated this dimension of rigor. I also continued to monitor the stakeholder groups, even after the final data has been collected, watching for changes in the group dynamics, the language being used during meetings, and the information being made public through list-serves and meeting minutes.

Chapter 4

Through the reconstruction process of data analysis, three major themes emerged that I used to structure the case report, my “here and now” understanding of the relationships between the categories that emerged from the data deconstruction and reconstruction (Rodwell, 1998). The first theme is that the understanding of the problem of domestic violence and the goals and solutions created to attend to the problem are embedded within the societal values, social expectations, family experiences, and personal experiences of the participants (Figure 2). Embedded within each layer are values, our society’s expectations of ‘right’ behavior. The second theme is that the policies implemented in response to the problem of domestic violence are also embedded in the value laden layers of social, familial, and personal experiences, and are focused on maintaining social order. Using the criminal justice system to fix the problem of bad behavior which is the current response to the problem is understandable when one considers how our communities respond to other problems of bad behavior. Social order, however, was not the stated goal of the participants of this inquiry. The desired response, and third theme, discussed by the participants included change at the social, familial, and personal level. Additionally, the incongruity between the participants’ understanding of the term domestic violence and the policies implemented has created dilemmas for the groups working to end the problem.

Figure 2: Conceptual Model

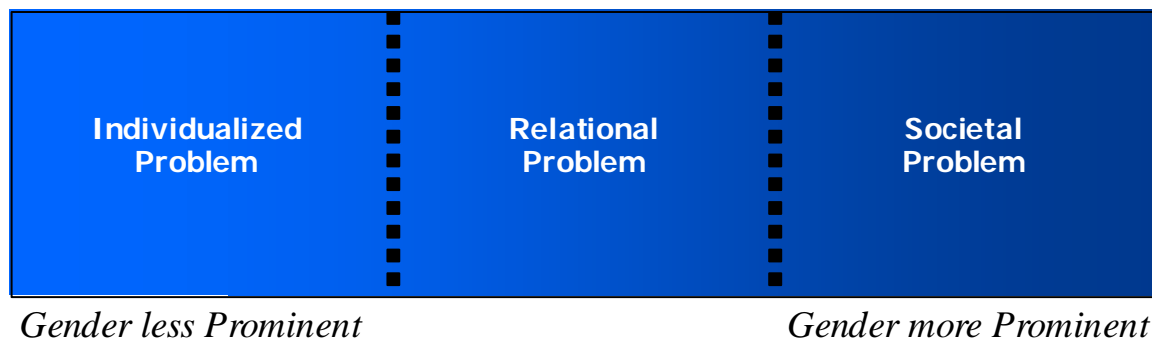


The circle in the center represents our understanding of the term Domestic Violence

The case report also tells the story of how one term, domestic violence, is understood to be three different yet sometimes related social problems (Figure 3). The three problems which emerged were: an individualized problem, a relational problem, a societal problem. The three problems are not mutually exclusive as participants shared that over time and through experience, their understanding of the social problem

domestic violence shifted and changed. In all of the participants' understandings of the social problem domestic violence, gender was a consideration. For some participants, gender was a consideration because it was an inherent part of their understanding of the social problem. For other participants, gender was a consideration because of their experience in providing or receiving services. The story reveals that gender continues to play a role in the understanding of the social problem, but, like the rest of the story the influence of the construct is more complex than once thought.

Figure 3: the Social Problem Domestic Violence



These themes provided the framework on which I created the narrative that is the case report for this inquiry. The case report of a constructivist inquiry does not purport to provide causality, or even provided a description of an objective reality. Because of the underlying assumption that all knowledge is contextual and relative, the intention of a constructivist case report is to provide an understanding of the reality co-constructed by participants and the inquirer. A case report is based on the interactions of the participants

through the hermeneutic dialectic. It includes all the data gathered by the inquirer, as every element is necessary to the understanding being relayed. At the same time, though, the report must also be well constructed. It should tell the story of the inquiry in a holistic manner, while also being precise and understandable.

Reading the Case Report

Quality for a case report is determined by the ability of the inquirer to provide the narrative in such a way that the reader can make an informed decision about the report's transferability. Transferability refers to the possibility that the tentative findings from one situation may be judged as appropriate for another situation. This is not the same as generalizability, as it is a judgment made by the reader of the case report. The inquirer uses thick description to provide the reader with enough information to make that determination. The term thick description, first used by Geertz (as cited in Rodwell, 1998), means that enough data is provided for the reader to have a visceral experience with the inquiry, engaging both the mind and the emotions.

Because the responsibility of judging transferability belongs to the reader, it is important to provide guidelines for how to assess thick description. While reading the case report, the reader should find a description of the issue being investigated, the context in which the issue is being explored, and tentative lessons learned by the inquirer (Rodwell, 1998). The story should be rich enough in details that meaning making occurs for the reader (Denzin, as cited in Rodwell, 1998). In this case report, the problem being investigated is the meaning of the term domestic violence, and the exploration is done in the context of a town hall meeting. Throughout the narrative, the reader has the

opportunity to hear the participants' voices as I understood them. Tentative lessons learned are provided at the end of the report. Staying within the boundaries created by the data, the tentative lessons learned highlight my perception of the important areas within which questions can be examined.

Questions that can help the reader judge the thick description or transferability of the case report have been suggested in the literature. Zeller (1987) suggests the following questions: Is the case report precise and graceful? It is creative? Does it demonstrate craftsmanship? Does it honor differences, being open to alternative interpretations? The story should be evocative (Rodwell, 1998), prompting the reader to consider her own notions about the issue being explored. The reader of a constructivist case report has an obligation to engage with the story intentionally, being open to the possibility of being stretched to consider ideas that may be new and uncomfortable.

All of the data provided by the participants is included in the case report (see appendix E). End notes are used to link the data with each data unit that informed my understanding of the participants' perspectives. The end-notes provide a list of codes which identify the specific location of each data unit used in the reconstruction of the data. Using these codes, it is possible to trace each data unit back to the original field notes taken during each interview. Any information, thought, or action that does not have a corresponding end-note is my voice, whether it is providing the vehicle for the story, my perceptions of what is being shared, or my synthesis and meaning making.

Introducing the Case Report

Case reports are to provide the reader with the co-created understandings and perceptions of myself and the participants. My case report is a story of conflict and tension arising from the implementation of solutions and goals that do not seem to be congruent with the stakeholders' understanding of the problem of domestic violence. The story is about a town hall meeting that takes place in a county administration meeting room in a small mid-Atlantic city. The location represents the geographical context from which the data was gathered. It is also an appropriate setting to demonstrate the shared value of responding to the problem of domestic violence at the local policy level that I experienced in conducting this inquiry while also locating the response within the public policy arena. The town hall meeting is a public awareness event being held during the month of October, traditionally known as domestic violence awareness month. During this month, awareness events are commonly held across the country by domestic violence advocates to increase communities' awareness of the problem of domestic violence as well as to encourage people in abusive relationships to find help and assistance.

There are nine main characters of the story, and three audience members. Each character is a composite of the participants of this inquiry, speaking (or thinking) the information shared with me by the participants. The following table represents the characters and the participant groups they represent:

Table 4: Characters and Participant Groups

Character Name	Group Represented
Kathy	Moderator
Mary	Domestic Violence Advocate
Joe	Domestic Violence Advocate
Bob	Batterer Intervention Program Provider
Gail	Batterer Intervention Program Provider
Andrea	Criminal Justice System
Don	Criminal Justice System
Sheryl	Domestic Violence Advocate Service Recipient
Ed	Batterer Intervention Program Service Recipient
Debrah	Domestic violence Advocate and Advocate Service Recipient
Bonnie	Domestic violence Advocate and Advocate Service Recipient
Voice (no name)	Domestic violence Advocate Service Recipient

The moderator of the meeting is **Kathy**, a social work student who is just beginning to explore the issue of domestic violence critically, although she has experience providing domestic violence advocate services to those who have been in abusive relationships. For the town hall meeting, six service providers have agreed to be part of a panel that will address the audience. The panel consists of two domestic violence advocates, two batterer intervention providers, and two representatives from the criminal justice system. The town hall meeting was advertised throughout the local geographic region from which service receivers are drawn. The organizers hoped to encourage participation from people who were interested in learning more about the

problem and from people who were interested in joining the efforts to end the problem of domestic violence.

In the audience, there are five characters. Two women who have received domestic violence advocate services in the past, but who are now providing those services. Both of these women speak to the panel from the audience to share their opinions. One audience member, who shares her opinion, does not share any personal information. There are also two major characters: **Sheryl**, a woman who has recently received domestic violence advocate services and **Ed**, a man who is currently a member of a batterer intervention program group. These two characters represent the perspectives of the service receivers who participated in the project. The characters are male and female according to the perception of the participants about what role each gender is expected to enact. These characters do not speak, however they do think about and react to the information being shared by those on the stage.

Sheryl is an African-American woman in her early thirties with two school age children. She is a college graduate, but had not worked once she married and started her family. Sheryl has separated from her husband of five years, and since her separation has been receiving domestic violence advocacy services. **Ed**, a Caucasian man in his mid-thirties, is currently married and receiving Batterer Intervention Program services. Although he started college, Ed never finished. While in his sophomore year at the local university, his girlfriend became pregnant and they decided to get married. Working construction was never Ed's dream job, but his growing family needs the money, and Ed does not want his wife to have to leave their children to work outside the home.

Six characters sit on the panel, with two characters representing each service provider group. Two characters represent the service providers' perspectives because there were often more disparate perspectives among the service provider groups than among the service receiver groups, and it was important to provide these differences. The two characters portraying domestic violence advocates are representative of those service providers who work with people who have been hurt in a relationship. The services often provided from this group are shelter services, support groups, parenting classes, and other social safety net services such as employment training and other life skills training. The services are usually provided free of charge, based on the availability of federal grant funding.

Mary, the older of the two domestic violence advocates is a Caucasian-American woman in her mid-fifties. She has been a member of the Movement since the mid 1970s when she first volunteered to work in a domestic violence shelter. While working with other members of the Movement, Mary realized that she, too, was in an abusive relationship and also sought domestic violence services. Based on her years of experience, she is not afraid to clearly say what she believes the problem of domestic violence is or what should be done about it.

Joe, the other domestic violence advocacy service provider, is much younger. A Caucasian-American man in his early 30s, he has been working in the area of domestic violence for the past four years, since he graduated from the local university with his masters in social work. Joe considers himself a liberal who is interested in making a difference. Although he does not believe that he has ever had any direct experience with

domestic violence, he believes that his pro-feminist empowerment perspective provides him with a way to provide services that facilitates his clients' ability to function in the world.

The two batterer intervention program service providers represent the individuals who provide group counseling to those who have used or who have been accused of using violence in their relationships. In many jurisdictions throughout the Commonwealth of Virginia, individuals do not receive services from batterer intervention programs without having first become part of the criminal justice system. Primarily these are mandated clients, forced to attend in lieu of other consequences such as jail time. Although referrals are provided by the criminal justice system, these clients are also required to pay for the group services, although they do not have to pay for any services provided by the criminal justice system.

Bob has worked for his community services board for approximately twenty years. A Caucasian-American man in his mid-fifties, he began as a counselor, but now supervises five other counselors who provide BIP services. Bob believes that all people should be able to access services that provide opportunities for personal growth and development. The services his counselors provide are based on those values, even for those individuals who have been mandated to attend BIP groups.

Gail, an African-American woman in her early thirties has been involved in providing BIP services since she graduated from college with her master's degree in counseling. Although providing BIP services was not her expected career path, the satisfaction she gets from working with her clientele has been very rewarding. She has

worked hard to become a certified provider and stays on top of the most current BIP intervention information. As a small business owner, she stays very involved in her professional community, building relationships with the criminal justice system representatives from whom she received referrals.

Batterer intervention programs receive the majority of their referrals from the criminal justice system, but there are often not enough referrals to provide multiple groups. For the batterer intervention program service providers, this is a constant concern, as many of them are independent clinicians, trying to stay financially viable. Hence the referral process is a major concern. A complicating factor in this relationship is the existence of an alternative response for those who have used violence in their relationships: anger management groups, which, because of their shorter duration, are much less expensive. As judges prepare to mandate an individual to attend a group, financial and time requirement considerations are common, especially if there is a lack of understanding about the differences between the two groups.

The two criminal justice representatives are composites of participants who work on the problem of domestic violence from within the criminal justice system. Some of these participants are community corrections employees. Some are official members of the court system including judges and prosecuting attorneys.

Andrea is a prosecuting attorney who spends most of her time on family violence issues. A new mom at the age of thirty, Andrea struggles with balancing her work-load with her desire to be home with her baby. A Hispanic-American with a strong traditional

up-bringing, she does not recall any personal experience of domestic violence. As a prosecuting attorney, she works hard to provide justice for those who have been hurt.

Don has been a community corrections officer for 15 years. The last three years he has been in charge of a special domestic violence unit in his organization. A tall, athletic African-American man in his mid-forties, Don pushed for the new domestic violence unit because of the harm he believes domestic violence causes in families and communities. Having experienced domestic violence as a child, it is important to him that those who cause harm to others are held accountable for their actions.

There are three other characters which, while not appearing explicitly in the story, are part of understanding the problem of domestic violence. These characters include Ed's partner and Sheryl's children. Their presence and concerns are not accidental, but important to the context within which this narrative is told. Although all the characters provide the perspectives of the project's participants, the words spoken by the characters do not necessarily reflect only the perspectives of participants from that group. For instance, it is possible that words spoken by Gail, a BIP provider, may have also been said by one of the domestic violence advocate service providers as well as a BIP provider.

The Case Report

As Kathy watched people entering the auditorium, she hoped that there would be enough chairs to accommodate the number of people turning out for the town hall meeting. October, having been recognized again by the governor as Domestic Violence Awareness Month, often brought unpleasant weather, making participation in awareness

events quite low. This evening, however, the weather was clear, and it appeared that community attendance would be better than expected. Kathy, a social work student at the local university, was currently completing an internship with the local domestic violence resource center which was located within the local community corrections organization. In the past, she had worked as a volunteer at the local domestic violence shelter facilitating support groups and working on October Awareness programs similar to this event, which was why she was asked to facilitate the meeting. Since she expected to work in the domestic violence intervention community once she finished her degree, she was excited about this opportunity. As she waited for the program to start, she thought about the panel that had been put together to talk about the issue. On the panel were people who had been involved with the community's response to the problem of domestic violence for years. Kathy was hopeful that individuals who had experienced domestic violence would also be in attendance. In planning the event with her supervisor, she had hoped that the many stakeholders involved in working on the problem of domestic violence would have the opportunity to hear what others thought and believed about the issue, as she was beginning to realize that the problem was much more complicated than she had once thought. As community members entered the auditorium, they were provided pieces of paper on which they were encouraged to write questions for the panel.

Sheryl (Service Recipient) watched the people entering the auditorium from her car in the parking lot. She couldn't decide whether or not to attend the meeting. She wanted to support the work being done by the people who were helping end domestic

violence, but she felt a bit nervous about going inside. “What if someone recognizes me from the shelter,” she thought. She didn’t want it known that she had received services there over the past couple of years because of the embarrassment she felt for not making better decisions [1]. Weighing her concern about being identified against her desire to support the work being done, Sheryl (Service Recipient) decided to go into the meeting.

The town hall meeting was being held in a county administration building. As she approached the building, the person ahead of her held the door open for her. “Thank-you,” she said as she entered. A sign taped to the wall just inside the door indicated that the meeting was being held just down the hall. Approaching the door to the meeting room, Sheryl (Service Recipient), aware that the person who had held the door for her was still walking behind her, opened the door to return the favor. Ed, the person who had been walking behind her stopped as Sheryl (Service Recipient) opened the door.

“After you,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) said.

“No, no, that is OK,” Ed (Service Recipient) replied, “please, after you. Ladies first” [2]. After a moment’s pause, Sheryl (Service Recipient) shrugged her shoulders and entered the meeting hall. Ed followed Sheryl into the hall, but unlike Sheryl, who moved to the middle of the room, Ed sat in the very back, hoping that no one would notice him.

“I can’t believe I am here,” Ed (Service Recipient) thought as he looked around. “I can’t believe I agreed to attend this meeting, even if it will earn me some points with Jim and Lynn.” Jim was Ed’s Batterer Intervention Program (BIP) councilor, who had encouraged members of the BIP group that Ed attended to go to the meeting to hear what

others thought about the problem of domestic violence. Lynn was Ed's wife of 6 years. They had never had a very smooth relationship, but over the last three years as their two children were born and work became more difficult for Ed to find, things had gotten out of hand. It seemed to Ed that sometimes neither he nor Lynn knew what to do or how to handle the everyday stresses that they were both facing [3]. After the last fight, when Ed had pushed Lynn hard enough so that she fell and hurt her head on the corner of the coffee table, Lynn had called the police. On the advice of his lawyer, Ed had agreed to attend a BIP program. Looking around the room, Ed chose an aisle seat on the last row thinking, "Well, if the meeting is too uncomfortable, at least this seat will let me leave quietly without bothering anyone."

At 7:30, after making sure that all six of the panelists were in attendance, Kathy joined the panelists on the stage. The six panelists were sitting at two tables set up for the event in the middle of the stage. At one end sat the two domestic violence advocates, and the other end sat the two BIP providers, and in the middle sat representatives of the criminal justice system. Kathy motioned to have the lights turned down in order to begin the meeting.

"Good evening, everyone, welcome to the domestic violence awareness town hall meeting," Kathy (Moderator) began. She waited a moment for silence to fall over the audience. "Tonight we have a distinguished panel of people who have been involved with our community's response to the problem of domestic violence who are going to share with us some important information about the problem, as well as respond to questions that you will provide. First we will hear from our panel members, and then we

will take a few minutes to collect your questions. Once the questions are collected, I will read the questions to the panelists and ask for their response. I would ask that you print your questions, if possible, since I will need to be able to read them. It is not necessary to put your name on the paper; in fact, we would prefer anonymous questions so that everyone feels comfortable asking what might be quite sensitive questions.” She paused for just a moment and then asked, “Is there anyone who did not get paper and pen to use for the questions? Great, it looks like everyone is set. Are there any questions about how the meeting is going to work?” Getting no response from the audience, Kathy (Moderator) continued. “While we are going through the questions that you provide, you will also have the opportunity to ask additional questions or to make comments by moving to the microphones that we will have set up around the room. Are there any other questions? OK, then let me begin the meeting by introducing the participants.”

“On our panel tonight we have two people who have provided services as domestic violence advocates here in the central Virginia area. Joe, a domestic violence advocate, has worked directly with those who have been hurt in relationships, working in our local shelter providing support services and court accompaniment services. Mary, who now works for our state advocacy organization, has provided leadership and advocacy services at both the local level, serving on domestic violence task forces and at the state level, coordinating outreach and education services. We are pleased to have both advocates here tonight.”

After the applause, Kathy (Moderator) continued, “We also have with us two people who have provided services to those accused of harming others in domestic

violence situations. Both Bob and Gail have provided batterer intervention program, or BIP services in Virginia. Bob, a trained councilor provides BIP services through the community services board of his county. Gail provides BIP services through her own business. They are both members of the Coalition for the Treatment of Abusive Behaviors, more commonly referred to as CTAB.” Again Kathy (Moderator) waited for the applause to subside before introducing the last two panelists.

“Lastly, we have two people who work within the criminal justice system providing services to people who have become involved in the criminal justice system because of domestic violence, Andrea and Don. Don provides supervision services through our local community corrections office. Andrea works within the court system as a prosecuting attorney.” After the applause ended, Kathy turned to the panel.

“Welcome, panelists, to the domestic violence awareness town hall meeting. I would like to start with what is perhaps the most obvious question to ask this evening, and that is: what does the term domestic violence mean to you?” There was a moment of silence as the panelists glanced at one another to see who would answer the question first.

“Well,” said Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate), “to me, domestic violence is a very broad category; including all types of abuse that takes place within relationships or at home [4]. Although physical violence is part of the problem in families [5], I believe that there is more to domestic violence than simply violence, it includes many different facets of abuse [6], including any unwanted behavior [7].”

“Yes,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) agreed, “it includes forcing a person to do something or not do something [8] that hurts the other person either physically or by impacting the self esteem or feelings of worth of that other person [9].”

“It is a very complicated problem [10], though,” said Andrea (Criminal Justice System). “What is domestic violence to one person may not be domestic violence to another [11]. In my opinion, it is not always easy to identify who is exerting the power and control within a relationship [12] and even when power and control are part of the relationship; it does not always follow traditional expectations, nor is it always unhealthy [13]. Even if you consider a single incidence of violence domestic violence it is still sometimes hard to know when domestic violence is happening [14] and when it is something else [15].”

“For me,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider), “one way to know that it is domestic violence is that it happens in a relationship, whether at home or not. Domestic violence is completely different from stranger violence [16].”

Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) agreed, “Yes, the relationship could include partners, spouses, same sex couples, child abuse, and elder abuse [17]. The type of relationship, whether between family members, kin, or caregivers, is less important than the fact that there is a close intimate relationship [18]. And the intimacy of the relationship does not have to be of a sexual nature [19].”

Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “Given all of that, I feel that domestic violence is a more appropriate term than any other term I have heard because the meaning of family is so different now and so questioned [20].”

“But,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “When the term domestic violence is heard in public or in the media, it is expected to refer to violence between partners, either married or dating [21].”

“You know,” commented Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider), “I just think that relationships are complicated [22].”

“They are,” Mary said. “The dynamics of a relationship emerge from each individual’s expectation of what love is, how relationships are supposed to work, and how each individual is supposed to be [23]. There is a sadness, in dealing with this type of relationship, in whatever the situation is, a sadness for the loss of the relationship you thought you had [24].”

“It can be sad,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added, “especially when people don’t seem to know how to make a relationship work but really want it to. They don’t know how to communicate to get their needs met [25].”

“I think that a lack of communication often does result in unhealthy, domestic violence relationships [26],” said Don. “Healthy relationships, those that don’t have domestic violence, seem to know how to communicate in order to learn from each other and value what each other bring to the relationship [27].”

“Well,” thought Ed, sitting in the audience. “Lynn sure doesn’t know how to communicate with me; all she ever does is nag, nag, nag. It is no wonder that when she keeps pushing my buttons like that that something happens – I just can’t help it sometimes [28]”

Back on stage Kathy was asking another question. “So, how did you each come to know what domestic violence is?”

“Well,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “the definition we first learned came from the battered women’s movement and was fairly simple, but, I think, for some this definition has become too rigid and clinical, not reflecting real life [29]. My own understanding has grown as I have incorporated my understanding of the stories I have heard from those experiencing domestic violence [30].”

“While I think that most advocates understand the formal definition, it may be too vague for other community members [31],” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) added. I also think that my understanding has broadened because of my growing understanding of the underlying dynamics that are part of domestic violence relationships [32].”

“When the two of you refer to the formal or original definition, are you referring to domestic violence being defined as “a pattern of abusive behaviors used by one individual to exert power and control over another individual in the context of an intimate or family relationship? [33]” asked Kathy (Moderator).

Both Joe and Mary nodded.

Bob said, “Once I began working in this area, my professional training and education also influenced my understanding of domestic violence [34]. Over time, my understanding has grown as it is influenced by the experiences I have providing services [35]. The definition, for me, varies from situation to situation, and includes all kinds of situations such as when the abuse could be defined as child abuse, or when it is between a same sex couple, or even if it is between a father and his adult son [36].”

“I became interested in providing services through my formal education [37],” said Andrea (Criminal Justice System). “But my professional training and interaction with other service providers has also influenced my understanding of the problem [38]. The definition used by the criminal justice system includes all violence that happens within a family or between intimate partners [39].”

“It does include them all,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said, “but I am not sure that the work of the criminal justice system is tied to the definition used [40]. The criminal justice system is working to help make a change in the community because all domestic violence is not illegal [41].”

“Without a legalese type definition, though, it feels like it would be impossible to nail down what domestic violence is [42],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said.

Ed shook his head and sighed as he looked around the audience. “They sure are able to nail it down, though,” he thought. “That criminal justice definition is a whole lot different than what I ever thought domestic violence was [43]. Seems to me they are just interested in trying to prove that something happened [44]. I wonder how many other people sitting here would realize all the stuff that could be lumped in that category.”

“But the focus on nailing something down is a problem when there is still the perception of domestic violence only happening in the projects or in trailer parks [45], even though domestic abuse is in all socio-economic classes,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said.

Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) nodded her agreement, “The lower socio-economic classes seem to be more violent, but that is just where we have more examples

[46]. One area that really needs attention is poverty, as that is the one biggest correlation with domestic violence – not because it causes it, but because that is where people are caught and ask for help [47]. Upper class people have the resources to keep the problem out of the courts. They handle it in ways that don't get attention [48].”

“Those abusers have economic power and are much more sophisticated than the people who are seen – those people are not caught. They know the rules and work around them,” added Don. “Their victims are not going to ask for or get help [49]. We have a duty to protect the people getting hurt and the community as well, but to do that we need to fix the situation – intervene in the actual problem [50].”

“There are a number of stereotypes that have had to be unlearned,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) added, “including the idea that the abuser is a big strong guy with poor hygiene who is always angry and the victim is always a woman who is afraid all the time in the house and no one knows what is going on; that domestic violence only happens in poor households with lower education levels; that the only way to stop domestic violence is to have the person being hurt leave. You know, in some cases these things may be true, but they are stereotypes that get in the way of understanding the problem [51].”

“Yes,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “Even I deal with stereo types. For instance I recently saw a woman with a Latino last name who had black eye. My first reaction was that she must have been hit by her husband, even though her explanation was plausible. I was immediately reminded of all the stereotypes I carry around with me [52].”

“Before we begin talking about how to fix, the problem, though,” Kathy (Moderator) interrupted, “I am interested in knowing where you think domestic violence comes from.”

“Yeah,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient) wryly, as she crossed her arms and sat back in her chair. “I would like to know that too. I wonder what theory they are going to suggest answers that question.”

“Well, I think that people learn about relationships when they are young children [53]. From my experience, people in relationships do what they know to do [54],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) agreed saying, “For some, violence and abuse were an expected part of family life, both in what they experienced and what they were taught [55].”

“Yes, I believe that in difficult situations, people do what they have learned [56]. Even people who have not experienced domestic violence respond to relationship experiences according to what they experienced growing up [57],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “When a relationship does not mirror what is expected, it adds to the difficulty in navigating conflicts, resulting in the person not knowing what to do [58]. I know in my own experiences I have responded to a difficult situations based on what I felt I needed to do to protect a friend, I didn’t worry about what the right or wrong thing would have been [59].”

“I think that relationships involved in domestic violence are just different than those relationships that do not include domestic violence. I think the violence is an

inherent part of the relationship – over time it becomes more and more woven into the fabric and dynamics of the relationship [60],” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“Yeah,” agreed Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider), “and it insinuates itself into the nature of the two individuals involved in the relationship [61]. Even when the individuals leave one violent relationship and move on to another relationship, there seems to be something that continues into the next relationship for both individuals [62].”

“I have seen that happen for some of my clients even when the domestic violence was not of a physical nature [63],” Joe said.

“For me,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said, “power and control are inherent dynamics in a domestic violence relationship, regardless of the type of relationship [64].”

“But,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “even if power and control can be said to exist in all relationships [65], in a domestic violence relationship the level of power and control is beyond what is commonly accepted [66].”

Kathy (Moderator) asked, “Why is violence used to get what a person wants, aren’t there better ways?”

“Well,” Gail suggested, “perhaps the need for power and control is a consequence of something else [67]. There could be many reasons for someone to manifest power and control, things like: the patriarchal need for power, a reaction to a situation already experienced or a protective move to keep one’s self safe [68].”

“But,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “Let’s not lose sight of the fact that power and control are about gaining an advantage, being in control of another person

[69]. To me, being in control of another person means the subjugation of that person – the individual becomes just another thing to be acted upon [70].”

Bob agreed and added, “But often it is through intimidation that all aspects of the person’s life become controlled, resulting in feeling worthless [71].”

“So,” Kathy (Moderator) said, “domestic violence is a relationship with too much power and control?”

“Domestic violence is also a pattern of behavior [72],” said Don.

“Yeah, and there may be more than one pattern involved in the relationship [73],” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) added. “There may be patterns for both of the individuals in the relationship [74]. “Being able to identify those patterns is important in fixing the problem [75].”

“Where do the patterns come from?” asked Kathy.

“Well, as I said before,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) replied, “I believe that the behavior is learned by both individuals involved [76]. I think it can be learned in a variety of ways, often through exposure to violence [77].”

“I think the learned behavior includes social and gender role expectations, and should not imply that the individuals involved are evil [78],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added.

“There are probably a lot of ways behavior is learned,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Like through an unexpected experience – the person gets angry and, because of what is done, gets what is wanted [79].”

“And, I think that a person who has learned to use domestic violence in this way may not be aware of how the other person feels, or of the impact of the actions, other than knowing that their own wants or needs are met.” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) continued, “In my experience, often people are blinded by their own experiences and are in denial that such patterns even exists [80]. The person has learned that domestic violence works, so it is continued and becomes a pattern within the relationship [81].”

“Another way I think domestic violence may be learned is through having a need gratified [82],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “Since not all domestic violence is the same, there may be a lot of reasons why a person uses violence based on a continuum of the intention or need for domination [83].”

“Let’s not forget, though, that there are some who, maybe because of a need for domination, are very dangerous and will choose partners because of how easy it is to assert power and control over them [84],” said Mary.

“Maybe,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought, “But I also had the responsibility to take care of myself [85].” Sheryl (Service Recipient) crossed her arms and looked at the floor, thinking about everything that she had dealt with over the past three years. “I mean no one told me that I had to stay with Chris, it was my decision. And now it is my responsibility to deal with the consequences of those decisions.”

“What I am hearing you all say is that this is learned behavior,” said Kathy (Moderator). “Is that correct?”

“Well, I think that although domestic violence is not based on biology, biology might also influence behavior along with what is learned [86],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said.

“Yes, I think that domestic violence is both nature and nurture [87],” said Gail.

“But if we include biology as a part of domestic violence,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “We may negate the volition or choice of each person [88].”

“No, no, that is not what we are saying [89],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) replied. “But biological differences between men and women should not be completely dismissed. I think it would be fair to say that men are expected to be more prone to physical violence [90], while women are expected to be less physically violent [91].”

“Yes,” agreed Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider), “I think that women are more prone to be emotionally or psychologically abusive, either because men are generally physically bigger and stronger or because women are more emotional and reflective [92].”

“I am not that sure, though,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “most of the women I know who have been abusive were responding to something that happened in the past; a prior victimization [93].”

“That may be true,” said Andrea, “But there do seem to be a few who are simply aggressive [94].”

“I would just like to add that even if we are going to include some sort of biological dimension that we are clear that domestic violence or abuse is not a

consequence of mental illness [95].” Mary’s comment was met with nods of assent from each participant.

“Along with biology,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “We should also consider gender as another important dimension of domestic violence; it is hard to know what part gender plays in the problem [96].”

“Since you brought that up,” Kathy (Moderator) said, “Let me ask you all this: If we lived in a genderless world would there still be domestic violence?” Everyone on the panel responded to Kathy’s question with either a yes or an affirmative head nod [97].

“The existence of women who hurt others in relationships invalidates the claim that this is only a guy problem [98],” Don (Criminal Justice System) said.

“Perhaps domestic violence is simply related to the human condition [99],” thought Ed.

“I just think that it is about needing power and control more than about gender [100],” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) commented, “domestic violence is in same-sex couples, too [101].”

“Maybe it is male dominated simply because of dysfunctional thinking that men are taught or learn somewhere [102],” suggested Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “I think we can all agree that the socialization of gender roles might be more important than any inherent trait associated with gender [103]. Even within same-sex couples it seems that gender roles are identified as important to the dynamics of the relationship [104].”

Sheryl (Service Recipient) nodded. “In my world,” she thought, “women are still expected to take care of childcare while men make more money [105].”

“Men are not expected to show feelings and are expected to be in charge according to our society [106],” Mary commented.

“Yes,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “not only does society support gender roles, but those roles influence the understanding of domestic violence by the public. Although it seems that we do not consider domestic violence to be a gendered problem, it is my experience that the community at large does consider domestic violence as male violence against women [107].”

“Oh, yeah,” thought Ed. “that is what everyone thinks [108].” Even after Andy (one of Ed’s friends) was stabbed in the back, he wouldn’t press charges it because he knew that people would laugh at him if it was ever reported that he was abused by his wife [109].

“If, on a person-by-person basis, domestic violence is not thought to be a gendered problem, then why is that how the public understands it?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“Well, I think that most people get their information about domestic violence from the media [110],” said Don.

“Yes,” agreed Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “and even though not all of the information provided about domestic violence is always accurate, that coverage has provided a name for the experience and heightened people’s awareness over the past ten years [111].”

“Maybe the media has helped people name it,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient) as she remembered the abuse her mother experienced, “but people have always known when it was occurring, even if they don’t talk about it [112].”

“And now, even as people are more aware of it, many people may not feel that there is any help because of the culture they live in or because the behavior is not illegal, so you can’t call the police [113],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

“I think that each person’s experience of domestic violence is unique based on how and where they grew up – one’s culture and heritage play a role [114],” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “And what most people think of as domestic violence may not be quite on target with the experiences of those from other cultures [115]. Each group’s experience and understanding of domestic violence is influenced by their history [116].”

In my experience there also seems to be a cultural disconnect when the intervention’s focus is on self-control yet the messages in our popular culture are about having power and control [117],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added.

“You know,” Mary said, “Sometimes the problem does not become real until it is experienced personally, and then it becomes important [118].”

“You got that right,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient).

“So what I am hearing so far,” Kathy summarized, “is that domestic violence is when some kind of abuse is used by a person in a relationship in order to control the other person in a relationship. Is that about right?” The panel nodded. “A couple of other themes that I am hearing is that there is something about a person’s sex or gender that

seems to be part of how we, society, I mean, understand the problem, too, even though the abuse is always between two people in some kind of close relationship. Am I understanding what you all have shared?" she asked the panel.

"The only other thing that I would add," Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, "Is that there are cultural dimensions to the problem as well that are linked to stereotypes and other issues of differences. But, other than that, I think you have summarized what we are saying." The other panelists nodded their agreement.

"Thanks, Gail, for that addition. With that, then," Kathy (Moderator) said, "Let's take a 10 minute break. Audience, if you have questions to ask the panel, please write them down on the paper you received before the meeting and drop them into the three boxes located around the room. There is one at the far end of the room, one near the side door, and one just in front of the stage. Let's get started again in about ten minutes."

The lights were turned back up and the noise in the room began to increase as people began writing questions.

"Hmm," thought Ed, "This isn't too bad." Glancing at his watch, he considered going home. "I am ready to go," Ed (Service Recipient) thought, "But I guess, since they haven't started talking about how horrible men are I should stay – just incase something important is said that I am supposed to know when I go back to the BIP on Tuesday. I don't have to wait in here, though," he thought as he stepped outside.

Sheryl (Service Recipient) watched the other audience members get up and start moving around. Some were putting their little slips of paper into the boxes scattered around the room. Some were talking with others, and some were leaving the room.

Hoping that no one would come over and talk to her, Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought about what she had heard so far and how she was feeling. “This is harder than I thought it would be,” she thought. “Even after being separated for three years, I am still afraid, wondering what might happen – never knowing what he might still do [119]. It is hard talking about this stuff. It brings back all the fear that is still there, even when it seems over [120].” Sighing, Sheryl (Service Recipient) checked her phone for messages from the babysitter, and then, not having any, sat back in her chair and waited for the meeting to continue.

As the audience dropped questions into the available boxes, Kathy noticed that the panelists were also relaxing, getting up to stretch and to talk to each other. Interestingly, Kathy noticed that the two domestic violence advocates had moved off to one side talking amongst themselves, while the two BIP providers and the two criminal justice service providers stayed at the table and began talking to each other. As Kathy waited for questions to be put in boxes by the audience, she turned to the BIP providers and criminal justice service providers still at the table. “You know,” Kathy commented, “I have always wondered why you do this type of work and not domestic advocacy work.”

“Well,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said, sitting back in his chair. “I will have to think about that. I don’t really know why I do this kind of work, but I have wanted to know why people do what they do. I wanted to understand so that it can be changed [121].”

“Yes, me too,” said Gail. “I have been very involved with my community in responding to the problem [122]. For me, working with one group instead of another is simply a matter of fit [123].”

“Interesting,” Kathy (Moderator) said. “I have always wondered.” As Kathy moved away from the panelists to watch the audience, she wondered about how others got involved with working in the area of domestic violence. Many of the advocates that she had known when she was becoming an advocate had histories of being hurt in relationships. She thought about the process of inviting panelists and realized that although they had both men and women on the panel; it had been much harder to find a male advocate than a female BIP provider or criminal justice service provider.

After about five minutes, when it appeared that audience members were finished dropping questions into the question boxes, Kathy collected the boxes and began reading and sorting the questions by topic. Once Kathy had identified the most often asked questions, and it seemed that most meeting participants had returned to the auditorium, Kathy motioned for the lights to be lowered in order to begin the second half of the meeting. As the room darkened, Ed quietly sat back down in the same chair he had left.

“First I would like to thank the audience for the questions provided. I have read through them and sorted them into categories. For each category, I will pose the most common question to the panel, or I will share one of most common comments, as we were lucky enough to have audience members provide some of those too. Any one or all of the panel members should feel free to respond. One comment that seemed to be fairly common was the realization that we have changed the language used to talking about the

problem. A number of audience members mention that we have moved from calling this a problem about battered women to the problem of domestic violence. Could you respond to that?”

“For me,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “there has been a shift from a focus on battered women to an anti-violence movement that is more inclusive of anyone being abused [124]. In fact, I know of a few organizations and task forces working on what the term means [125].”

“I agree,” Don said. “I think that the language is important when talking about domestic violence [126]. The term has many different meanings and it is important to figure out what each person means when talking about these issues [127].”

“You know,” Bob said, “I think that how we understand the problem has emerged over time [128]. Each story of domestic violence that I have heard has been different, providing another way of understanding the problem [129]. And, at least for me, as the understanding has changed, so has the language that is used [130].”

Joe nodded, “I also believe that our individual understanding of the problem continues to grow and change [131], and sometimes the understanding changes just because we are all growing and changing – simply growing up and having children, changes your understanding [132].”

“Well of course what you know is influenced by your involvement with it,” Sheryl thought, “I am sure that I understand it a bit differently having experienced it first hand [133].”

Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) continued, “I also think that my childhood experiences of violence influence my understanding of domestic violence, even though that understanding has changed as I have matured [134]. As a child the experience is simply understood to be how life was – it wasn’t as if it was given a label [135].”

“Well, I knew what I was experiencing as a child just wasn’t right,” thought Ed (Service Recipient) [136].”

“My own changes in understanding include gaining a broader, more holistic understanding of what domestic violence is, including considering the non-physical abuse as part of the problem [137],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

Sheryl (Service Recipient) remembered the domestic violence advocate that had taught her about domestic violence. It had not been until she was in the shelter that she realized what had been happening to her actually had a name [138].

“OK, lets move on to the next question.” Kathy (Moderator) interjected. “Power and control questions were asked quite a bit. An audience member wrote that she believed that society supports the use of power and control and violence by men even in how leisure time is spent and that she did not believe that we teach our children social skills; that today it is all about material things [139]. Would you like to respond to that?”

“Well, first I would like to suggest that we be careful about the words we choose as they can have consequences. For instance, the concept of power and control are important to understand, but using them may imply that the focus is on the physical abuse [140],” Bob said.

“It isn’t that I disagree with you, Bob,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “but I don’t think that domestic violence happens in a vacuum; it is embedded in the context of our culture [141]. We may be socialized or conditioned to include domestic violence [142] as part of our society.”

“I agree,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “I do think that the traditions we are provided are what we expect, like the 1950s stereotypes, regardless of whether they are Virginia traditions or traditions brought here from other places [143].”

“So, is it about our society?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“In my opinion,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) added, “our socialization includes both patriarchy and hierarchy, as they are tied to gender and results in entitlement [144]. Our society’s history of patriarchy, of women being second class citizens, has led to the expectation of the existence of a hierarchy, of there being a pecking order in a traditional family with the father at the top, then the mother, and then the children. Someone has the right, the privilege, to be in charge [145].”

“That’s for sure,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought. “Most people I know think that men are the powerhouses – it’s a man’s world and women are along for the ride. But now that we are making money too, we won’t just be quiet and do what we are told – and then, they think, you have domestic violence [146]”

“I think that the entitlement is something seldom questioned or discussed; it is just expected [147],” Mary shared. “People who are hurt in relationships often simply do what they believe they are supposed to do, even when it includes protecting in some way the person doing the hurting [148].”

“If we think about domestic violence as a consequence of lashing out because of expectations not being met, like we mentioned before, we could also relate this to the socialized gender roles that individuals are taught and expect regardless of whether the roles are being enacted or not [149],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) offered.

“Before we have that conversation, Bob, let me continue to go through the questions from the audience,” Kathy (Moderator) said. “There were a lot of questions about the comment from the beginning of the meeting about how not all domestic violence is illegal. Andrea, as an officer of the court, could you talk about how we respond to the problem of domestic violence and how it is not all illegal activity?”

“Sure, Kathy,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) answered. “The people seen in court are usually those who have used physical violence, which is what the courts recognize, even if providers recognize other types of domestic violence [150]. It would be impossible to prove that someone was mean to you. There has to be evidence, so the focus is on proving the physical part of the definition [151]. When a police officer arrives at a scene the decision to arrest is made according to evidence, which, by the way, might skew the gendered nature of domestic violence as it is much more likely that there would be evidence if a man hit a woman, than if a woman hit a man [152].

“You also have to remember,” added Don, “That those who provide services from within the criminal justice system are accountable to that system, responding to the offense, not to the larger picture [153]. The system does not differentiate between different types of batterers. It can’t [154].

“That is true,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) continued, “In my experience, prosecutors respond to cases based on the way that judges have handled similar cases, even if they, the prosecutors, do not agree. For instance I might not be in agreement with all first time offenders getting deferred judgments, but that might still be offered if it reflects the expectations of the court. The responses are really shaped by what judges do [155].”

Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) interjected, “In my experience the criminal justice system responds to calls depending on how the officers perceive the victim, and this might include her history with the criminal justice system [156].”

“Well, I think that even though the criminal justice system has its own protocols and agendas, it does try to work with advocates [157],” Andrea responded. Kathy noticed Mary glancing at Joe with raised eyebrows.

“Calling the police can be a deterrent to future abuse [158],” said Andrea (Criminal Justice System).

Feeling a bit of tension between Mary and Andrea, Kathy moved on to another question from the audience. “OK, uh, thanks. Let’s move on. An audience member wants to know about responding to domestic violence in same sex relationships. Who would like to respond?”

“Well, I can answer the court part,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Same sex violence would not be seen in the same court. The Juvenile and Domestic Relations court is where family violence and domestic violence cases are heard. But the

sex of the individuals involved should not matter – if the same techniques are used by the person accused of doing the hurting, then it is domestic violence [159].”

“True, Mary,” Don said. “But at this point in time, interventions for same sex couples are not translatable because the criminal justice response is not safe. When aspects of the relationship are still criminalized, why would anyone in this type of relationship call the police when the outcome may be losing your job, your family, your apartment – the police are not a safe avenue [160].”

“Unfortunately, that is true,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “Most of what is studied about domestic violence is centered around heterosexual intimate partnership violence, and most of the work is focused on adult partnerships, so what is known in the literature is heterosexual intimate partner violence [161]. The framework has not changed since I began doing this work [162].”

“I know a lot of providers who have never worked with the same sex community [163] because of that,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

“Well, it sounds like there are some issues still between our understanding of the problem, especially around the issues of gender and how we as a community respond to the problem,” Kathy (Moderator) commented, noting how quiet the audience was.

“Perhaps they feel the tension building, too,” she thought, “and are wondering where this is going like I do.”

“I have a number of questions that ask about the people involved in domestic violence relationships, but quite frankly, I am not quite sure what words to use when referring to them. Do any of you, panelists, have a preference or is it OK to continue to

talk about those who have been hurt and those who have done the hurting?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“Well, in the legal system, the person who is being charged is referred to as a defender until convicted and then referred to as an offender [164]; the term, or label, ‘client,’ is not used because that might imply someone was voluntarily seeking services [165]. During a trial, the term victim may be used to identify the person who was hurt so that the jury won’t wonder why the person didn’t just leave [166].”

“You know,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “this is another area to be careful about word choice, like Bob said earlier. You have to be careful as the label used may not be respectful of a person’s self-perception [167]. Society plays a part in the labels we are all given [168].”

“Sometimes, though,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said “The words used to describe the people involved are simply chosen based on what the focus is, either focusing on the behavior or on the person involved in the situation [169].”

“Right,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “Focusing on the behavior of the person who is believed to have done the hurting in a relationship, words such as abuser, batterer, and perpetrator, are often used [170]. For some, the term batterer implies the use of physical violence, so sometimes the term is not used because domestic violence includes more than just physical violence [171]. Others understand batterer to imply that the problem is a personal problem, and the word perpetrator should be used to describe the person believed to have done the hurting in a relationship [172].”

“But the labels used,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) interjected, “are not the epitome of what or who the person is [173]. It is really just the identification of the role the person played at one specific time [174]. I think, as do some of my colleagues that the word batterer is limiting, covering the person’s whole life, not taking into consideration all the other roles the person plays [175].”

“I don’t think that all providers have thought about the labels they use [176].” Don (Criminal Justice System) offered. In fact, I bet that for some there isn’t even a strong preference [177]. I would bet that most people simply use the words most familiar and comfortable to them [178].

“Well,” Mary countered, “I know that sometimes the words used to describe the individuals involved are chosen based on the audience [179]. For instance, when working with funders or with members of the legislature, the word we use for the person who has been hurt is victim, implying that the person needs help [180]. Sometimes the words are chosen to clearly identify the problem for community members who do not believe that domestic violence is even a problem [181].”

“Yes,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) agreed, “I believe that is true. But I also think that sometimes language is used that focuses on the person involved, and whether that person was active or passive in the event [182]. When I am talking about someone who has been hurt in a relationship, I have used the word victim, because I think it describes someone who is experiencing or has experienced an abusive situation and who does not understand the options available to them – so they just can’t get out [183].”

“Yeah, I can agree with using the term in that way,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “A person who is really stuck, who has no choices, whether they just don’t see that they have choices or whether they really don’t have any choices is a victim [184]. It seems to be a clear label to use when focusing on the behavior and the incident [185].”

“Well, I have certainly been a victim,” thought Ed. “First of the abuse from my mom, even though I didn’t call it that, and then from the system...I have even been hurt by what I have done [186]. But nobody really thinks about that. Once you are in the system, no one thinks about how the system or our society has hurt you [187].” Thinking more about what had been going on with Lynn, Ed thought, “Actually, we could both be considered victims [188], we have both been hurt and probably weren’t thinking that there were any options to what was going on.”

“Sometimes, though, a person can be both a victim and a survivor; a person could be surviving even while in an abusive situation [189],” remarked Mary.

“For me,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “a survivor is someone who isn’t involved in the abusive relationship anymore [190].”

“You know,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) added, “Some people still use the term battered women when describing the person hurt in a relationship in order to focus on the behavior and not on the individual [191].”

“I have heard that term used,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “But it seems to me that service providers choose labels that are perceived, at least, as more positive and perhaps empowering such as survivor and client [192]. I think that the word victim seemed to be avoided because it is perceived as disempowering [193].”

“Plus, you could be using a term that becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy [194],” Gail said.

“Well, I think it is clear that at least for us, survivor is not as clear or as complete a label because although all survivors are victims, not all victims survive [195],” remarked Andrea. “I have heard others using the term survivor and they seemed to be implying that an extreme level of abuse had occurred but that the individual had left the relationship [196].”

“I, for one, am uncomfortable using any labels, especially when providing services [197]. I believe that labels are not meaningful at a personal level [198],” said Joe.

Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said “You know, it is disagreements like this that get in the way and are distractions from the work that has to be done, dividing providers – even those on the same ‘side’ of an issue [199].”

“I hear what you are saying, Andrea,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “but for me, choosing language can be an example of using evidence based practice, where you want to model pro-social behavior [200].”

“But, even if labels aren’t used when providing services, when you are trying to talk about the problem, some kind of word or label has to be used [201],” acknowledged Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate). “Maybe for some providers the words used are connected to what was being said in the particular context as well as what is expected [202].”

“All this talk about labels,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought. “I’ve never considered myself a victim [203].”

“So do the people who seek services from domestic violence agencies consider themselves victims?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“You know,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “I can’t remember even one person referring to themselves as a victim.”

“That is an interesting thing,” Bob mused. “Perhaps they do not self identify as victims in order to protect themselves or to maintain some semblance of control over their own lives [204].”

“Well,” said Kathy (Moderator), “Perhaps it would be best if we continued to try to not use labels and instead simply talked in terms of what the person in question did or was accused of doing? Would that be OK with everyone, since there doesn’t seem to be a clear consensus?” The panelists nodded their agreement.

“Quite a few questions were about what it was like to get domestic violence services, both for those who have been hurt and those who have done the hurting. So, what is it like? Joe, perhaps you would like to start us off talking about getting services from an advocate?” Kathy asked.

“OK,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Well, we use a strength based model to not pathologize the person’s reactions to the violence experienced and we have a very centering focus because the person who has been hurt needs to look inside themselves to determine what would be the right thing to do [205]. We also talk with the people we serve and say that if you are being abused you can take the responsibility to let

someone know how you feel, but that might be ignored and that is not something that you can be held responsible for [206].”

“We need to provide opportunities for those who have been hurt so that they can decide what it is they want. They need to know that they have choices, real choices, while we facilitate changes for people who hurt others [207]. The person who has hurt must be accountable for those actions, but, the person who has been hurt must be accountable for the choices made for the future life [208]. Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added.

“I think that the problem needs to be handled at the individual level to help protect the victim, but this may be disempowering [209],” commented Andrea.

“I think it is important to note,” Mary interjected, “that the person who has been hurt may have a learned helplessness that has been used to keep them and their family safe. Plus, there may be a lowered self-esteem, feeling like no decisions can be made [210]. Sometimes the person has settled for a relationship that they understand because they don’t realize that they can have better [211].”

“Right, Mary,” said Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate), “plus, the individual may have a vested interest in the situation – you know, they don’t want to look like they failed or that they are doing something wrong. If you are in a bad situation like that you don’t want someone else telling you that you did the wrong thing – you already know that and there is already someone else telling you how wrong you are [212].”

Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought about Joe’s comment, comparing it to what she often told people who asked her about her situation. “When I talk with others” she

thought, “it is really about focusing on the person’s situation. I tell them – don’t do what some people do for too long – I was no hero; I stayed too long, too. I try to help the person know that they don’t have to be treated that way [213]. There were all the signs that things were not worth it, I just kept ignoring them [214]. No one needs to live with this [215].”

“I am hearing that there is something about the situation, or the person who has been hurt that is connected to what they know about life, or how things are supposed to be. It makes me wonder about what these people might not know about relationships, if part of what they need is to learn about options and personal responsibility,” Kathy (Moderator) said. “Oh,” Kathy (Moderator) noticed a woman standing at one of the microphones, which surprised her because she did not expect anyone to come forward to talk about their experiences. “There is a comment from the audience. Go ahead, please.”

“Hi, my name is Debra, and I just wanted to say that when you are in this kind of situation, you are really just hoping that things will get better, and that change will happen [216]. I work in a domestic violence shelter now, but when I was in that kind of a relationship, the only way I was able to make it was because of my church and family. That kept me going [217]. You have to be willing to be upfront with your family, your friends. You have to take care of yourself, too [218].”

“Thank-you for sharing that with us,” Kathy (Moderator) said. “Any other thoughts about what it is like to receive services from an advocate? Ok, Bob, perhaps you can talk about what it is like to get BIP services?”

“Sure, Kathy,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) replied. “First, I would like to say is that there is guilt and shame on both sides of the relationship and we need to reprogram society that it is OK to get help – it does not mean that you are sick or damaged [219]. Our major focus is changing behavior. In order to do that we have to have a bond, a relationship with the person we are helping [220]. Without compassion for everyone the system simply perpetuates the cycle [221]. I think that many BIP providers are concerned that people will not understand the bond and will think that it is something that implies empathy would be felt with the person who has hurt someone else in a relationship. That is not the case. What can and should be felt is sympathy [222].”

“Right, Bob,” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “The worker is responsible for helping the person change the behavior and without a relationship this won’t happen [223]. Combining compassion with accountability seems to work [224]. The connection is important because it provides a space for the person to share the story, including the person’s pain and how the behavior was learned [225].”

“Yeah,” thought Ed, “There is no way I could talk about my stuff without being comfortable with Bob, or the members of my group [226]. This is really hard stuff to talk about, especially when I feel so badly about what happened – and am afraid that people won’t understand what I am trying to tell them about how things really go at home. I know that there are things I should probably not do, but Lynn shouldn’t do that stuff either.”

Kathy noticed Mary shaking her head as Bob continued, “We need to be clear in telling the person that what was done was wrong, but at the same time we need to not say

too much [227]. It is important that the workers be as nurturing as possible while maintaining the required boundaries [228]. Boundaries are very important to take into consideration. Sometimes in doing their job, the young staff forgets where the boundaries are, and in their attempt to do what is in the best interest of the client, boundaries may be crossed. The difference between sympathy and empathy is highlighted in training [229]. The way you help someone take responsibility is through a relationship with that individual to facilitate growth and development so that the person knows there are choices [230]. Some use positive reinforcement to facilitate change [231].”

“And,” said Gail, “the behaviors of both people are independent, both people have choices about what happens [232]. The person doing the hurting may not be conscious of the harm they do. It depends on who you are talking with [233].”

“So you are saying that the person who is causing the hurt doesn’t know that it is not right and the only way to help them see that is to provide a place where it is safe to talk about it?” asked Kathy.

“Yes, Kathy,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “The opportunity to heal has to be a combination of the person who has done the hurting taking responsibility for the abuse and for that person to have no expectation of any other change in the relationship [234].

“Mary, did you want to add something?” Kathy (Moderator) asked hesitantly as she noticed Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) rolling her eyes and sighing loudly.

“No, not at this time,” Mary responded.

“Well, OK, be sure to hop in if you have something to share. I am sure we would all be interested.” Kathy (Moderator) said, secretly glad that Mary had no comment – the tension on stage was building and Kathy was not sure just how to handle the discomfort she felt. There always seemed to be tension when talking about providing BIP services when advocates were part of the conversation. Kathy hoped that shifting the conversation to providing advocate services would ease things a bit – it would, at least, move the focus of the conversation away from providing services to those who had caused the harm to those who, Kathy suspected, Mary thought deserved services more. “Well, let me ask another question from the audience, since it is also concerning people reaching out for help. The question asks: How are services provided by domestic violence advocates, and how could they be improved?”

“Well, to start with,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “at first there was the sense that people needed an intervention, and we had the same plan for everyone. Now what we mean by providing an intervention is a bit different. For instance, even though everyone gets a safety plan, it is not just about how to leave safely, but about what safety would mean to the person looking for information and support [235]. At the same time, though, I think that more education is needed for advocates. It takes a lot of training to do this kind of work and not everyone gets that [228]. Sometimes they are just given the structure of what to do and the formal definition and reasons why we do what we do [236].”

“Along with needing more education about the problem for some of the domestic violence advocates, we need to stay open to what the people we work with think. I think

a ‘we know best’ attitude is a problem for a lot of professionals [237],” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate), “but advocates and service providers should model the types of behavior that are included in healthy relationships, like having less restrictive rules in shelters and less ‘shoulds’ [238]. I also think that providing services that you know are not at the standard level, that don’t work, is not being an advocate [239]. Even the use of the word advocate is troubling, because it connotes a savior quality – as if the person can’t do it by themselves. We haven’t been able to come up with a word that implies partnership, so we continue to use ‘advocate’ [240].”

Another thing,” Joe said, “is that advocates talk about revictimization all the time, but we never really do anything about it because that would mean being more open to what victims say they need, not presuming that we know best what is needed [241]. I mean, really, they know the red flags. They have been living with power and control – telling them that stuff feels condescending. They may not know the words we use, but they already know this stuff on some level [242]. In my experience, our services are somewhat confined because of what the agency says has to be done [243]. The way things tend to be done doesn’t facilitate being free to do what the person believes is right – we have replaced their old hierarchy with a new hierarchy [244]. Although we are all responsible for our own lives and happiness, a service provider can not tell a client what is right for that client; our lives are all just too unique [245]. When someone comes to us for help, that person is looking first for specific help and then support. The response should be that person’s choice. Each person’s positions should be honored and acknowledged [246].”

“But don’t you think people who have been hurt in a relationship need to be told what to do, because if they aren’t told they won’t know [247]?” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) asked.

“Well, there may be times when a woman could have done something more to protect herself [248],” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “But even on television, it is easy to go too far and cross over to victim blaming. Once, Oprah talked with people who had been hurt in relationships and she was very straight forward when she talked about the dynamics, but at work everyone agreed that the show went too far and crossed the line to victim blaming – and we do agree that people needed to learn about the dynamics [249].”

“I think an interesting dynamic that I have noticed,” Bob said, “is that even within the advocate community there seems to be a power and control struggle between the various camps [250]. The state coalition does not seem to be connected to the voices of the advocates that work at the local level. Those who are integrated at the local level seem to be less resistant to local ideas [251]. There also seems to be political implications of taking the ‘wrong’ feminist position, especially if it is different than the position that the state coalition takes [252].”

“That is interesting,” Kathy (Moderator) said. “So there are power and control struggles in many relationships at many different levels, even for those who work in this area.”

“Well, that is how it seems to me, anyway,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

“An audience member wants to know about couples counseling and domestic violence, does that kind of work deal with power and control struggles?”

“I think that any relationship can be fixed if both parties are aware that it needs to be fixed [253]. But if you want to repair a couple then you have to work on the couple [254],” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

“Well, but I think you would agree, Gail, that not all relationships should be included in couples work. If there isn’t parity between the two people, then it would not work. In fact, for most couples this type of counseling is not appropriate. Most couples need to do counseling separately and then they can consider whether or not couples work is for them [255],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

“But I think that addressing power and control issues in couples therapy can be done, you just have to know how to do it, how to address the emotional hurts as well as the physical ones [256],” replied Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

“Couples therapy can be used when it is appropriate, for instance when safety issues have been dealt with [257].”

“Couples counseling is not OK for domestic violence,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) loudly.

“I would agree with Mary,” said Joe. “It might be OK for communication issues, or for disagreements, but not for dealing with the kinds of dynamics that exist in domestic violence relationships [258].”

As the panelists discussed the issue of couples counseling, Kathy realized that the audience seemed to be shifting around in their seats and creating more noise than they

had been earlier in the discussion. Thinking that perhaps it was because of a lack of general interest, Kathy brought another question from the audience to the panel.

“OK, here is another question,” Kathy (Moderator) said, moving forward. “One audience member asks about the effect of domestic violence on children, and what can be done about that?”

“Usually, when we talk about domestic violence, it is more about the partner, but the actions affect the child, too [259].” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) began. “Even if a child only witnesses the abuse it has the same effect as if the child was involved [260]. The problem of domestic violence spills over to other areas, like school, and other in-kind services provided to children would be helpful in fixing the problem [261].”

“I couldn’t agree more,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient), looking around the audience and noticing a lot of heads nodding. “You can see evidence of domestic violence in the way children act out – if you see abusive behavior from the child, then the child has seen it in the home or family. The child has been around it enough to pick it up [262].” Her thoughts turned to her own children’s behavior. Discipline had become an issue in the shelter, as she was no longer allowed to spank her children. She had tried the time-out chair in the shelter, but now that she was on her own, that didn’t seem to be working.

“Yes,” Gail added. “Abuse doesn’t just hurt the victim, it affects the person watching or seeing the violence [263].”

“There are also conflicts in some situations of violence around the issues of visitation and custody,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said. “If the partners are to

have no contact because of violence, then how can visitation and sharing custody work? I really think we need to be more focused on what the children need. We are not always talking about repairing a relationship. You have to remember that, for us, a crime has been committed [264]. Failure to protect issues are also really important issues. There are normal definitions of abuse, and then there are the definitions that include witnessing violence as abuse. Which do we use? We need a good screening tool to understand what affect different situations are having on children [265].”

“The person who has been hurt needs to be responsible for their actions and responsible for what happens when there are children involved [266],” Don added. “That person has to consider the quality of life they are choosing, realizing that children need to learn how to do relationships differently [267].”

“OK,” Mary said, “But it is important to consider the messages about gender that are implied in responding to the problem [268]. We should also consider the fact that women, or I mean the people who are hurt in relationships, have to find a way to manage their family’s safety somehow and they may have done that in a way that looks a little odd to those who have not had to worry about that problem [269]. We need to provide opportunities for those who have been hurt so that they can decide what it is they want, while we facilitate change for people who hurt others in order to stop the problem. The people who have been hurt need to know they have choices, real choices [270].”

“It sounds like what you are suggesting is that not only is there learning to be done about how to do a relationship, and the options that a person has, but that there are other areas in a person’s life, especially when children are involved, that are important to

consider,” Kathy said. “So, even if you are working on your own stuff, if you are a parent you may have to learn about how to do that job as well. Along those same lines, another audience member wanted to know whether or not you can tell when a child has been exposed to domestic violence if they will grow up to be involved with it?”

“A person may be exposed to all kinds of violence, but you don’t know until they are older what that might mean,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “A person’s response to domestic violence may be positive or negative depending on the person. That person might grow up and do what was seen being done, but they might also grow up and just decide to not ever do that [271].”

“Yeah,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “it might depend on the person’s conscience [272].”

“But the abuse is always a choice,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) interjected. “It doesn’t just spring out of nowhere. People should just know that hurting others is wrong, and they shouldn’t do it.”

“I would agree, Mary, but you know this is complicated. I think that it is possible for a person to not be aware in the moment that a choice is being made, even though that is the case [273],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) responded.

“But it is common sense – you shouldn’t hurt others. You always have a choice to not respond to stuff violently,” Mary said.

“You see, this is where the flawed thinking comes in – it is part of men’s belief system, what men have learned, but the abuse is not OK [274],” Gail said. “I hesitate to

say men, because the use of violence is always a choice about behavior and a person's biology just shouldn't matter [275]."

"But it is hard to believe they don't know they shouldn't hurt others given the number of times that I have heard women say that he knows just when and where to hit me, that everything is calculated [276]," Mary said.

"Perhaps they don't see what they are doing as wrong. If not they wouldn't have any desire to change anything [277]," suggested Bob.

"I don't know about not knowing," Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought, "but I do know that he was always pushing the blame on other people; it was always someone else's responsibility [278]."

"In my experience," Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said "the initial resistance in BIPs includes the idea that the other person should also be in the group because that person has done the stuff that set off the one who got into trouble. We tell them that we see it, but that it doesn't really matter. They are the ones responsible for their responses [279]."

Ed shifted uncomfortably in his chair. He remembered a conversation in his BIP group about his inability to control what happened when he was very angry. At the time he denied it, rationalizing his actions for what he did [280]. Thinking about it now he realized that even though he had never laid a hand on a woman, he could see that he had hurt them in the past, just not through the physical kind of violence. He just didn't know it at the time [281].

Kathy (Moderator) continued, “Continuing to talk about responding to the problem, a lot of the questions are focused on the criminal justice response to the problem of domestic violence. One of the questions asks what the difference is between BIP services and anger management services and why one would be recommended over the other. For those of you who don’t know, the criminal justice system has been working on their response to the problem of domestic violence by providing groups to those who have used, or have been accused of using violence in relationships. There are really two options available to a judge – a BIP or an anger management program. Bob, would you like to share with us the difference between the options and how judges make the decision?”

“Well, I can speak to the difference, I am not so sure about the decision making, but perhaps someone else can speak to the criminal justice side of things,” replied Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “It is a good question because a lot of people don’t understand the difference between anger management and BIPs [282]. BIPs are different than other service providers, because BIPs work on the person as a whole, addressing the control and violence issue from a relationship and family aspect [283]. The focus of a BIP is on understanding the power and control issues, as well as learning coping skills [284]. Anger management programs are significantly different from BIPs because anger management is about controlling one’s temper, the visceral response to a situation.”

“Maybe,” thought Ed, “but for me attending a BIP got me to take domestic violence more seriously; seeing it where I would not have seen it before [285].”

“Anger,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added, “is an emotion that sometimes is expressed through violence, but without an intention to control [286].”

“Well,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) commented under her breath, “Then I think that there may be more angry men than women [287].”

“At the same time, though,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said responding to Bob’s statement, and attempting to ignore Mary’s comment “people do need to learn how to manage things so they don’t get into domestic violence.”

“Yes,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient), “if you blow up all the time, you need help [288].”

“That management is done by effectively incorporating anger management skills into the BIP [289],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added. “BIPs are about dealing with the need to manifest power and control in a relationship in a way that is harmful [290]. “I think that all interventions used in responding should focus on behavior change and on attitudes and beliefs [291], which may also include dealing with the psycho-dynamic or biological stuff [292].”

“I have always thought it was all about changing the behavior [293],” commented Don.

Gail continued, “Services, like batterer intervention programs, that work on the power and control issues, that go beyond learning management skills are necessary [294]. Anger management may be helpful if it is done for prevention work, but not for people involved in domestic violence situations [295].”

“What about the fact that some people are saying that BIPs need to be longer and not about anger management [296],” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) asked accusingly.

“Well, I actually agree with you,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “Domestic violence programs need to be much longer because the behavior is chronic; it is not a one time thing. There are learned behaviors to deal with as well as learned attitudes [297]. It takes a year to really indicate progress in behavior changes [298]. BIPs need six to eight weeks just to get through the resistance created by being forced to attend by the courts. It is only after this time that the clients can begin to engage [299]. The real work begins about half way through the program, about twelve weeks into the process [300]. In fact, many of the California programs, such as Emerge, are a year long because it takes a whole year to indicate progress in showing peaceful respectful behavior. Anyone can stay non-violent for a few weeks or even a few months, but a year really shows some progress [301].”

“I think that the focus on changing behavior in a BIP might be similar to that of changing behavior in a shelter program [302],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) added. Mary looked at Gail with raised eyebrows. “Mary, the services are educational so that the person can see that the issue is about how the patterns impact them [303]. Anger management theory only works if someone wants to learn it; it does not work as a criminal penalty [304].”

“What I am hearing is that BIPs are really about working on change at the personal level, which is hard work. Would these groups be treatment groups, or

interventions, and what would the difference be between a treatment and an intervention?” Kathy asked.

“Well I am not sure there is much of a difference [305], but if there is, sometimes the difference is not very clear. It is an interesting question to consider [306].” Gail said.

Andrea commented, “Well for some I think there is a difference in the perceived legal definition of the two with the word treatment implying an expectation of confidentiality between the provider and the client [307].”

“For us,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “there is quite a difference. For advocates, the word intervention has been understood as something done to disrupt the status quo, to change the behavior such as jail, or supervision [308]. Treatment, on the other hand, is understood as something beyond an intervention [309].”

“I have often thought that some of the contentiousness around this issue may stem from the service providers’ sense of identity,” said Don. “For instance, if you have a clinical license, like Bob, perhaps, it is important to you to have your services considered treatment. It is the same for us in the domestic violence intervention community. The word batterer continues to be a source of contention [310].”

“For me,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “treatment includes a process that focuses on internal change facilitated by a professional [311]. And my mental health background does influence what I consider to be interventions or treatments [312].”

“The use of the term treatment is simply offensive [313].” Mary stated. “For us, advocates, the use of the word treatment negates the idea that behavior is a choice. That is simply not acceptable [314].”

“Why would that be?” Kathy asked.

“We are uncomfortable with the term treatment because of the way the term has been used in the past, as a description of what was done with people who are mentally ill.” Joe said. “But, maybe, if the word treatment is meant as providing an intervention by building a therapeutic relationship based on trust and rapport, then that may be productive. That might be OK, but I would have to think about it [315].”

“I would say that even when a person is sent to a BIP who has not hurt another person in a relationship, because of the therapeutic relationship, the person grows and learns. Actually, I think that everyone, including the person hurt, should know what is taught in a BIP curriculum [316].” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) continued, “All domestic violence cases are appropriate for BIPs, while anger management programs are not appropriate because they don’t spend the time getting into the specifics of what is said in group the way a BIP group does [317].”

“And they sure do that,” Ed (Service Recipient) thought recalling the BIP session that he attended the day before. At that session Ed had felt that he had really dug deep inside himself to really think about himself and his actions. “You have to take a good hard look at yourself and the situation [318],” thought Ed. “It is hard work and people don’t want to spend time doing it until something makes you do it and then you can see why it is important [319].”

“You know,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “many of the people who receive BIP services are upset about how they ended up in the program, but also say that they learn a lot about themselves throughout the process [320].”

“Well, I think we could say that a lot of people have been helped,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “but who knows what the best program or practice is [321]?”

“The group work for power and control clients is more effective if it is voluntary, and there are some people who come voluntarily, but most of the people I see are mandated clients [322],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “We don’t know what effect an intervention has if the participant is not committed to change [323].”

“In my opinion,” Bob said, “incarceration doesn’t change behavior or who the person is [324], but some of my colleagues are not aware of many BIP referrals [325].”

“I have also heard people say that anger management is just one way to get people out of jail and push them through the system [326],” Gail said. “I have also heard that anger management is promoted by the criminal justice system because it is an easier and quicker response to the problem [327].”

“Well, in some cases all individuals charged with domestic violence offenses are sent to BIPs [328],” Don responded.

“Community corrections are interested in lowering case loads,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “because of the resources available and because a better job can be done with smaller case loads – it is not about just getting people out of the system [329]. What people don’t understand is that the funding issue is about community corrections

having to deal with more than just domestic violence cases. For most community corrections systems, domestic violence is just not a priority and those systems can't provide many specialized services [330]. For those systems that rely on BIPs there is a cost and commitment beyond what the community understands. It ties up dockets because there are more opportunities for the individual to end up back in court (for instance, not having money to attend group, not being able to get time off, or just a conflicting work schedule) [331]. Plus, community corrections are only funded for a small period of time. After about six months community corrections are carrying the case for free [332].”

Don (Criminal Justice System) continued, “Community corrections was not designed to keep clients for years like you have to do with domestic violence cases, nor was it designed to deal with violent crimes – but our work has shifted because we have been able to save the community a lot of money [333]. It is true that bigger systems have more resources and are able to manage a single case longer [334]. But the lack of additional funding also prohibits being able to find out alternative interventions, such as spending resources on differential responses that may increase conviction rates and subsequently BIP referrals [335].”

“From the court’s perspective,” Andrea continued, “smaller case loads mean that the providers can do a better job with the system. If there are too many cases, the individuals just become a number. With smaller cases providers can make sure that they are doing what they are supposed to do and help them get their lives back in order [336].”

The type of people getting services also matters; people with fewer priors may be a little easier to manage while those with a lot of history require more time [337].”

“Plus, not all BIPs are certified programs [338],” Don said. “And, even if they are, not all BIP programs are well thought of or respected, but that might be changing as new, better BIP providers are moving into some areas [339].”

“Since BIPs are not available in all jurisdictions, anger management is a good alternative, even if it is not the best alternative [340],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) commented.

“No, I don’t think so,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) replied, “anger management is OK only if there are no power and control issues [341].”

“I think the focus should be on external accountability [342],” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “Focusing on accountability is an important part of the intervention [343].”

Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) interjected, “I believe that part of being held accountable is seeing the part of the behavior that is supported by our society and seeing that there can be no expectation of the victim changing. It needs to be about the person who has done the hurting being held accountable for the choices made regardless of what else is going on [344].”

Don said, “I have thought that perhaps the drug court model, with its focus on swift and sure response and accountability could be used for domestic violence [345], but that response would only focus on the physical aspects, leaving the emotional and verbal types undetected [346].”

As Kathy listened to the discussion between the panelists, she thought about how none of the audience questions were really about this level of response – that although the providers seemed to care very much about accountability, none of the questions from the audience mirrored that concern.

“Plus,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) added, “the accountability required of a substance abuse program is different because of the immediate and direct consequences to the community and to the person hurt in a domestic violence case. In substance abuse cases, the perception is that the client is hurting only themselves [3447].”

“That’s true,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said, “With the criminal justice system relying on social learning theory and cognitive behavioral theory, they provide interventions that are in the best interest of the family and community, which is not always in the best interest of the client [348].”

“But,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “responding to the first incident of domestic violence, like they do in drug courts, might serve as a deterrent to future behavior and could keep the behavior from becoming a pattern. The problem is identifying the first incident [349].”

Mary said “I don’t think that one time situations come in for services [350].”

“Well,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) commented, “I think the sanctions need to be swift and direct.”

“Maybe,” Mary said, “But I have heard that BIPs are not successful and in some of the experiences I have heard of, the BIPs needed to hold people more accountable [351].”

“I agree with you on that, Gail.” Bob said. “And I also agree that BIPs need to last for at least a year, as you said, Mary, because you can only manage real internal change after a year of hard work [352].”

“I also think that the courts are still unclear about the differences between BIPs and anger management and judges usually refer incorrectly [353],” Gail said.

Kathy (Moderator) asked, “Why do you think that is the case Gail?”

“Well,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) answered, “It might be because they lack education, but sometimes even when there has been a lot of education they still do not refer correctly [354].”

“I think it is because of how judges perceive the person who is hurt,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate). “If there is a mental health problem, or a substance abuse problem, or if the person has been before the judge before and has not done what the judge said to do, then the person might not be believed. Sometimes the judge just believes the person accused of doing the hurting [355].”

“I think that judges just need to know that anger management is not going to help domestic violence [356],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “We all said that domestic violence is about violence or abuse in a relationship, but family members are sent to anger management if it is something like brother to brother violence or if it is father on child corporal punishment that got out of hand [357].”

“You know,” Mary said, “The criminal justice system, including judges, has its own power and control issues [358]. The criminal justice system tends to be made up of men, and because of the socialization stuff that happened when they were growing up,

they don't understand domestic violence. Besides, women just take domestic violence more seriously than men [359].”

Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said, “But I do know that for some people who work from within the court system, the court's focus is on how to cure or fix the problem, not just change behavior [360].”

“But, back to BIPs, I have heard that when a person is sent to a BIP, a new kind of manipulation begins [361],” Mary said.

“Well,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) replied, “I can tell you that BIP group leaders assess what the clients need each week [362], and we do address the physical violence and teach people who have hurt others in relationships – what not to do so that they won't be arrested again or go to jail [363]. One of my concerns is that perhaps all that is being learned is where the line is drawn according to the criminal justice system, essentially building better, more sophisticated, batterers [364].”

“Perhaps the system is building better batterers because of our inability to sort the kinds of batterers – people who use extreme forms of domestic violence may teach those who have not used it yet how to not get caught [365],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said.

“It is possible that the group dynamics could be building better batterers [366],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) conceded.

“I think it is important to realize that people won't change without changing their attitudes and beliefs. Without internal change, there is no change, but I am also not sure that we can go that far in counseling [367],” Don said.

“This seems to be a very important part of responding to the problem that hasn’t really been figured out, yet,” Kathy said. “And I am wondering, along with an audience member who wrote this question, if there are any differences between how the system responds to men and women, and, if there are, is that fair?”

Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “Well, in the past if the woman was the perpetrator she would be ignored and the man would be laughed at, but that seems to be changing a little. The police are not seeing domestic violence as a gender problem [368].”

“I agree,” Andrea said. “About 5-10% of all the offenders are women and they are all sent to anger management [369]. Now the BIP groups offered are often gender specific [370].”

“That is my experience as well,” commented Gail. “All the women automatically go to anger management because there are not enough of them to make a group feasible [371].”

“I don’t think it is just a change in the system, though,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “I think that the roles people play are also changing and women are less likely to be OK with everything like it used to be [372].”

“Plus, women are under more strain now than before,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) added. “We continue to add responsibilities to our plate while not removing any, at least some women are now saying to the men that they need to juggle some of it too [373].”

“The men I knew growing up sure did think that they were supposed to be the person in charge,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought. “But that is old-time stuff now [374]. Now men at least figure that the woman is going to work outside the home. I don’t know anyone who would put up with the stuff that my mom put up with – getting dinner on the table at exactly the right time, being expected to be responsible for all the kids’ stuff...no one I know has a life like that.”

“I have to agree with Mary on this,” said Joe. “I think that more equality between men and women would have an impact on domestic violence, and that some changes have been made in this area already, but that is not the case everywhere, and there are ethnic issues to consider as well [375].”

“Hmmm, there do seem to be more books, videos, and classes about how to raise boys then there were before – perhaps holding guys to standards that are not good for us has changed a little [376],” Ed (Service Recipient) thought.

“I think that for men to really learn and change behavior they need to focus on communication and expressing themselves in a more feminist style. They need to learn what women already know about communicating feelings [377],” Bob said.

“Not all women,” Ed (Service Recipient) thought as he recalled the last phone call he had with his mother. His mother, who had often been in abuse relationships, did not want to hear him tell her he loved her. In fact the last time he told her, she said that she didn’t want to hear such stuff. Lynn did, though, and so did their children. Learning how to show his emotions to them had begun to seem important – even if the rest of his family thought it was just odd [378].”

“But to get back to the system,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “I think that gender parity is an issue, but can not be solved with simply replacing the pronouns in the certification standards [379].”

“But legal documents should be gender neutral [380],” said Don.

“I think that it is possible to have one document for the standards regardless of the perpetrator’s gender and then have slightly different interventions depending on what needs to be done in each group [381],” said Bob.

“I don’t know,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “I think that perhaps female perpetrator certification standards are needed, and they were planned when the original standards were created [382].”

Mary spoke up, “Most women need a differentiated response because many of them are probably prior victims [383].”

“It is my experience that women accused of using violence seem to always be those who have used abusive behaviors in reaction to something [384],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) added.

“But the differential response developed to protect those females may miss the real female perpetrators [385],” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “Some women may have been in a mutual combat situation and the person charged is the person who got to the magistrate last [386]. We should be conscious of the fact that some women may be co-perpetrators [387].”

“But, it is a potential legal challenge when all women are not referred to BIPs and all men are [388],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “The standards

are not comprehensive because of the gender stuff, and it may not be OK to have different standards [389]. I think this is a social justice issue. There are other fairness issues to contend with when working with those accused of doing the hurting, too [390], like problems providing BIPs for Spanish speaking referrals. It is important not just because of the language, but because there are cultural issues that need to be handled differently [391].”

“But differences need to be accommodated,” insisted Gail. “Such as with same sex relationships, the response may be different even though the power and control issues may be the same [392].”

“In many situations,” reminded Don, “the decision of whether a client is put in an anger management group or a BIP is determined by the court, but sometimes it is determined by an assessment [393]. And, although everyone is ordered to have an assessment, community corrections do not always get to determine what programs everyone attends. We are answerable to the court – we have to follow their lead. Even if we think the person needs to attend a batterer intervention program, if the court has mandated an anger management program, it doesn’t matter what the assessment found [394].”

“I think that the decision about which group is recommended is based on demographics, how much money, time, effort, and other resources there are and what the system is willing and able to spend [395],” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “The programs that focus on communication are not pushed by the criminal justice system [396].”

“Well, I think that people are just separated, not responded to [397],” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate). “I have experienced Victim/Witness advocates who simply believe the person who got to them first – advocating for that person even if it turns out that the person they are advocating for is not the victim [398].”

“Getting back to the system, though,” Bob said. “The current legislation being drafted, the differential response, could be a good thing because it gets the decision out of the hands of the courts; people who do not have the right education about the issue would not be making decisions about sanctions – one size does not fit all [399].”

“Now, the differential response would provide different response options for people depending on their history, right?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“Yes, and I think it is better to look at the whole picture,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “The court only sees one part of the behavior [400]; the differential response could provide more time to figure out what each case needs [401].”

“But it can also be seen as a step backwards from the rigorous standards that were created five years ago, making it easier for offenders to attend a less rigorous program [402],” commented Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“Well, in order for the differential response to work, a good assessment is really important because that will be how the system takes the time to understand the dynamics of the situation in order to provide the most appropriate intervention [403].” Don continued, “The assessment must find out if there was domestic violence, and if so a shorter intervention would not be appropriate [404].”

“On the other hand,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “the differential response might be bad if the programs that require less time and expense are given just to save money – which might be what happens if the person making the decision did not have the right education and training to know the difference between the groups [405]. If an adequate assessment is done to figure out what someone needs, and the consequences for the individual are determined by the assessment, then perhaps the differential response with the four levels would work. But we should err on the side of caution with this [406].”

“An assessment needs to be done. That is an important part of why the certification process was developed [407],” said Mary. “The assessment needs to include the victim’s perspective and it needs to figure out if what happened was a one time thing, or if there is a chronic history of abusive behaviors [408].”

“It should also be done by an objective party who has experience and has been trained to do a good job [409],” said Andrea.

“But not by community corrections, who should monitor the process and make referrals. They should not do the assessment [410],” said Gail.

“The assessment must also be valid, though, making sure that we are assessing the right things and that we are measuring what we want to measure [411],” Joe added.

Don (Criminal Justice System) said, “Right now it seems to me that almost 100% of the offenders are sent to BIPs and there are very few incorrect BIP referrals identified by BIP providers. I think that this might be a case of the fox guarding the hen house,

where the same person providing the treatment/intervention is also doing the assessment [412].”

“Don, we are trying to do the best assessment we can,” offered Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “Often the DVI (domestic violence inventory) is administered, a criminal history is prepared, a family history and social history is attempted, but it is different in each community corrections office [413].”

Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) commented, “You know, for some providers, the assessment is not very helpful because most of the time it is really about screening people out of group, not screening for appropriateness of fit for a BIP group [414]. Additionally, most of the tools are pretty useless since most of the people being asked lie [415]. Besides, the court system will negotiate with what the assessment says unless it is very clear what needs to be done [416].”

“You know,” Don added, “we really don’t know what works. There is just not much science [417]. Maybe before more policy is written, more research on BIP programs is needed to see if they are effective; we don’t know if we are making the right recommendations for programs or not [418].”

“I agree,” said Andrea (Criminal Justice System). “Community corrections and the criminal justice system have always been interested in the science of how to know if something is working. We are open and used to scrutiny – we have always had to measure the effect of what we are doing and seeing if it is making sense [419]. At work, what is working and what is not working is identified, and when accountability was needed a program was developed that seems to be doing a pretty good job – it doesn’t

solve the problem, and so is constantly being fine-tuned to hold offenders accountable [420].”

“Over the past five years there has been a change in the level of comfort and belief that all people accused of domestic violence should be referred to a BIP [421],” said Andrea (Criminal Justice System). “We try to recommend programs based on how well the program works and how good the assessments are [422].”

“Since we don’t know the root cause of domestic violence, we need to simply work on what we can. If a client re-offends, then we have not done our job and recidivism rates will increase [423]. The criminal justice intervention that we are now focusing on may not help relationships, but it does help those who are accused of doing the hurting [425]. There seems to be very little research about what works, but we use what exists [425],” Don (Criminal Justice System) said.

“Since we don’t know the cause of domestic violence, it is hard to say what needs to change [426],” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Sociology has shown us that it is possible to have communities that are not violent, but it may be natural for people to create categories and divisions between people [427].”

“But I believe that the dynamics and behavior can change with the right services, Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “and that needs to be the focus if we are going to be able to do this work [428].”

“Yes, everyone has the ability to have healthy relationships with our selves, our friends, our partners [429],” said Joe.

“So, for those who are accused, at least, of using violence, there seem to be services out there.” Kathy said. “I have another question from the audience asking if all the responses are focused on the person who has done the hurting, or are there services for those who have been hurt?”

“I think there is a sense that the one who was arrested is the only one who is broken, so that is the only person who gets help – there is nothing wrong with the person who was not arrested [430],” answered Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“The criminal justice system is defender focused [431],” Andrea acknowledged.

“By that you mean that everyone is focused on the person who is accused of doing the violence?” Kathy (Moderator) asked for clarification.

“Yes, that’s right,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said. “We followed a domestic violence case through the system and what we saw was that the victim was really shunted aside. All the resources, and all that is done, are focused on the defender [432].”

“What I have seen is that when a criminal act is committed, money is used to fix the defendant, very little is used for the victim [433],” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “There might be a small part of their medical expenses paid through victim witness funds, but for the most part, the victims are not supported with services through the community [434].”

“For me, not being able to provide services to victims is very frustrating,” Bob said. “It is hypocritical when you are only providing services to those who have done the

harm and not to those who have been hurt [435]. Linking people to the right services should be done for both the person hurt and the person doing the hurting [436].”

“If the system was flipped and all the money and support went to the victims to repair the hurt that was done, I don’t know what would happen [437],” Andrea commented. “But there should be parity of services for both those who have been hurt and those who have done the hurting so that both sides of the relationship can make better choices [438].”

“I think that sometimes the community’s perception is that the person who was hurt is the problem and the solution,” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate). “If we arrest the person who has done the hurting, then the other person could just leave and then everything would be OK, even though we know that is not the case and that much more is needed [439]. It is as if not leaving is the fault of the person hurt, so it is still that person’s fault that the situation continues [440].”

“On top of that,” Joe added, “in my experience the people who are hurt in unhealthy relationships blame themselves and are more willing to accept responsibility for what belongs to the other person [441].”

“I think that for many,” Mary said, “there is a link for the person hurt between blaming the person who hurt them and the person’s own intelligence – something like, if leaving was the right thing, then somehow I must have made it OK for the abuse to happen because I didn’t leave [442].”

“If we pushed services for those who were hurt and removed the stigma associated with having experienced domestic violence, it is hard to tell what would

happen,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Perhaps people would use our services, then [443].”

“Yeah,” thought Sheryl (Service Recipient), “but only if you can deal with your family’s reaction and snide remarks.” She thought about how her family had reacted when she had left her husband – there was a lot of judgment about the marriage not working out [444]. Some of them had even said that she must have been a quitter and a failure for leaving [445].

“I think that there is a piece missing in our community response when it comes to providing adequate opportunities for those who are hurt,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “They aren’t provided the opportunity to grow and understand the multiple choices that should be available to them [446].”

“I think that there must be important stuff that those who are hurt need to learn,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said. “At the very least they need to have more outreach and support [447]. It may not be possible to get a court order and the needed funding to have those who have been hurt in a program to understand what has been going on and how to change it, but without a mandate, they may not go [448].”

“Services for those who have been hurt cannot be mandated,” insisted Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate). “It is the problem of the person doing the hurting – if someone has an alcohol problem that doesn’t mean that the partner needs to get help; it means that the person with the drinking problem needs to get help on how not to drink. For the person hurt in a relationship it would be just one more person telling them what to do – a new abuser actually [449].”

“But not providing services may cause further problems [450],” Gail said.

“Perhaps,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “But I don’t think we know, yet, how to protect families. I mean at what point do we intervene and at what cost to both those who are involved and to society. There are both real financial costs as well as other opportunity costs and long term costs [451]. There are so many aspects of domestic violence and so many different kinds of relationships that we don’t know quite what to do [452].”

Kathy wondered about the difference between the definitions provided by the service providers and the understanding of domestic violence that required the types of responses the panelists kept bringing up – services for both those who had been hurt and those who had been accused of doing the hurting that would help everyone learn about how to actually create and participate in relationships. She had not thought about this disconnect before and began wondering what the audience’s perceptions were – there were no questions about this topic either.

“I think there is a disconnect between having an idea of what is going on and being educated about what to do [453],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

“I can’t imagine what we could possibly do for the stuff that isn’t physical,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought. “Maybe there isn’t a right answer for that. It sure would be nice, though...but at the same time, I would not want something like the thought police [454].”

“But we don’t know if it is really about power and control or is it a two way street where the two people are playing off each other’s triggers or perhaps even what each person believes they need from a relationship, or if we can even change people more than a little bit [455],” said Bob.

“It would be hard to even begin thinking about those kinds of issues,” Kathy (Moderator) said, “when everyone seems to still be concerned about how to respond to the more explicit types of violence. I see that we have someone at the microphone, please, go ahead.”

“Good evening, my name is Bonnie, and I just think that if the two people were willing to really look at what was going on, things could be different. They could recognize how they got into the situation [456]. Even though I have received services designed for those hurt in relationships, I have learned that some of my actions were domestic violence. I always thought that I was the type to not back down and I had to learn the difference between being assertive and being over assertive [457]. I always felt that I needed to be able to stick up for myself [458].”

“Perhaps learning how to work out the issues is something being learned by both people involved [459], said Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“Actions are choices, Joe, and the action may just happen if you don’t realize that you are getting triggered [460],” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

“When we don’t know how to handle a situation, we do what we instinctively know.

From my experiences, it seems that we often don’t think about what is going on inside us,

what triggers us emotionally, and we need to know how to notice that and deal with it.

There are lots of different ways and each person has to find what works [461].”

“Well,” called an audience member without moving to the microphone, “There might be two sides to every situation, but no man should lay their hands on a woman, and no woman should provoke a man [462].”

“You know what,” Mary said loudly. “People need to stop victim blaming [463]. “Provoke a man? There is a fine line between pointing out the part a victim plays and victim blaming [464]. Before you talk about what the victim is responsible for, you have to really think about what is meant by responsible. The one hurt needs to understand that they were not the ones who did something wrong [465].”

“Look, Mary,” Gail said, “I don’t want to blame the person who was hurt for what has happened, yet there is a piece of personal responsibility for being in the relationship [466].”

“Look, Gail,” Mary responded, “If a person does something to bring the violence to a head because the tensions phase is too uncomfortable, that person may be controlling the situation, but they are not controlling the relationship [467]. The person being hurt cannot make it stop. There may be triggers that are part of the relationship, but the person being hurt is not the cause of the abuse [468], and the person accused of doing the hurting should have some awareness of what is going on. They should know what they have done [469]. Furthermore, people need to understand that those who have been hurt need to be treated better by the court system; people who have reached out to the criminal justice system for help should not be punished with show causes or other things when

they are not able to do something like show up for court [470]. The system needs to understand why women don't come to court – sometimes it is just too dangerous.”

Listening to the heated discussion, Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought about how she felt when she finally reached out for help. She had thought that reaching out would help her feel better, but what really happened was a numbness – it was almost like, OK, now you have to be Ok with what has been happening. “Perhaps,” she thought, “it was because there weren't real workable options available for me [471].”

“We also need to keep in mind how the person who has reached out for help feels,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) continued. “Violence can scare someone into doing what the other person wants, into being controlled [472]. For the person who is being terrorized it is a matter of living to survive each moment. There is no peace to reflect on what part of the situation belongs to each person. There is no volition, really, about what is going on. Perhaps after the terror has stopped, there might be a way to begin to heal [473], but it is important to realize how really frightened the person being hurt is of the person doing the hurting [474]. And, quite frankly, I have not seen much positive change from the people I have heard about attending BIPs. I don't know how much trust to place in the work they do [475].”

“Here we go,” thought Ed, “this is just the kind of thing I was expecting.”

“Mary,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) responded, “I think that what you are saying is quite indicative of how other advocates feel – you just don't trust BIPs [476]. Plus, you and other traditional domestic violence advocates seem to simplify it as an ‘us vs. them’ situation [477]. You seem to feel that men, especially those accused

of doing the hurting in a relationship, are bad [478]. Your reactionary view when it comes to what should be done [479] is simply wanting punishment, not change. For instance, using the word batterer. Advocates always seem to want a label used that focuses on the punishment of the person, keeping language that is more shaming than the label perpetrator, saying that the use of the word client would be considered coddling [480]. Don't you see that this may deal with the incident but not with the problem of domestic violence [481]? Perhaps, as I have heard others say, most of the advocates are not really healthy – maybe they are still working on victim stuff.”

“Now, Bob,” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider), “you don't really believe that do you?”

“Well, I suppose it is possible that there are just a few like that who are not interested in really working together with BIPs but they are the most vocal [482],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) responded.

“Bob, I really don't trust a BIPs ability to hold those in BIP programs accountable, especially with this compassion of yours [483],” Mary said. “I will acknowledge that I do not know what anger management is, nor do I know or understand what BIPs focus on [484]. And I certainly don't understand the difference between BIPs and anger management. I have no idea what an abuser feels [485]. But show me how any of what you have done would have made a difference without the advocate's insistence on accountability.”

“Hold on, Mary, Bob. Let me just say that the batterer side is a whole other world to an advocate [486], one that is complicated and really not understood [487],” interjected

Joe before Kathy had a chance to step in. “In fact, I doubt that most advocates would consider BIP providers advocates [488], even though both groups are working towards the same goal. Maybe it is because it takes so long to be trained as an advocate that we just never learn about the other perspective [489].”

“Clearly, involvement between advocates and BIPs is hard because of the distrust of the change process that BIPs are facilitating,” Don pointed out, “but the two groups have the same goal: ending domestic violence. They only approach it from different positions [490]. Until these two main groups practice what they are preaching, no real change will happen. It seems that together in meetings, they take sides, like this, and try to get control of the meeting – they fight against each other and that maintains a power and control problem even within the domestic violence intervention community [491].”

“I don’t mean to change the subject, or to dismiss the importance of what is being said, but I think that this brings up an interesting thing,” Bob said, “The only people seen in BIPs are those who are arrested; shelter workers only see those who are willing to get help [492]. In my experience, people accused of hurting others in relationships appear to be a bi-modal group containing two distinct types [493]. The first, those who use violence are not very sophisticated as they have not learned how to manipulate without physical violence [494]. The second, those who do not use violence are less likely to become involved in the system – the criminal justice system would never see them [495]. Those who commit the most extreme forms of domestic violence do not present for treatment, they go to jail; but their partners seem to use shelter services [496]. So, in some ways it becomes like the story of the elephant and the three blind men. We are all

talking about what we are sure is right and we are all right – and all wrong. We are acting like the parts of the phenomena are the whole and that is not the case. There are many variations concerning what domestic violence is and we have a lot more options for how we respond. Victims involved in using services seem to be more likely to be involved in extreme cases of domestic violence, so it makes sense that advocates see the problem in a way that doesn't match the BIP provider experience [497].”

Gail frowned, “There does seemed to be two different schools of thought about ending domestic violence – even in classes that I took during school it seems to be an us/them thing. For some advocates serving batterers is in conflict with ending domestic violence [498].

“And another problem that gets in the way is the lack of education about the legal system [499],” Andrea commented.

“It has seemed that adding the criminal justice system to the us/them mix of advocate and BIP providers has made the whole thing a bit dicier [500],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said.

“In all the information that I have read about responding to the problem,” Kathy said, “I have read about cooperative collaborative responses. Are you all saying that it would be better for you to all work separately on your part of the problem?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“It is good to have different agendas sitting around the table, because the different expertise presented is important,” said Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider).

“The different stakeholders provide checks and balances to the system and when the

different areas of the larger system are focused on by different stakeholders there is more power to affect change [501].”

“Yes, it is helpful, I think, that not all stakeholder groups are involved in dealing with each dimension of the problem [502],” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “But providers need to work together [503]. We need more collaboration about non-extreme forms of domestic violence [504].”

“Tightening the system through collaboration would be like utopia,” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said. “To have everyone working together to really stop the problem [505], wow, just think...”

“So, the idea of working together, collaborating, is a good idea?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“If the behavior is learned and social stuff is the root of the problem, then advocates should be working with BIP providers [506],” Bob said. “Without hearing the side of the person who has been hurt, all that is known is what the person accused of doing the hurting has said [507]. The criminal justice system also needs to be part of the collaboration so that what they say makes sense to everyone and the victim is kept safe [508].”

“I have often wondered why advocates are not partnering or referring to BIPs and why the advocate community seems to totally dismiss the work BIPs are doing [509],” Andrea said.

“The criminal justice system is very interested in collaboration and work closely with many different groups,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “But some groups have trouble with real collaboration, and sometimes funding issues get in the way [510].”

“What has to be done for this collaboration to work?” Kathy asked. “It does seem important for all of you to work on the problem.”

“Well, I think it is important to continue to study the different patterns and structures to understand what it is we are talking about when we talk about domestic violence. For instance it matters if we are talking about patriarchal terrorism or if we are talking about explosive anger [511]. There needs to be a lot more research into the many other forms of domestic violence [512],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) said.

“I agree, Andrea,” said Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate). “But even on a bigger level, I think what is needed is a holistic approach to the problem – more support services, more victim information provided, and collaboration among all the stakeholders, including working with the advocates to really understand what is going on in the home and the relationship [513].”

“In my opinion,” Don said. “It is more likely that services would be effective if the interventions happened on multiple levels and included multiple systems, including services for those who have been hurt and for those who have done the hurting [514].”

“But we don’t know how to make that happen for the person who has been hurt [515],” Andrea (Criminal Justice System) commented.

“Well,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) started, “I think that it is important to realize that the community’s response to domestic violence implies that it is

shameful to have this problem for both the victim and the perpetrator. In fact, I think that it is hard to know which label has the bigger stigma attached: victim or perpetrator [516]. For instance, we don't see male victims; I think that there is probably more shame attached to that label than to a female victim. Male victims don't get services, even though there are some services available [517]. The shame could be debilitating in getting help the first time [518], but we don't want clients scared to come to the organization for help [519].”

Both Sheryl and Ed, sitting on opposite sides of the room, nodded their heads in agreement. Each of them had found that getting help had been a difficult and uncomfortable thing.

“And I think that it is understandable that someone may feel shame about asking help for help the first time, maybe even the second time [520],” said Gail. “Society needs to fix the problem through educating people at an earlier age that counseling is not a weakness and that professional help is not shameful or a waste of money [521]. On television once someone said that there are no victims, only volunteers and that is troubling [522].

“I think that just shows that there is a bigger piece of changing a person's perspective on women and how do you change that?” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) asked. “Even healthy men don't always understand the privilege that they have [523]. I am always surprised by how much men take for granted – simple things like being considered ‘head of the household’.”

“This is so complex a problem that often when there are disagreements, like this, everyone is right, we are just not talking with each other about the most basic issues, so we could never get past what seemed to be disagreements, we were just seeing different hues of the same color [524],” Bob said.

“Maybe talking more in specifics might help in meetings [525],” Don said quietly.

“But in focusing on the extreme forms of domestic violence,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) continued, “we may minimize the bigger problem – driving those kinds of problems underground.”

“I am not sure that I follow you, Bob, can you explain that?” Kathy (Moderator) asked.

“Well, if all we talk about is the most extreme forms, then when something is going on at home, that we would call domestic violence, but that may not match the really bad stuff that gets all the press, it may keep someone from getting help or reaching out for information [526].”

“So how can we facilitate that process?” Kathy asked. “Or, as one audience member asked on his card, how can we eliminate or stop domestic violence?”

“Well, I think that there are two different levels to consider,” Joe said. “The first is that people do what they know so they have to learn what to do differently. Everyone needs to be able really look at themselves and get to where they can recognize and deal with uncomfortable feelings. Unfortunately we don’t really teach how to do that [527].”

“I think that responding to domestic violence means addressing the learned dysfunctional behavior for everyone involved [528],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program

Provider) said. “It is really a family system problem that should be addressed as a whole problem [529].”

“Everyone has to be educated about what a healthy relationship is and how easy it is to get sucked into an unhealthy relationship [530],” Mary agreed. “Without victim blaming.”

“I think having both people in a program would increase safety because there would be less isolation and secrecy. It would help us work more effectively with the people who have done the hurting [531],” Bob said.

“There are also significant differences within relationships that should be taken into consideration when responding to the violence,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “Although the dynamics may be similar, there are different needs for a child or an elderly parent, even though the actual problem may not be different at all [532].”

“But regardless of the relationship, the accountability must be the same even as the responses are based on the context of the situation. You have to accommodate each person [533],” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate). “Understanding about healthy relationships would help people know what they can and can’t do or let get done to them [534].”

“If, though, someone’s life is in jeopardy, then we are not talking about repairing families, we are talking about keeping someone safe [535],” Andrea said.

“That is true,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “and the community’s intervention needs to have multiple responses taking into account all the

dimensions of domestic violence, such as substance abuse, mental illness, and a history of abuse; working on real change not only on sanctioning behavior [536].”

“But if real change is going to happen,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “I think both people need to get help. Separately first and then together if they want to do that. Sometimes you really want to make the relationship work but sometimes you don’t and you should be able to make that decision [537].”

“Without victim blaming, Mary,” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said, “I think a parallel process of growth and development is needed by both people involved in a relationship with these kinds of problems [538]. For any real change to happen, both parties need to accept responsibility for the part of it that was theirs and learn how to not take responsibility for the part of it that was not theirs. You can’t be defensive about what happened and you have to be open to hearing the other person. If you are not willing to be open then nothing is very helpful and you really aren’t interested in change [539]. There is responsibility on both sides [540].”

“I would have to agree with Bob,” said Don. “There is not one person responsible; there is dysfunction on both side of the relationship [541]. Power and control is happening on both sides of the relationship; like using the kids, custody arrangements, economic abuse, even the misuse of the criminal justice system [542]. To really make a difference you have to address more than just one person in the relationship [543]. Just trying to fix the person accused of doing the hurting won’t work [544].”

“I agree,” Gail said. “If that person changes, the roles are out of balance and then the relationship will fail even if the person accused of doing the hurting addresses the

issues discussed [545]. Changing one part implies that change is needed for the entire household and when that is provided there is more potential for long term change [546]. One person getting help just isn't enough [547].”

“I can see that the person accused of doing the hurting displays the behavior that we say is wrong, and that the other person has a part in the dynamic,” Mary said, “but I still don't want the person hurt blamed for the actions of the person who did the hurting. We also need to better prepare the person who was hurt for changes in the relationship so that there is awareness of what is going on in the change process,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) continued. “We might actually be doing the person who was hurt a disservice if we don't facilitate change for that person as well [548].”

Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought about what her part may have been. “Perhaps my part was just being open to a relationship that was like the one mom had – maybe there was a need for the type of relationship I was used to [549],” she thought.

“I agree with you, Mary,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “Only responding to one person is not setting anyone up for success [550]. If only one person gets help, then when they return to the relationship they are returning to the same problem which just continues [551].”

“But she, I mean the person who has been hurt, has to be able to see real change in order to trust that person again as healing requires a lot of repetition [552],” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. This may include testing the limits or needing to make decisions [553]. Often the person who is hurt has developed things done to help

survive the situation. These may not be comfortable for the person doing the hurting [554].”

“And we are not saying that that gives the person doing the harming the right to harm, nor does it excuse the behavior [555],” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “But, in my experience, sometimes the person hurt in the past may be abusive right back because there is no understanding the differences seen in the person getting help [556].”

“Long term,” Mary said. “Both partners are learning a new dance, and part of that is the person who was hurt deciding if the new dance is acceptable – does that person want to work on rebuilding trust, re-finding the beauty of the other person or not [557]?”

“It seems that it is important for us to realize that all parts of the relationship need work.” Kathy (Moderator) said. “The person hurt has to address the impact of the violence and their piece of the dynamic [558] and for that to happen, services must be voluntary, yet accessible [559].”

“Right, the process of change still has to be facilitated, while managing the fine line between facilitating and victim blaming [560],” said Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“Plus, what each person brings to the situation is truly different and must be taken into consideration [561],” Bob added. “Some people truly get trapped: they want out but can’t get out. There are others who, even if they leave one relationship, look for the same dynamics in another relationship [562]. But not all people who have been hurt are responding to a prior domestic violence situation [563]. It would be wonderful if all the

people who have been hurt were secure and independent, past all the other issues that they may need to heal from, but that is unrealistic [564]. Education and therapy would help people to work on these feelings [565].”

“Maybe it would help if services provided made the more official definition more life like,” said Joe. “If they were educational and informative about the problem [566], including the part that the person hurt has played in the pattern [567]. Most of the reactions that I see to the power and control wheel are acknowledgment of what was experienced [568]. Many of the people I work with ask why they keep ending up in the same kind of relationships time and time again, and I think it is because they don’t know how to make it better.”

“That’s for sure,” Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought. “When you are in the situation you know something is not right, but you don’t know what it is [569].”

“I think that the people who are hurt need stability to be able to see when they have really victimized themselves by not taking care of themselves,” said Gail. “They don’t realize what they have been doing to themselves. They have no self awareness and low self esteem [570]. They need to be educated to see that what they are dealing with is learned behavior on both sides and that the victim role is not a healthy role for anyone to play [571]. They need some individual work especially if there is prior victimization stuff like child abuse, etc. [572].”

“Yeah,” thought Ed, “It isn’t all about how wrong what I did was – there is stuff there for Lynn, too...wonder if she would even be willing to get help? There seems to be some available somewhere...”

“But the individuals who have been hurt need to feel a sense of safety so that they can work on the helplessness they may feel [573],” said Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate).

“They also need to not keep secrets [574],” Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “If the person hurt feels like they can’t tell us stuff, then we can’t work on what is really going on and the person attending the BIP will feel like they are getting away with stuff [575]. Understanding the experience of the person getting hurt in the relationship is necessary in providing services. It also helps them by showing what control they have in the process. They can see how they can change their patterns, even though they can not change those of the person doing the hurting [576].”

“Well, I do agree that the person who has been hurt also needs to be part of the collaboration so that everyone understands what is needed in the area of safety [577]. Safety plans really are needed [578]. Often the person being hurt will not take any action, not tell anyone the whole truth, because of being afraid of the danger that would create [579],” Mary added.

“You know, the person hurt deserves justice, but the person who did the hurting needs an intervention that will help and then they both need to work on changing [580]. But I think that his behavior, I mean the person who has done the hurting, because it is more dominant, may sway the dynamics if it changes so that the dysfunctional behavior is reduced on both sides [581],” commented Andrea.

“I agree,” said Don. “The behavior of the person doing the hurting is the most threatening and needs to be controlled because it is the most dangerous. It is a safety issue for the community and for the person who has been hurt [582].”

“Obviously,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) nodded. “You have to provide an intervention for the person doing the hurting first [583]. In a healthy relationship you can say that it takes two – that both people have some growth and learning to do to fix the relationship. But when it is not healthy, you need to stop the terrorism that is going on first, and the responsibility to stop the terrorism has to be completely put on the one who is terrorizing [584].”

“Even with all we have talked about, I still think that BIPs are a good criminal penalty, providing time and space for engagement and change [585],” Gail said. “At first a teaching model was used with clients, but now a connection with the clients is focused on in order to allow the clients to open up [586] because the individual work only works when people want it to work, when they are willing to do the work to change [587].”

“I think that you are right, Gail,” Don (Criminal Justice System) said. “Accountability comes through the court system, jail time does that, but programs work to change behavior [588].”

“Understanding the problem of domestic violence helps to identify the denial heard [589],” said Bob. “You need to hear the story with caution, though, as everyone will try to tell it so that they are not at fault [590]. This is where motivational interviewing becomes important – it is a way to work through the denial of the lack of

control. It disrupts the thought process for more accountability concerning the perpetrator's behavior [591].”

“For real change, though,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) said, “we have to be working on the popular cultural piece as well [592]. We need to have societal and community change from the ground up. We would need to begin in the schools and the communities and teach other ways [593], working on the social level to change the sense of entitlement and arrogance of those who have privilege and don't even know that they have it [594].”

“Yes,” Joe said, “and that is the second level of what has to happen. To really address this issue, all types of violence have to be addressed. Even though it will not be possible to identify each type because they are all so contextual [595]. Plus there are not only secondary victims, but there are victims on multiple levels [596]. Prevention is important [597] and society needs to be more proactive about prevention.”

“Maybe to really have something happen, the change will have to come from the highest levels of society [598]. Perhaps something like a presidential initiative to raise tax dollars for investment in primary education would work. I mean, for this to work it has to be fully funded,” suggested Andrea (Criminal Justice System).

“But funding is not the only piece of the problem,” Mary (Domestic Violence Advocate) answered. “There is no heightened awareness for most areas, no real education for most about the different priorities for domestic violence cases. You effect education from the bottom up and include in the curriculum how to treat one another better [599].”

“People should be educated and acknowledge that most of this is learned behavior within a community [600],” said Don. “Domestic violence cases are not like any other cases that the criminal justice system handles [601]. Most people expect domestic violence to be about physical violence and at this point the community response is largely around the physical violence, the abuse goes unrecognized until it becomes physical [602]. We should do more outreach through other mediums so that more people get the underlying dynamics, not just the easier physical part [603].”

“I think that is a big part,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). “Most people in the community think that domestic abuse is really about the physical [604]. Deeper understanding happens through outreach and education [605]. People need education about the dynamics of domestic violence and the causes [606]. The more people who are reached, who understand, perhaps more people will realize that the problem may be something that they have or are experiencing [607]. More community support groups are needed, to deal with different parts of life. Open groups where people can come to get support for all kinds of stuff when they need to [608].”

“It seems as if there is less moral behavior these days,” Joe (Domestic Violence Advocate) said. “It is almost an ‘us against them’ mentality in all things. If you read Kohlberg’s moral development you realize that most people in our county have an external focus – they are rule based, not internally focused on what is right and wrong [609]. I don’t want my kids growing up in that [610].”

“And I think that society has a responsibility to intervene – to hold the person who has done the hurting accountable for their actions [611] and more needs to be done

because this is a very pervasive problem [612],” Don said. “Judges could set aside specific times when only domestic violence cases are heard, making sure that they are heard by the same judge so that there was a better response and more continuity from the court system [613]. Our communities should respond to this like we have to drugs – they are both insidious problems [614].”

“Well,” Gail (Batterer Intervention Program Provider) said. “If people know, then something should be done [615]. Family and friends have the power to intervene as well and that needs to be part of what happens [616].”

“You know,” Mary said. “It is a wonder that more isn’t done concerning why some people don’t batter as opposed to why they do. Whatever it is that helps young people not chose that kind of path, it could be used in prevention programs [617]. The question should not be why doesn’t the person just leave, but rather ‘why doesn’t the abuser stop the behavior’ [618].”

After Mary’s (Domestic Violence Advocate) question, a quiet fell over the meeting hall. Kathy, realizing that the meeting had lasted long past the time advertised, thought that the panel had come to a natural stopping point. “Well, that was very interesting,” she said. “It seems like there are a lot of possible ways to respond to this issue, and almost all of them are around providing information and education about relationships, whether at the individual level or at the social level. That really provides some food for thought, I think. Unfortunately, we will have to consider thinking about it on our own. I can see by the clock on the back wall that we are out of time. Thank-you very much for the many interesting points you all made. Audience, please help me thank

our wonderful panel.” After the applause died down, Kathy motioned to have the lights brought back up and people began leaving the meeting.

Sitting at the back of the room, Ed left as the lights were still becoming brighter. “Well, that’s done,” he thought to himself. As he got into his car and started the engine, he thought about the insistence Mary had for not victim blaming and wondered if she would consider him a victim since he had suffered from abuse in his relationships and, as someone pointed out, from the system [619]. “Well, probably not,” he said softly and drove home to tell Lynn about the meeting.

“Thank-you all, so much,” Kathy said to the panelists as they gathered their material and began readying to leave. “I really enjoyed hearing what you had to say.”

“Any time, Kathy,” Joe responded as he watched Mary walk off the stage. “I guess there are still some areas for us to keep working on ourselves.”

“Well, I know that we ran late,” Kathy said, “but I do think that it was a great conversation.”

“Yes, it was,” said Bob (Batterer Intervention Program Provider). We had some good questions from the audience. Perhaps it will help us all think about what we really need to be doing.” Bob joined Gail, who waved to Kathy, and then they both left the room.

“Good night, Kathy,” Andrea and Don said as they walked off stage.

Kathy watched the last of the audience members leave and wondered what, if anything, the audience had gotten from the conversation.

Sheryl (Service Recipient) had waited for most of the crowd to leave before trying to make her way to her car. While she waited, she thought about what could be done so that her children did not have to experience what she had. The panel's suggestion of incorporating healthy relationship stuff into education, the way sex-ed had been incorporated seemed to make sense [620]. "The healthy relationship stuff has to be early, though" Sheryl (Service Recipient) thought, "like in elementary school and you have to include the parents so that they don't keep teaching the old ways of doing things [621]." Finally the crowd thinned and she hurried to her car – the babysitter would be waiting to go home since the meeting ran late. Plus there was plenty to do to have the children ready for school the next day.

Tentative lessons learned

As described before the case report, it is the intention of this inquiry to provide an opportunity for meaning making and understanding. After completing the case report, I reread that which I had written and considered what lessons the story held for me. I share them here as tentative lessons for the reader's consideration.

1. If I have understood the perspectives of the participants, there seems to be a common definition for the term domestic violence across stakeholder groups, which seems to include societal and familial expectations about sex, gender, power, and privilege.
2. The social problem of domestic violence seems to be understood in terms of men as perpetrators and women as victims, disregarding men as victims and women as perpetrators. Same sex couples are also not included in any

understanding of the social problem. The social problem of domestic violence also seems to be understood as a problem of physical violence, although other forms of violence or abuse are identified in the definition of the term domestic violence.

3. If my understanding of current policies is correct, it seems that the goals identified by the policies responding to the social problem of domestic violence reflect an understanding of the social problem that is individualized. In other words, there are individuals who have demonstrated unacceptable behavior and these individuals need to be punished or sanctioned. Alternatively, the problem identified by some of the domestic advocate participants, is that of a structural societal problem, necessitating change at the social and structural level. These changes would include changing society's acceptance of violence.
4. Although there are common individual goals identified for responding to domestic violence (safety and accountability), it seems that in the implementation of the policies the focus of change shifts from providing a context of safety and accountability to providing opportunities for personal change in order for service receivers to be able to find and maintain healthy, violence free relationships.
5. If my understanding is accurate and the focus of change is on identifying and developing skills needed for healthy relationships, it seems that the

problem must then be understood as a relational problem, yet another shift in the understanding of the social problem.

6. It seems reasonable to expect that the multiplicity of understandings of the social problem of domestic violence would result in difficulties to communicate. This seems especially sensible given the agreement on the conceptual definition of the term domestic violence. All three understandings of the social problem are reasonable derivations of the conceptual definition of the term domestic violence, and yet they remain distinctly different social problems.
7. Because of the gendered nature of the policies created, the policies implemented continue to be gender specific. Domestic violence advocate services continue to focus on providing safety for their clients while BIP service providers identified accountability as a focus of their interventions. Yet, if I have understood the participants correctly, service providers believe that both groups of clients needed interventions that included both safety and accountability as well as relationship skills and self awareness.
8. It seems that for those who have received domestic violence services, both clients and clients who have become providers, programs that focus on personal growth and skill development may seem to be more effective in ending the social problem of domestic violence, as they understand it, than those interventions which only attend to behavior issues.

9. The experience of receiving or providing domestic violence services seems to influence one's understanding of the social problem of domestic violence.

Chapter 5

This project began with the question: what are the policy implications of the multiple meanings of domestic violence. My working hypotheses, or those lessons I expect to find, were:

- There are many understanding of the term domestic violence
- These understandings contain dimensions shaped by the policy levels within which the participants worked

If my understanding of the participants' perspectives is accurate, the lessons that emerged from this project indicate that there are few conceptual differences in how the term domestic violence is understood, but that there are multiple understandings of the social problem referred to as domestic violence. There were few differences in the definition of the term domestic violence shared by the participants. The term domestic violence was defined as abuse or violence occurring within an intimate relationship. The participants did not define intimate in merely a sexual nature, but simply meant that the relationship was of a very close nature. The abuse, or violence, could be of a physical nature, but could also be emotional, psychological, spiritual, or any other dimension. The common theme for all participants was that in a domestic violence relationship, power and control was exerted by one person to dominate another person's life.

There were, however, importance differences in understanding that emerged through the process. These differences were in regards to the participants' understanding

of the social problem referred to as domestic violence. It seems reasonable to believe that the differences in understanding are probably consequences of how domestic violence was framed as a social problem (Rein, 1983). Domestic violence became a social problem as a consequence of the Movement's ability to demonstrate that domestic violence threatened the fabric of society, as was discussed in chapter two (Stone, 2002). Stories of the horrors of violent relationships coupled with the numbers of victims reported were persuasive enough to create and name a social problem. Unfortunately, it seems that there is no consensus of just what the social problem is.

Social problems are responded to with policies. When, as seems to be the case here, there is lack of consensus about the social problem, the focus of the policies created to respond to the problem may not be on target, simply because no clear target has been provided. The off-targeting that I understood, seems to be more than differences in values and priorities of the participants. Importantly, all of the service provider participants have been involved at all three policy levels. Many of them have served on the Batterer Intervention Certification Board or have served on statewide organizations providing input and feedback to the legislature on policy creation. They were all well versed on the policies that influenced the creation of the programs they either provided or supervised. Additionally, many of those who are now providing services were also service receivers in the past. Their extensive knowledge and experience supports the exploration of the implications at all three levels of policy. Using Guba's (1983) policy level framework, the differences in understandings and the consequences of the lack of consensus become clearer.

Policy Implications

Policy-in-intent.

The differences in how the problem is framed and the underlying cause of the problem identified seems to be very important to how the participants related to the term domestic violence. Because policies are responses to both the framing of the problem and the understood cause of the problem, it is worth considering the importance of the tentative lessons learned that relate to the policy-in-intention level. There are three lessons learned that provide some insight into this level of policy consideration. They are:

1. If I have understood the perspectives of the participants, there seems to be a common definition for the term domestic violence across stakeholder groups, which seems to include societal and familial expectations about sex, gender, power, and privilege.
2. The social problem of domestic violence seems to be understood in terms of men as perpetrators and women as victims, disregarding men as victims and women as perpetrators. Same sex couples are also not included in any understanding of the social problem. The social problem of domestic violence also seems to be understood as a problem of physical violence, although other forms of violence or abuse are identified in the definition of the term domestic violence.
3. If my understanding of current policies is correct, it seems that the goals identified by the policies responding to the social problem of domestic

violence reflect an understanding of the social problem that is individualized. In other words, there are individuals who have demonstrated unacceptable behavior and these individuals need to be punished or sanctioned. Alternatively, the problem identified by some of the domestic advocate participants, is that of a structural societal problem, necessitating change at the social and structural level. These changes would include changing society's acceptance of violence.

What seems to be the case is that there are indeed multiple meanings of the social problem of domestic violence, even though a similar definition of the term is accepted by all stakeholder groups. The differences seem to be a result of the participants' standpoint, influencing the work done on each policy level. Rein (1983) posited that the creation of policy is a negotiation of values and perspectives in order to achieve agreed upon goals. The goals identified in the policies created, safety and accountability, are not the ultimate goals identified by the Movement as indicated by the participants who provide domestic violence advocacy services.

As discussed in chapter two, the Battered Women's Movement (the Movement) was very involved in changing the status of domestic violence from that of a private issue to that of a social problem. It is possible that once domestic violence became a social problem, society realized a response was required, and it did so with the only solution that was acceptable and understood. That solution was relying on the criminal justice system to punish those who were demonstrating the newly identified unacceptable behavior. Society may not have been able to hold itself accountable for the social

problem identified by the Movement, so it shifted the cause of the social problem, and hence the understanding of the social problem, to that of criminal behavior. It might be, as Meyer-Emerick (2001) asserted, that the policies created could not accurately identify society as the source of the violence against women because of the complicity of both the legislature and criminal justice system with the inherent patriarchal and hierarchical structure of society. The change identified by domestic violence advocates in this project, changing society so that violence is less acceptable (Virginia Sexual and Domestic Violence Action Alliance, 2006) may not be an agenda that the system can endorse.

The shift in understanding the social problem of domestic violence may also have been the unintended consequence of incremental change. Although the Movement was focused on changing society, the needs of those who had experienced abuse and violence in their relationship were also important considerations. The intermediate goals of providing safety and healing may have required immediate changes in how communities responded. Consequently, domestic violence advocates demanded changes. It may have been that because members of the Movement were concerned about the needs of those they served, pushing for changes that provided needed services was a necessary step, even though this step did not lead directly to changes in the social structure nationally or locally ending the social problem identified by the Movement: the acceptance of violence in our communities.

The Movements' ability to harness the power of the media and the criminal justice system to their cause seems to have amplified what was once a very small voice

into a voice demanding change loudly enough to spur action. Their understanding of the problem of men abusing women has continued to be a corner stone of how the problem of domestic violence is understood locally, even though there is evidence to show that men are also on the experiencing end of abusive relationships. This perspective is understandable considering the lived experiences of many members of the Movement including some of the domestic violence advocate participants of this project. As Standpoint theory asserts, a groups perspective of an issue or problem is directly linked to the commonalities in the lived experiences of the members of that group (Lengermann & Niebrugge-Brantley, 2000). Because each group's history includes their shared experiences of, or lack of, power (Collins, 1997), it may not be possible for local members of this group to recognize or acknowledge a situation in which the group they perceive as powerful as not being in control.

There are additional societal expectations embedded within the policies created. The expectation of men being aggressors seems to be linked to social gender role expectations, completely discounting individuals who do not follow traditional role expectations, including those in same sex relationships. Although Standpoint theory emerged as an explanation for the difference in perspective between women, the powerless, and men, the powerful (Harding, 1997), it did not originally include the multiple perspectives of all women, as seen in this project. It was only as the feminist movement grew that the variation between women was recognized (O'Brien Hallstein, 2000). Each of these variations creates their own perspectives and understandings of the world. Clearly, though, these differences do not all have the same social position in the

world. A marginalized group within a larger marginalized group has even less voice and power to effect reality (Pease, 2000). It follows then, that same sex couples would have unique perspectives on what domestic violence is and what is available to them in the system for redress.

Interestingly, there is no mention of a male perspective in standpoint theory. On the surface this makes sense given the historical position of power that men have enjoyed. In this situation, however, there are male perspectives that may in fact be marginalized yet ignored. Because men in same sex relationship and those who have been abused have no standing within the current policy structure, they are not recognized and hence have no voice. Concurrently, the primarily female voice of the Movement seems to have gained social standing and recognition that may not be shared by the voice of those providing batterer intervention services which are primarily male. The social expectations of which positions have power may inhibit the ability to recognize whose voice is being heard and whose is being ignored.

The intersection of gender and domestic violence seems to be inherently contradictory. Domestic violence seems to be understood as a gendered construct, as is demonstrated by the passing and subsequent continuation of VAWA, while at the same time it is considered to be genderless as demonstrated in the criminal justice use of gender-neutral language to incorporate the ethical position of fairness. This contradiction creates two diametrically opposed positions both of which are supported by policy.

Another expectation inherent to domestic violence policy is that the unacceptable behavior is anticipated to be physical violence. This is probably a consequence of the

inability of the criminal justice system to respond to almost all non-physical abuse or violence. This is most likely because of the criminal justice mandate to act only when there is evidence to indicate a crime has been committed (T. Skinner, personal communication, 2004). Admittedly, identifying non-physical violence or abuse would be much more difficult and would require a much more sophisticated response. There was consensus, however, about the importance of identifying such behavior in order to intervene earlier, but no participant was able to provide a process by which that could be accomplished.

At the policy-in-intention level, it seems clear that there are at least two social problems included within the conceptual understanding of the term domestic violence in this inquiry: a structural problem and an individual problem. Policies were only created at both the local and national level, however, for the individualized social problem, leaving those who understood the social problem as a structural problem without a social response. The response provided, while based on an individualized understanding of the social problem, is also influenced by the values and perceptions of those who provide services, leaving space for additional understandings of the social problem domestic violence. This is, interestingly, a common issue for the criminal justice system (J. Gordon, personal communication, April 13, 2007).

Policy-in-implementation.

Once policies are created, they must be implemented in order to become solutions to problems. As Rein (1983) indicates, this is an important aspect of policy, as every policy implementation is an interpretation of the created policy with the addition of the

values and perspectives of those who are actually doing the implementation. For the participants in this project, there are four tentative lessons that fall into the policy-in-implementation category. They are:

1. Although there are common individual goals identified for responding to domestic violence (safety and accountability), it seems that in the implementation of the policies the focus of change shifts from providing a context of safety and accountability to providing opportunities for personal change in order for service receivers to be able to find and maintain healthy, violence free relationships.
2. If my understanding is accurate and the focus of change is on identifying and developing skills needed for healthy relationships, it seems that the problem must then be understood as a relational problem, yet another shift in the understanding of the social problem.
3. It seems reasonable to expect that the multiplicity of understandings of the social problem of domestic violence would result in difficulties to communicate. This seems especially sensible given the agreement on the conceptual definition of the term domestic violence. All three understandings of the social problem are reasonable derivations of the conceptual definition of the term domestic violence, and yet they remain distinctly different social problems.
4. Because of the gendered nature of the policies created, the policies implemented continue to be gender specific. Domestic violence advocate

services continue to focus on providing safety for their clients while BIP service providers identified accountability as a focus of their interventions. Yet, if I have understood the participants correctly, service providers believe that both groups of clients needed interventions that included both safety and accountability as well as relationship skills and self awareness.

As policies are implemented, the values and perspectives of those who are putting them into practice interpret the meaning of each policy (Rein, 1983). It would seem logical that the interpretations, or each group's understanding, would fall in line with their organizational priorities. Each stakeholder group asserted that they were interested in ending the problem of domestic violence, which would be the organization's priority. But the participants who represented each group indicated that the organizational response was encumbered by the policies in place. Additionally the common goals identified, safety and accountability, did not match the service provider participants' understanding of what would actually end the social problem of domestic violence. It seems clear that the providers implementing the policies had a significantly different understanding of the social problem than those who created the policies. For the service providers, the social problem seemed to be understood as a relational problem, a consequence of both men and women not knowing how to identify and maintain a healthy relationship.

If my perception of this is correct, then the participants have identified three unique understandings of the social problem domestic violence. One understanding of the social problem is that domestic violence is a structural societal issue. A second

understanding is that the social problem referred to as domestic violence is an individualized problem. The third understanding of the social problem domestic violence is relational. Because interventions identify targets of change, the murkiness around the social problem being responded to complicates the policies being implemented.

Service providers shared that they believed the goals of safety and accountability were important for their clients, but not appropriate ultimate goals or outcomes for their clients because these goals did not address their clients' problems. Service providers from all three service provider groups and service receivers shared that what was needed was education to learn about healthy relationships. This education needed to include self awareness as well as specific skills which had not been learned previously. Self awareness included such things as how to improve one's self esteem, how to empathize, and how to recognize emotional triggers. Skills such as learning how to communicate, how to manage one's emotional triggers and how to advocate non-violently for one's self were mentioned as potentially necessary. These skills were also identified as the focus of the services being delivered by all three service provider groups.

The policy-in-implementation level is not only influenced by the interpretation of the policy by those tasked with putting it into action. It is also a consequence of the context within which the implementation is done. The policies created to respond to the individualized social problem are inherently gendered, in keeping with societal and familial expectations. In these policies, the term domestic violence is widely defined, including all types of relational violence. Even though the policies implemented respond to a relational social problem rather than an individualized social problem, the

expectations of gender seem to be parallel at both levels. This expectation seems to narrowly define the type of intervention that is available based on the clients' gender. It may be possible that this continued gendered understanding of expectations creates barriers to ending the social problem. In this project, it would seem that a healthy relationship would require both individuals involved having the skills identified by the service providers, but expectations of gender may influence the focus of interventions to implicitly support and encourage traditional gender roles that are not conducive to healthy relationships.

Interestingly, while the provider participants were sharing what they believed would attend to ending the relational social problem. They did not seem to realize that much of what they were saying was congruent with the other provider groups. Politically charged words, such as victim, treatment, and intervention, seemed to constantly get in the way of their ability to understand other group's meanings. The communication problems caused by this issue seem to result in exacerbating already tenuous collaborations, such as the batterer intervention program certification board. Although much of the domestic violence funding requires collaboration between the groups (VAWA, 2000), there is very little real understanding among the provider stakeholder groups of the services provided by the other groups. Specifically, none of the domestic violence advocates said that they understood what BIPs do, nor did many of them assert that they understood the criminal justice system. The BIP and criminal justice service providers shared that they believed most domestic violence advocates understood the social problem as one of patriarchy, a structural social problem. That seems to be an

accurate understanding of the perspective of domestic violence advocate service providers who work primarily at the policy-in-intention level, but it does not seem to be an accurate understanding of those advocates who work at the policy-in-implementation level. These domestic violence advocates at the direct service level seem to understand the problem of domestic violence as a relational social problem, similar to the one understood by the other service providers.

It would appear then, that the frustration and lack of engagement between the service provider groups may actually be a result of a difference in understanding between the domestic violence advocate service providers who work at the policy-in-intention level and the other two service provider groups. Although, as one BIP participant shared, it seems to be easier to collaborate with the local domestic violence advocates than those who work on the state level, there may be unrecognized political barriers to collaboration for domestic violence advocates generated at the state level that result in creating difficult situations for local advocates to navigate. Domestic violence advocates at the state who understand the social problem of domestic violence to be a structural societal problem may not think that collaboration with BIP providers is a worthwhile endeavor as it does not work toward change at the societal level. Those at the local level, because their understanding of the social problem is relational, may be more interested in the collaboration because their understanding is more congruent with the other service providers within the policy-in-implementation level. Perhaps there are important differences in the understanding of the social problem between state domestic violence

advocate service providers and local domestic violence advocate service providers which have not been previously identified or explored.

An additional problem with the current interventions was identified by some of the participants. The problem is that the policies implemented are based on assumptions of similarities. These assumptions include believing that the intentions and manifestations of violence or abuse within relationships are all of one kind, and that those who experience the social problem are also very similar. The policies and implementations do not indicate that there may be different types of abusive (or domestic violence) situations. They also do not indicate that there may be different categories of people who cause harm in relationships or who experience harm in relationships. If, in fact, there are multiple categories of types of domestic violence, or multiple categories of perpetrators and victims, there may be more social problems than the three, structural, relational, and individual, which seem to be identified in this inquiry.

Policy-in-experience.

Policy is experienced not only by those who are receiving services, but also by those who are providing the services as well. It is important to remember that participants from many of the stakeholder groups had also been members of other stakeholder groups. For instance, some of the participants who were now providing services had also experienced domestic violence within their own families. Others had provided services in more than one capacity. There were two tentative lessons learned that fit into the policy-in-experience level. They are:

1. It seems that for those who have received domestic violence services, both clients and clients who have become providers, programs that focus on personal growth and skill development may seem to be more effective in ending the social problem of domestic violence, as they understand it, than those interventions which only attend to behavior issues.
2. The experience of receiving or providing domestic violence services seems to influence one's understanding of the social problem of domestic violence.

The current policies implemented are focused on creating change for the individual receiving the services. Whether or not change happens, and if the change helps those individuals live a life devoid of domestic violence should be important considerations of the appropriateness of the interventions. According to the service receivers who participated in this inquiry, the services that focused on intra- and inter-personal change were more effective and meaningful than those interventions that simply tried to change behavior. Individuals, who received both domestic violence advocate services and BIP services asserted that programs focused on self awareness, including personal attitudes and expectations, were more helpful than programs which did not.

Service receiver participants also shared that they first came to understand what the term domestic violence was through their experience receiving services. Service provider participants also shared that they had primarily learned what domestic violence was through a formal education experience such as academic classes or domestic violence trainings. The literature about domestic violence almost exclusively discusses

domestic violence from a feminist perspective. That is, that domestic violence is the manifestation of patriarchy within a relationship (Clark, Burt, Schulte, & Maguire, 1996; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Meyer-Emerick, 2001; Pence & Paymar, 1990). Although all of the participants referred to issues inherent in the structural social problem when talking about their understanding, what seemed to be more important and salient to their understanding was what they learned through their personal and professional experience of the problem.

All the participants indicated that over time their understanding of the social problem of domestic violence had shifted, becoming more complex, while the definition of the term domestic violence did not seem to undergo the same type of change. It is interesting to note that the changes they talked about did not always imply a shift in the understanding of the social problem. The consequence of experiencing the policy was a more complicated understanding of the social problem as dimensions of other understandings of the social problem seemed to be incorporated into their original understandings, complicating the participants understanding. Sometimes, however, their understanding of the social problem seemed to shift completely as a result of their experience. For example:

Domestic violence advocate provider participants had all received the same initial training firmly grounding their understanding of the social problem as a structural, societal problem. The participants in this inquiry who were working at the policy-intention level, such as some of the domestic violence advocates, maintained the perspective that the problem existed at the structural level. From their standpoint, the

focus of change needed to be at the societal level, reducing the acceptance of violence in our society in order to end the problem of domestic violence. Domestic violence advocates who were currently providing direct services, however, had a different perspective. For these advocates, the problem seemed to have shifted to the relational level. The focus of change for their interventions was the individual in order to facilitate a healthy relationship. The perspective shared by these advocates was that domestic violence, while situated within a patriarchal society, was really a relational problem. Individuals did not have the self awareness or the skills needed to have a healthy relationship. This position was congruent with the BIP service participants' position.

Those who provided criminal justice services were also trained to understand the social problem of domestic violence in a particular way. From this perspective the problem of domestic violence is an individual problem, one of illegal behavior for which the criminal justice system provides sanctions or punishment. But when the BIP service providers talked about their perceptions of what was needed to respond to the problem of domestic violence, they shared that as they spent time providing services, they began to realize that their clients needed to learn about healthy relationships. To complicate matters, criminal justice service providers also seemed to include structural issues in their understanding of the problem, but these concerns seemed to be the antithesis of the structural concerns of the domestic violence advocates who worked at the policy-intention level. The criminal justice participants of this inquiry were concerned about issues of equality and fairness, which they saw as manifested in the gender neutral language used in the policies they implemented. These service providers did not want to

include a gendered understanding of the social problem. They wanted everyone to be treated fairly and equally under the law.

BIP providers who participated in this inquiry also wanted their clients treated fairly and equally regardless of gender and this seemed to be a great source of concern for the BIP providers. The majority of the BIP services provided were based on the certification standards, even if the participant's program was not certified. The standards seem to imply that the social problem is a structural problem as the goals identified within the standards include, "the cessation of batterers' coercive, dominating, violent, and abusive behavior" (Batterer Intervention Programs Certification Board, 2004). The interventions described by the service providers, however, seemed to imply an understanding of the problem of domestic violence as a relational problem. The interventions as described by BIP providers focused on self-awareness and relationship skill building. It seemed that building a trusting, therapeutic relationship in order to help the clients become more self-aware was a priority. These provider participants seemed to believe that increasing the client's self awareness would also increase interest in learning relationship skills, both of which seemed to be considered important in having a healthy relationship and meaningful outcomes. Only then could the "coercive, dominating, violent, and abusive behavior" (Batterer Intervention Programs Certification Board, 2004) cease.

Service receiver participants understanding of the social problem of domestic violence also shifted as they experienced policy. The domestic violence advocate service receivers seemed to believe the problem of domestic violence was an individual problem

when they began to access services. As one participant shared, she did not realize what was happening in her relationship, she just knew that it was scary to be around her partner for she never knew what he was going to do; but she thought that the problem was her own. After receiving services she came to realize that the problem was a relational problem. The problem included her own low self esteem and her inability to make decisions that would provide safety for herself and her daughter, as well as her partner's inability to communicate or manage his emotions.

It seemed that for the majority of BIP service receivers there was little to no understanding of the social problem of domestic violence before their involvement with the system. Their involvement with the criminal justice system implied to them that the problem was their own individual problem due to a criminal act. Their involvement with BIP services, however, emphasized that although there was responsibility to be accepted for the behavior demonstrated, the real problem was that of not knowing how to be in a healthy relationship. It also seemed that their understanding of the social problem included the behavior of the other person involved, indicating to them that the problem could not be merely an individualized problem as two people had been involved in the situation.

If I have understood the experiences of the participants well, it seems that understanding the social problem of domestic violence is complicated not only by the multiple perspectives involved, but also by the consequences of experiencing the policies implemented. The complexity of the participants' understanding of the social problem of domestic violence seems to stand in stark contrast to the clarity of understanding that the

participants displayed with sharing the definition of the term domestic violence. Just as the tentative lessons learned seemed to be applicable to different levels of policy the implications of the tentative lessons learned span three dimensions of professional focus: policy and direct practice interventions, social work education, and research.

Professional Implications

Policy Practice.

Given the lack of congruence that seems to exist between the current policies that respond to the social problem of domestic violence and the participants' many understandings of the social problem of domestic violence, it seems that the policies are not responding to the social problem understood by most of the participants in this inquiry. The social problem of domestic violence is a complex, multi-dimensional problem. And yet the policies that are in place seem to respond to the social problem as if it was a simple problem of anti-social, violent individual male behavior.

If, as it seems, the policies are not responding to the social problem as it is understood by the majority of the participants, perhaps other policies would be more appropriate. The current policies, specifically the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, the Victims of Crime Act, and the Violence Against Women act, all provide support for those who have been hurt by violence within their relationships, but this funding does not require the provision of services that would facilitate increased self-esteem and relationship skill building. Likewise the state policies that provide services to those who have at least been accused of hurting others in a relationship also do not require services that focus on relationship skill building or increasing self-awareness.

Yet, according to service receivers from both groups, these are the skills identified as being important in ending the social problem of domestic violence. If the policies are meant to end the social problem of domestic violence, then perhaps different policies would be more appropriate.

Policy practice is an effort to change social policies when the policies do not respond fairly or justly to a social problem (Jansson, 1999). The tentative lessons learned indicate that the current policies do not seem to be responding to the actual social problem. Furthermore, the policies seem to hold one individual responsible for a problem that seems to be understood as either a societal structural problem or a relational problem by the participants in this inquiry. This does not seem to be either fair or just. In order to rectify this situation, it seems that a retargeting of the policies created to respond to the social problem of domestic violence is necessary, which can only be accomplished through additional policy practice and policy advocacy.

Because of the influence of experiencing domestic violence policies on the understanding of the social problem, the experience of providing and receiving services should be included as policies are created and interventions are implemented. The importance of the emergence of an understanding based on experience should not be discounted simply because it may not match the official position on an issue. Policy advocates should be listening to the experiences of those who both provide and receive the services provided as a result of the current policies when shaping future policy actions. Without these important perspectives, policies will continue to be based only on theoretical or political beliefs. The experience of policy provides the opportunity to

discern the congruency, or incongruency, of the policy with the identified problem.

Future advocacy should focus on creating greater congruency between the intent of the policy and the experience of the social problem.

The intention of this inquiry was to engage participants in a process that would facilitate broader more sophisticated understandings of domestic violence, providing an opportunity for recognition of the plurality of meanings and the policy implications of those meanings. Through this process it was hoped that the community might eventually be able to provide comprehensive, holistic interventions that respond to the problem of domestic violence. Gaining a more sophisticated understanding seemed to hinge on the participants willingness and openness to critically reflecting on their own perceptions as well as on those of others. Reflexivity seemed to be an important dynamic of our ability to critically question the underlying assumptions about domestic violence. Because of the importance of the dynamic in this process, it seems that it should also be incorporated into policy practice. Incorporating reflexive practices may create a more transparency in the policy creators' values and goals, resulting in more congruence between the creation and implementation of domestic violence policy.

Direct Practice.

Because of the connection between implemented policies and the inherent values and priorities of those who put the policies into practice (Rein, 1983), service providers in positions to implement policies should have a clear understanding of their personal and professional values and priorities so that these can explicitly supplement future policies and practices. For instance, if service providers believe that relationship skill building

and self awareness are imperative to ending the problem social problem of domestic violence, these priorities should be included in future policies created and implemented.

Service providers also have the ethical responsibility of providing services that are just and fair. Interventions must be chosen and implemented that have goals and objectives attending to the social problem as it is understood. All of the participants of this inquiry shared their belief that changing domestic violence patterns required opportunities for clients to heal from the abuse and violence that had been experienced as well as to learn about how to manage a healthy relationship, regardless of the role the client played in the abusive relationship. If these opportunities are necessary to end the problem of domestic violence, then they should be included in every intervention.

Additionally, service providers should engage in policy-sensitive practice. Policy-sensitive practice (Jansson, 1999) requires professionals to take into consideration the potentially negative policy related consequences that may be experienced. For example, a domestic violence advocate who discusses with her client the possible negative outcomes of maintaining contact with a person against whom an order of protection has been granted is engaged in policy-sensitive practice. This would be especially true if the social problem is understood to be a relational problem and the client has no intention of leaving the relationship permanently.

Individuals providing interventions have an ethical responsibility to provide the most effective interventions available. Batterer Intervention Programs' effectiveness has been extensively studied (Arias, Dankwort, Douglas, Dutton, & Stein, 2002; Babcock & Steiner, 1999; Davis, Taylor, Maxwell, 2000; Pandya & Gingerich, 2002). The majority

of the BIP research focuses on the recidivism rates of those who complete the BIP (Buttall, & Pike, 2003; Dunford, 2000; Feder, L. & Dugan, 2002; Gondolf, 2000; Gondolf & Jones, 2001). Recidivism as a measure does not indicate whether or not domestic violence continues after the intervention, as many individuals assert that the unanticipated consequences of these programs may, indeed, be simply teaching individuals how to not get rearrested. Recidivism does indicate success if the social problem being responded to is an individualized problem of antisocial behavior. It should be important in practice to match program outcomes and goals with the measures being used to ascertain the effectiveness of the intervention in order to ensure fair and ethical practice. Evidence based practice that matches the inputs in a process aimed at problem solution is essential to guard against off targeted practice as well as providing important data for needed policy changes.

Social Work Education

Social work is a skill and knowledge based profession (Johnson & Yanca, 2004). In order for social workers to be able to engage in addressing the social problems of domestic violence, schools of social work strive to equip students with the skills and information they will need. Regardless of the type of social work that the student expects to do (clinical social work or administrative and policy work), this inquiry has suggested that there are social work skills that are inherently valuable and should be included. Additionally, it seems important given this inquiry, that social work curricula should also be explicit in reflecting the values and priorities of the profession, specifically that of

social justice, which are currently required for certification through the Council for Social Work Education (Council on Social Work Education, 2002).

The participants of this inquiry provided interventions as well as engaged in policy creation. According to the participants, the current policies implemented do not seem to be working to end the social problem of domestic violence. In order to retarget those policies, policy advocacy work seems needed and should be an area about which social work students should be educated. This education needs to include the skills used to be an effective policy advocate, such as analysis skills, communication skills, critical thinking skills, and political skills (Jansson, 1999). These skills should not be taught only for those who expect to do policy work. As seen in this inquiry, social workers who provide direct services should be very involved with policy creation, either at the policy-in-intention level or the policy-in-implementation level (Guba, 1983).

Social workers at the policy-in-intention level also need to be educated about the importance of values and perspectives in policy creation (Stone, 2002; Rein, 1983). Creating policies that respond to the social problem of domestic violence in an effort to end the problem requires an understanding of the many perspectives that exist concerning this social problem. Social workers, because of their many areas of expertise can be found in all three of the service provider stakeholder groups included in this inquiry. Even with their similar educational background, their perspectives seem to have been shaped by the stakeholder group of which they are a member. Because of the multiple perspectives between the groups, education needs to be provided to enable social workers to work across disciplinary values and boundaries. This includes being able to identify

the similarities and differences between and among social workers who work in different organizations. Skills needed to enable working across disciplinary boundaries include the ability to negotiate the multiple aims and expectations of other disciplines and systems while having clarity about one's own professional ethical responsibilities.

Along with negotiating skills, social workers also need to know how and be able to collaborate. There are many types of collaboration (Fountain, 2002; Ivery, 2004), and social work practitioners should know a number of collaborative strategies in order to be flexible and adaptable to the many types of situations that may occur. Social work students also need to be made aware that skills often considered only clinical skills such as active listening, insightful questioning, and confronting uncomfortable subjects, are important at all levels of social work.

The social problem of domestic violence that was responded to at the policy-in-implementation level was a relational problem. Social work students need to acquire the skills and knowledge necessary to provide interventions that work to end these types of problems. Honing clinical skills such as active listening and insightful questioning, while also emphasizing the importance of the social worker's own self-awareness are imperative. Ethically, social workers need to be able to honor and respect each client with whom they work (National Association of Social Workers, 1999), providing interventions without judgment. Providing social work interventions for individuals who have experienced domestic violence as a recipient or perpetrator may be challenging for some, given that requirement. Providing interventions that do not blame the individuals seeking services for the problem being dealt with requires that social workers are aware

of their own biases and perspectives. Self-awareness is a critical component of social work education (Council on Social Work Education, 2002; Jansson, 1999; National Association of Social Workers, 1999), and facilitating the critical reflection of what students believe they already know about the experience violent relationships would provide social work students with some insight about how such services could be provided equitably, fairly, and nonjudgmentally.

Students should also be exposed to the multiple understandings of the social problem domestic violence. Incorporating not only the traditional definition and understanding, but also the various ways the social problem is understood would provide a more sophisticated understanding. It may also spur critical thinking by those who believe that they know, either through experience or training, what domestic violence is. Since domestic violence impacts a great many homes and families, social workers also need to be aware of the multiple social problems that may be embedded in a domestic violence relationship. Social workers should know the warning signals in order to respond appropriately to someone they expect is experiencing domestic violence. They should also be aware of resources that are available in their community in order to assist or facilitate an individual getting help. Incorporating this information into practice classes and internships would provide social work students with the opportunity to learn about the complexity of the social problem of domestic violence at a visceral level. Given the large number of families that experience the problem of domestic violence (Commonwealth Fund, 1993), explicitly including awareness of domestic violence in the

field experience may facilitate the creation and implementation of new and unique interventions for the social problem being experienced by each client.

Because it seems that experiences of domestic violence policy, whether receiving or providing services, has the potential to change the understanding of the social problem, social workers who provide these interventions should continue to be involved in policy creations. It follows, then, that social work students should also be encouraged to become involved in the policy creation process, recognizing that their unique perspective and insight is valuable and needed. Policy makers need to hear from those social workers who have experience and expertise at both the policy-in-implementation level and at the policy-in-experience level. Without that professional insight it becomes very easy for policy makers presume their goals are the same as the goals of those involved with the problem.

Research

The implications for additional research are numerous as the social problem of domestic violence, regardless of how it is understood, has only existed for about thirty years. As understood in this inquiry, the current policy does not seem to attend to the social problem being experienced. This seems to be a rich area for future research. Exploring the social problems embedded within the term domestic violence in order to create policies that respond to those problems would provide valuable assistance in ending the social problem of domestic violence.

Additionally, there seems to be a great lack of diversity included in the current policies that respond to domestic violence. This also appears to be an important area for

future research, as more information is needed concerning the possibility of multiple types of domestic violence, and multiple types of individuals who experience domestic violence, regardless of their role in the relationship. Research projects that explore these issues could provide information necessary for making future policies more inclusive of differences. Another area of diversity not explored is how cultural issues change the understanding of both the social problem of domestic violence, the experience of the social problem domestic violence, and the policies expected to respond to the problem. Exploring how culture influences the understanding of the social problem seems to be as important as identifying the possible variations in types of domestic violence. The standpoints of cultural groups need to be incorporated in order to provide fair and ethical interventions for all individuals, to ensure that the problem being experienced is the problem being responded to.

Information concerning the effectiveness and appropriateness of interventions is also needed. Interventions should be chosen based on evidence of the interventions effectiveness and appropriateness for the clients who are being served. Unfortunately, not much is known about the effectiveness of the interventions most commonly used. Research has been conducted on the effectiveness of BIPs, however most of that research does not measure the effectiveness of the intervention in regards to ending the social problem of domestic violence as understood by those involved. Research in this area could demonstrate which interventions are making a difference by assessing changes in self awareness, especially levels of empathy and emotional triggers, and relationship skills such as negotiation, and communication skills. The consequence of those types of

information may be to help further clarify the social problem of domestic violence. It could also demonstrate, as the participants in this inquiry posited, that the interventions needed by those who have used violence or abuse in a relationship are very similar to those who are on the receiving end of that abuse.

Likewise, little is known about the effectiveness of domestic violence advocates' intervention. One reason for this is that few domestic violence advocates recognize or state the goals assumed as appropriate for their clients. The goal stated for many of these interventions is simply to assist clients in living a safe and violence free life. Not much is known, however, about how this is accomplished. Included in what is not known is how to facilitate the self-awareness of those who have been hurt in domestic violence situations concerning the client's responsibility for decisions made about safety and violence. All service provider participants in this inquiry struggled with how to help these clients identify their part in the relationship without blaming them, or having them perceive blame that was not intended. Further research might help them to do so.

Additionally, the participants in this inquiry identified the need for education for both individuals involved in a domestic violence relationship in order for clients to have healthy relationships. Continued research is needed to explore and identify the interventions that can facilitate ending the social problem of domestic violence for all individuals involved in domestic violence situations. As many of the participants shared, many of them had personal experiences with domestic violence as children and could be considered victims regardless of the role played in the current situation. The participants of this inquiry, both service receivers and service providers identified common

intervention needs for both individuals involved in a domestic violence situation. They included such things and self-awareness, consciousness raising, emotional regulation, and communication skills. Traditional research models, such as pre-post experimental or quasi-experimental designs could be used to explore the effectiveness of this type of intervention provided to both individuals. The Intervention models could be assessed on dimensions of increased knowledge, behavior and attitude changes. Further research could examine the importance of the inclusiveness in areas of diversity, such as age, ethnicity, and culture.

Exploring the experience of accessing services is another area of needed research. More interpretive, this research could focus on the meaning of and the process of accessing domestic violence services. It may be that for some clients, exploring the cultural dimensions of what it means to experience a domestic violence relationship is as important as exploring what it means for them to reach out for help. Another area of inquiry could include exploring the meaning of getting help for a domestic violence relationship for the continuation or discontinuation of the relationship. Because many individuals who seek domestic violence advocacy services assert that they do not want the relationship to end, only for the abuse to stop, it may be important to explore the lived experience of those who receive services and are able to maintain and continue their relationship. This understanding may facilitate the further development of local intervention services that are sensitive to the many unique dimensions of diversity in each location.

One additional area of research that may facilitate our understanding of the social problem of domestic violence is exploring the emergence of the term domestic violence and the consensus that was built around its definition. The use of the term domestic violence seemed to begin around the time of the congressional hearings of 1978. Until that point in time, the issue referred to as a Battered Women problem. The emergence of the term domestic violence was not clearly identified in any of the literature found for this project. Because of the importance of word choice in this problem area, exploring the etiology of the term domestic violence may provide important insight into the original intention of the word. Along with that, a Foucauldian analysis of the term might provide understanding of the consequences of replacing *battered women* with *domestic violence*. That sort of analysis might identify what was created with the coining and acceptance of this new phrase.

Lessons Learned From the Research Process

The *doing* of any research or inquiry project produces findings based on the data gathered, but it also produces findings, or lessons to be learned about the process of conducting the research or the inquiry. There were two important lessons to be learned from my experience in completing this project. They are:

- Incorporating the voices of those who are seldom heard is a difficult endeavor
- Trusting emergence in a constructivist project is not only hard but necessary

Incorporating voices.

As noted previously, the inclusion of all five stakeholder groups was important in gaining a more sophisticated and informed understanding of the term domestic violence. A major challenge in this process was including individuals who received services for this problem. I believe that there were several reasons for this difficulty. Based on what some service receivers shared with me about our meeting, I think that for many, the idea of talking with someone they did not know about their experiences was scary and overwhelming. For others, there was concern about being judged for the services that they were receiving. Many of the service provider participants shared that they believed that service receivers felt shame and embarrassment because they were seeking services for this issue. It was suggested by service providers that those who received domestic violence advocate services felt embarrassment and shame for not making better decisions. Service providers who worked with individuals who received services for having caused hurt in a relationship felt that these service receivers would be ashamed and embarrassed for having gotten into trouble and for needing help. All of these might have impacted collaborating in the recruitment process. Overcoming these concerns on the part of the providers and receivers of service was possible during the informed consent process, but getting participants to that point was a difficult task.

During the inquiry process, service receivers who participated were available during the initial interview phase, but very few of them were available for follow-up questions. None of them were available for the grand member check process. I was

often not able to locate those participants who had received services from domestic violence advocates. Many of the participants who received from either BIPs or through the criminal justice system were also not reachable. For many of them, the contact number they provided to me had been a cell phone. When the primary case report was completed and ready for member checking, many of these contact numbers no longer worked. Those participants who still had the same number were not interested in reading the case report and providing feedback. I am not sure if it was because of the time lapse between the dialectic hermeneutic process and the grand member check, or if it was because they were no longer receiving services and consequently were finished thinking about the problem or feeling pressure to participate in the research process.

If participants who had received services for having caused hurt in their relationships were not interested in participating in the grand member check because of no longer receiving services, it might also be connected with the feelings they shared of being considered the 'bad' person in the relationship. It might be that it is too uncomfortable for these participants to revisit their experience of service receiver. It is interesting to note that the IRB concerns, to be discussed below, were not directed to this stakeholder group, yet this group seemed to feel the most shame and embarrassment about their involvement with this problem.

When I first proposed the project to the Institutional Review Board's (IRB) concern about my proposed use of snowball sampling for all stakeholder groups. Although the IRB allowed snowball sampling to be used for all service providers, it could not be used with individuals who received domestic violence advocate services. This

decision was based on the IRB's ethical principle of privacy and protection.

Interestingly, the IRB issue was only with identifying those who had experienced domestic violence as victims, not as perpetrators. In conducting the inquiry, both groups of service receivers were recruited using flyers so that there was parity across participant groups. All of this together underscores the need for patience and tenacity when intent upon raising the voices of the unvoiced or under researched.

Given the context of the service receivers lived experiences; I do not believe that the difficulty I had in reaching these participants for subsequent interviews or for the grand member check is unusual. Although the mandate for inclusion in a constructivist inquiry is fairness, and this has been warranted by the independent audit, I believe that there are implications and tentative lessons to be learned from this experience. It is important to continue to explore ways to bring forward the voices of those seldom heard when considering the effectiveness or adequacy of social policy. Especially when often policy makers and implementers are sure that they know what those voices would say.

Trusting Emergence.

The second lesson that I learned in completing this inquiry was patience. Although I consider myself a qualitative researcher, I have many years of traditional scientific research training. When conducting research from a more traditional perspective, each researcher has a bit of control concerning the design and implementation of the process. In constructivist research, that is not the case. Even though I was aware of the lack of control that I would have as the inquirer, there were still times that the amount of time required for the process to emerge was frustrating. In

retrospect, however, the time required for the emergence process was an indispensable part of the process. Without the benefit of time and patience, the depth of understanding that I believe I was able to acquire would not have been possible. I believe that the participants of this inquiry also appreciated the iterative nature of this process, as many of them shared with me that between conversations, they had thought about the topics which had emerged in ways that they had not considered before. They emphasized the power of the authentic nature of the emergent process itself.

Conclusion

The intention of this inquiry was to explore the multiple meanings of domestic violence with the multiple stakeholder groups involved in the problem of domestic violence. I had hoped to engage community members in conversations that would help me to understand how the term domestic violence was understood and the implications of that for the policies that were created and the interventions used. I had also hoped to be able to facilitate a dialogue between the participants in ways that would increase their knowledge about their own perceptions and the perceptions of others who either provided or received domestic violence services. I believe that I was able to guide the process in ways that successfully achieved these goals.

In many cases, I found myself asking questions that I would not have created without the input of the participants. Although professionally I had the opportunity to interact with many service providers, previously I had not had the same opportunities to learn from service receivers. The interactions I had with the service receivers provided insights that were then shared with those who provide services. Hopefully this information has enabled service providers to practice in ways that are more beneficial to their clients. I also experienced many “ah-ha” moments when concepts and ideas occurred to me as a result of my interactions with the participants or upon reflecting on their information later. I believe that many of the participants also had ah-ha moments. Many of them shared with me that they had not thought about a particular issue as I had

presented it to them, or as I asked them questions they had not critically considered before.

I had also hoped to learn about the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence and what the implications of these terms were. What I learned was that conceptually, the term domestic violence is clearly understood by all the participants of this inquiry. Difference was not found in the conceptual understanding, but in the social problem that the term was understood to represent. There were at least three social problems understood by the participants in this inquiry. The social problem of domestic violence was understood by some participants as a structural, societal problem, by other as an individual problem, and by others as a relational problem. The consequences of these multiple understanding resulted in difficulties communicating, collaborating, and ultimately in ending the social problem of domestic violence.

Domestic violence, as I have come to understand it, is a difficult and complicated social problem. I hope that the information provided by this inquiry will continue to spur critical questions and reflections concerning the social problems that we, all the participants of this inquiry, have been able to identify. I am hopeful that the conversations that have been started through the hermeneutic dialogue will continue, prompting new ideas about how to respond to the problem of domestic violence in order to bring an end to a difficult and ubiquitous problem.

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Appendix A

Interview Protocol

What is your understanding of the term domestic violence?

How did you come to this understanding?

Has your understanding changed over time?

What is your role in the community as it relates to the problem of domestic violence?

Would domestic violence exist in a genderless world?

Can you share with me how your understanding of domestic violence and your involvement with domestic violence are connected?

Appendix B

RESEARCH SUBJECT INFORMATION AND CONSENT FORM

TITLE: The Meanings of Domestic violence and the Subsequent Implications for Policy

VCU IRB NO.: 5080

This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask the study staff to explain any words that you do not clearly understand. You may take home an unsigned copy of this consent form to think about or discuss with family or friends before making your decision.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to gain a more sophisticated understanding of the multiple meanings of the term domestic violence and to understand the implications of those meanings for domestic violence policy.

DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AND YOUR INVOLVEMENT

If you decide to be in this study, you will be asked to sign this consent form and provide your contact information after you have had all your questions answered. In this study you will be asked to critically consider and talk about your understanding of the term domestic violence as well as those of other individuals. Initially your involvement will include a face-to-face 30-60 minute interview. After that interview, the inquirer may contact you to gather additional information or to ask you to comment on other information the inquirer has been provided. It is also possible that throughout the project the inquirer will ask for additional participation in the form of a member check. This means that the inquirer may ask you to review either a visual rendition of her understanding of the data she has received or to review the case report that she has written and provide feedback to the inquirer.

YOUR PARTICIPATION

The questions asked during the interview will be about your understanding of the term domestic violence. It is possible that you may feel uncomfortable critically considering your beliefs. It is also possible that it may be difficult to discuss such a sensitive topic. The inquirer has worked within the domestic violence response community for a number of years and is willing and able to talk about these feelings with you. There will also be additional resource material available for you to help you access additional services if necessary. There are no costs involved in participating in this study. Your participation is completely voluntary. If at any time you wish to remove yourself from this project, all data that you have shared with the inquirer will be returned to you.

RISKS & BENEFITS

Participating in this project will provide you with an opportunity to critically consider your understanding of the term domestic violence and how that understanding influences your interaction with the system designed to intervene in this problem. The project also provides you the opportunity to lend your individual voice to the dialogue about what domestic violence is and what on a policy level should be done about the problem.

Depending upon your experience with domestic violence, this discussion could be uncomfortable. If this discomfort becomes serious, the inquirer will provide you with appropriate referral sources such as phone numbers to both the local and statewide domestic violence hotline, the local batterer intervention program, or to the local mental health facility in your area. Virginia Commonwealth University and the VCU Health System (also known as MCV Hospital) cannot be held liable for any discomfort felt during this project.

Before deciding to participate in this project, it is important for you to be aware of the amount of confidentiality that can be provided by the inquirer. Throughout this project, the inquirer will be sharing and challenging ideas from one participant to another. Although every effort will be made to maintain confidentiality, it might be possible, depending on whom the participants are, for one participant to identify other participants' ideas or thoughts. In the event that a participant tries to guess the identity of other participants, the inquirer will not confirm any of their conjectures. It is also possible, again depending on circumstances, that a participant may be identifiable in the final case report, even though the inquirer will make every effort to keep that information private.

You are free to remove yourself from this project at any time. If you choose to leave the project, all data collected from you will be returned, however the understanding gained by the inquirer can not be unlearned, and will influence the remainder of the project. Your participation includes the potential for multiple contacts, as well as the need for member checks throughout the process.

CONFIDENTIALITY

Your participation will be kept confidential by the inquirer. Because the information you share will be shared with other participants, however, it might be possible to guess your participation in this study. The inquirer will neither confirm nor deny your participation and will do everything in her power to maintain your confidentiality.

It is important to note, however, that any information shared with the inquirer that indicates that you intend to harm either yourself or another person will have to be reported to the appropriate authorities.

The data you share with the inquirer may be looked at or copied for research or legal purposes by the inquirer, or by Virginia Commonwealth University. The information shared during the interview will be linked to your name by a code that will be kept in a secured location separate from the data. Your name will never be released by the inquirer.

Appendix C

Auditor's Report The Multiple Meanings of Domestic Violence: A Constructivist Inquiry Monica Leisey

Audit Conducted by Jon Singletary

20-26 March 2007

Purpose of Audit

The purpose of this audit is to examine the integrity and quality of the methods of the inquiry and the report of findings. Trustworthiness is one of the criteria being assessed in this constructivist research dissertation based on the dimensions of confirmability, credibility, and dependability. This audit goes further in also reviewing the authenticity of the dissertation's interpretations in an attempt to assess fairness, ontological and educative authenticity. The guidelines for performing the audit were derived from Lincoln & Guba (1985), *Naturalistic Inquiry*, Schwandt & Halpern (1988) *Linking Auditing and Metaevaluation*, and from Rodwell (1996), *Social Work Constructivist Research*.

Preparing for the Audit

Monica invited me to conduct the audit in Spring 2006 during the early processes of her research. I have the methodological expertise, but have less expertise in the content area. I have published an article on congregational responses to family violence and have read some of the recent literature related to domestic violence (DV), DV interventions, and policies related to DV, which offer me some legitimacy in the content area.

I agreed to conduct the audit and we established a process for the audit including opportunities for me to read materials, which she would submit electronically in March 2007, and for us to meet together in Waco, Texas at the end of March. In the weeks prior to conducting the audit, Monica provided me with electronic copies of the case study report (and endnotes), expanded field notes, peer review and methodological journal. When she arrived for our meeting in Texas, she brought with her original field notes, the unitized data on index cards, her reflexive journal, and member check documentation.

Prior to Monica's arrival, I conducted an auditability assessment followed by a preliminary audit with the materials at hand, reading the materials she submitted to me electronically, identifying how endnotes are used in the case study and how the report itself was developed. The audit trail was assessed based on the documents themselves and Monica's description of them. The documents reflect her description and provide the audit trail necessary for a constructivist audit. From the working hypotheses and foreshadowed questions to the final case study report, and including all data sources and journals, the audit trail is extremely thorough and complete.

I met with Monica from 8:00 am - 3:00 pm on Monday, March 26, 2007, in Waco. During the first part of our session Monica described the study, her preliminary thinking about the scope and goals of the research, the process of data collection and analysis, the proposed audit, and the multiple dimensions of the audit trail. She was particularly interested in an audit of the authenticity dimensions of rigor in constructivist inquiry as she saw this a vital part of her purpose in the research.

Together Monica and I agreed that the audit would include an assessment of the inquiry's trustworthiness, specifically the dimensions of confirmability, credibility, and dependability, and authenticity, with a specific focus on fairness, ontological and educative authenticity.

Much of the focus of my personal review was utilized in assessing the confirmability of the case report. Throughout the day, Monica was available to answer numerous questions. Much of the focus of the afternoon centered on discussions of authenticity in the inquiry process. Below are the findings of the audit.

Statement of Findings

Confirmability

Confirmability assessed whether the case study was grounded in the data and the inferences were logical. I can attest that the case study report is grounded in the data. More than a dozen series of endnotes representing more than 100 data units were selected at random for this assessment.

I began with a series of selected endnotes which were then traced back first to the relevant section in the case report. See the paragraph below and the endnotes for examples.

"Well," said Joe, "to me, domestic violence is a very broad category; including all types of abuse that takes place within relationships or at home [4]. Although physical violence is part of the problem in families [5], I believe that there is more to domestic

violence than simply violence, it includes many different facets of abuse [6], including any unwanted behavior [7].”

“Yes,” Bob agreed, “it includes forcing a person to do something or not do something [8] that hurts the other person either physically or by impacting the self esteem or feelings of worth of that other person [9].”

- 4) DV.1.I.13; DV.1.I.14; DV.1.I.30; DV.1.I.32; DV.1.I.33; DV.1.I.35; DV.1.F.37; DV.1.F.31; DV.4.I.36
- 5) DV.1.I.34; DV.1.F.29; DV.1.I.28; DV.1.I.21; DV.1.I.8;
- 6) DV.1.F.12; DV.1.I.22; DV.1.I.24; DV.1.I.25; DV.1.F.1; DV.1.I.2; DV.1.F.3; DV.1.I.7; DV.1.F.15; DV.1.I.19; DV.1.I.20; DV.1.I.8;
- 7) DV.1.I.11; DV.1.I.6; DV.1.I.10; DV.1.I.5; DV.1.I.26; DV.1.F.27; DV.1.F.23; DV.1.I.4;
- 8) DV.1.F.9;
- 9) DV.1.F.17; DV.1.I.16; DV.5.1.I.30; DV.5.1.I.29; DV.5.1.I.28; DV.5.1.F.27

As the endnotes demonstrate, there are approximately 50 data units to be confirmed in these three sentences from the case report. I repeated this process in several sections.

Based on the endnote codes, I traced the endnote to the attributed participant quote in her or his transcribed interview by identifying the sorted index cards labeled in accordance with the endnotes. I then traced the cards to the expanded field notes and to the handwritten interview notes taken during the actual participant interview. The index cards and expanded field notes do not include line numbers, making it more difficult to trace data to the phrasing in the original source, but it was possible to do this in each occasion. Monica’s use of electronic expanded field notes allowed for word searches that helped identify phrasing in these notes.

Because of the nature of the thick description in this interpretive case study, exact participant quotes were not necessarily used in the case report, however I can attest that the meaning of the participants’ statements remained accurate. As appropriate for interpretive analysis and reporting, assertions within a character’s quote in the case report reflect the meaning of participants’ statements if not their exact wording. This does not hamper the accuracy of the participants’ quotes as none of the member checks perceived this as a problem in their written comments. It is also easy to identify Monica’s assertions except in the few cases noted above, they are contained in stand alone quotes without endnotes in the case report.

Furthermore, I can attest to the strength of the logical inferences of the narrative. The development of the story and characters makes for a strong interpretive reporting of findings that is thick in its description and rich in its potential meaning for other readers.

Credibility

While confirmability articulates how the data provided by the participants is included in the case report by demonstrating a link from the case report to the data collected during the inquiry, credibility assesses whether participants' perspectives were accurately captured in the case report. Is an insider's view represented in a way believable to participants? I can attest that the inquiry process and case report appear to reflect accurately participants' voices.

Triangulation allows for the cross-checking of perspectives in the hermeneutic process. In reviewing the data in the confirmability audit, I have been able to compare data from multiple sources and participants. This does not merely give a picture of accuracy of the insiders' perspectives, but also demonstrates the full complexity of the reality construction process as multiple perspectives are heard and included in the case report. The voices triangulated include those of DA advocates, BIP providers, members of the criminal justice system, and various service recipients.

Member checks allow for reactions that also test the accuracy of Monica's interpretations. All of the participants who responded to Monica's request to participate in the member check stated that Monica had captured their voice accurately. Monica conducted a final member check with documentation asking participants to make sure their perspective was reflected in the case report. She asked specific questions about three areas of interest and participants responded that their voices were heard, that their meanings were expressed, and several commented on their own learning in the process. None of the participants who responded to Monica's request stated that their perspective had been ignored or misrepresented in the case report.

Dependability

Dependability assessed whether the inquirer's decisions and methodological shifts were appropriate to constructivist methodological practices. I can attest that the inquirer's decisions and methodological procedures appropriate reflect constructivist processes and are reflective of Monica's decisions as recorded in her Methodological Journal. Such standard procedures as an emergent research design, purposive sampling, and inductive data analysis were used.

Methodological shifts throughout the inquiry process are clearly articulated, particularly in relation to the working hypotheses and foreshadowed questions. This key factor contributing to the emergent nature of the research design is made clear in her methodological and reflexive journals.

Beginning processes for identifying stakeholder groups and some of the process for choosing participants are included, but this information is limited, making the decisions

that are a part of purposive sampling for maximum variation difficult to identify. Evidence of Monica's use of purposive sampling was seen in her reflexive journal and in her methodological journal when she wrote of service provider stakeholder groups and decisions made regarding participation from these groups. This helps demonstrate maximum variation, however, I would like to have seen greater discussion in the methodological journal regarding sampling decisions. This concern does not negate my assertion of dependability of the inquiry, particularly since there was an abundance of reflection on these issues in her reflexive journal and in her peer review journal.

In terms of ending the data collection process Monica reported in her method journal when she stopped interviewing people. She stated that she had reached saturation in the collected data. More evidence of how she makes this decision is in her reflexive journal, where she also describes conversations with her chair and peer reviewer about this decision.

Evidence of Monica's use of an inductive data analysis was most evident in her thorough details of sorting and lumping the data units on index cards. It is apparent that Monica used constant comparison to analyze the data by unitizing and categorizing the data. She made several configurations in the lumping of themes as seen in the shifts within the story and picture illustration of her lessons learned. The illustrations were attached to her methodological journal.

Finally, Monica's case report is perhaps the strongest evidence of her use of 'constructivist' practices. It is a thick description of the multiple meanings of domestic violence from multiple perspectives. The case report creatively captures the multiple perspectives of stakeholders and explores the findings themes as patterns of association rather than as patterns of causality, while remaining a research report.

From the raw data of field notes and expanded field notes, through the case study, to the member check documentation, Monica provides a clear demonstration of her use of constructivist methods in her data collection and analysis.

Authenticity

Reporting the authenticity of Monica's report is grounded in the case report, member checks, reflexive and peer review journals. Authenticity is based on the respondents' perspectives of the process of the inquiry. Member checks with participants suggest fairness as each participant who responded to the case study report states that their perspective is included and their story is told. Participants state:

"It all sounded very familiar! I found my views most directly expressed in the section that addressed early intervention."

"My understanding of the information we talked about is reflected in the picture."

Member checks, and comments in the reflexive journal, point to a level of ontological authenticity. There is evidence of participant's not only hearing their story, but of their learning in the process. They report new understandings and insights. The inquirer reported an openness to this learning in her journal:

“I actually challenged preconceived notions and watched her struggle with accepting the possibility of something different.”

“He really enjoys our talks because I always ask questions that make him think about things in a way he hadn't thought of before”

Ontological authenticity was confirmed in member check documents where participants answer affirmatively that they have learned from the process.

Further, educative authenticity is seen in the evidence of sensitivity to alternative views. Participants offer the following comments reflecting an openness to views that differ from their own:

“The problem of DV is very hard to view objectively. Any ‘thing’ that is viewed is changed by the viewer. We all see what we are primed to see.”

“I learned different points of view depending on an individual's involvement with the issue.... I also learned that there are differing opinions within the same stakeholder group (i.e. advocates with vastly different points of view).”

Summary

In summary, based on a thorough examination of the audit trail, I can attest to the—confirmability, credibility, and dependability related to the trustworthiness of the case study in the dissertation, as well as the authenticity of the inquiry.

Jon Eric Singletary, Ph. D., M.S.W., M.Div.
Assistant Professor, Baylor University School of Social Work

Appendix D

Grand member check letter and form

Date

Dear Name,

Enclosed please find the case report and picture that we talked about on the phone. As we discussed, an important part of this project is to make sure that I understood the information that you shared with me when talked. To make sure that I understood, I am asking you to check my understanding in two ways. First, take a look at the picture that I have enclosed. Does the picture include your understanding of the information that we talked about? The second way I need you to check my understanding is by your reading the story, or the case report, that I have enclosed. Please read the case report with two questions in mind. The first question is: Do you hear your voice in the story? The second question is: Are there any factual inaccuracies in the story? You can write your answer either on the answer sheet that is included, or you can simply write on the manuscript and the picture. Or, of course, you can do a combination of the two.

I have also enclosed a self-addressed stamped envelope for you to return all the materials. Because I am not finished with the story, I need to have the copy you are reading returned. I will be happy to provide you with the final story if you would like to have one. If so, please let me know in your comments.

Thank-you very much for your help and assistance in this process. As I said when we talked, I need to have everything returned within the next two weeks. Please feel free to contact me at either 804-399-2657 or at mrVL5@yahoo.com if you have any questions, comments, or concerns. It has been wonderful working with you!

Sincerely,

Monica Leisey, MSW

Enclosures (4)

Grand Member Check**Question Sheet**

Questions about the Picture:

Does the picture include your understanding of the information that we talked about?

Questions about the Case Report:

Do you hear your voice in the story?

What would you say you learned from the process?

Are there any factual inaccuracies in the story?

Would you like a copy of the final Case Report?

Appendix E

The code after each end-note designates a particular card of unitized data. Each code can be read as follows: The first two letters indicates the final category of the unitized data.

The numbers after the category indicate the subset of the category. The letters I, F, and C indicate whether the data was considered to be either interpretive, functional, or critical data. The last number indicates the sequential number of the card within the category.

Documentation:

- 1) RD.2.3.5.I.20
- 2) DV.7.3.F.14; DV.7.3.I.13
- 3) DV.4.2.A.I.15; DV.4.2.A.F.8; DV.4.2.A.I.7; DV.4.2.A.F.18; PCR.9.F.17
- 4) DV.1.I.13; DV.1.I.14; DV.1.I.30; DV.1.I.32; DV.1.I.33; DV.1.I.35; DV.1.F.37; DV.1.F.31; DV.4.I.36
- 5) DV.1.I.34; DV.1.F.29; DV.1.28; DV.1.I.21; DV.1.I.8;
- 6) DV.1.F.12; DV.1.I.22; DV.1.I.24; DV.1.I.25; DV.1.F.1; DV.1.I.2; DV.1.F.3; DV.1.I.7; DV.1.F.15; DV.1.I.19; DV.1.I.20; DV.1.I.8;
- 7) DV.1.I.11; DV.1.I.6; DV.1.I.10; DV.1.I.5; DV.1.I.26; DV.1.F.27; DV.1.F.23; DV.1.I.4;
- 8) DV.1.F.9;
- 9) DV.1.F.17; DV.1.I.16; DV.5.1.I.30; DV.5.1.I.29; DV.5.1.I.28; DV.5.1.F.27
- 10) DV.2.I.1; DV.2.I.3; DV.2.F.5; DV.2.F.7
- 11) DV.2.I.4
- 12) DV.2.F.8
- 13) DV.2.I.10; DV.2.I.9
- 14) DV.1.I.36; DV.2.I.5. DV.2.A.F.3; DV.2.A.F.3; DV.2.A.I.2; DV.2..A.F.4;
- 15) DV.2.A.I.1; DV.2.I.2

- 16) DV.4.F.16; DV.4.F.6; DV.4.2.B.I.17; DV.4.I.23; DV.4.F.7; DV.4.F.34; DV.4.I.4; DV.4.I.21; DV.4.I.30; DV.4.I.31. DV.4.F.33; DV.4.I.39
- 17) DV.4.F.14; DV.4.I.11; DV.4.I.15; DV.4.F.48; DV.4.F.17; DV.4.F.47; DV.4.I.40; DV.4.I.38; DV.4.F.37; DV.4.F.35; DV.4.I.29; DV.4.F.28; DV.4.I.3; DV.4.I.2; DV.4.F.8; DV.4..F.18
- 18) DV.4.I.27; DV.4.I.13; DV.4.I.12; DV.4.F.50; DV.4.F.46; DV.4.I.1; DV.4.I.22; DV.4.F.45
- 19) DV.4.I.10; DV.4.I.25; DV.4.I.26; DV.4.I.24; DV.4.I.20
- 20) DV.4.I.53
- 21) DV.4.I.52; DV.4.I.51; DV.4.I.49; DV.4.F.44; DV.4.F.43; DV.4.I.42; DV.4.I.41
- 22) DV.4.2.I.9;
- 23) DV.4.2.A.I.6; DV.4.2.A.1
- 24) RD.2.2.I.2
- 25) DV.4.2.A.F.12; DV.4.2.F.11; DV.4.2.B.I.4
- 26) DV.4.2.F.19; DV.4.2.A.F.5; DV4.2.A.I.20; DV.4.2.A.I.14; DV.2.A.I.10; DV.4.2.A.F.4; DV.4.2.A.F.3
- 27) DV.4.2.A.F.2; DV.4.2.A.I.1; DV.4.2.A.F.13
- 28) PCR.8.1.F.13
- 29) LANG.2.2.F.6; LANG.2.2.F.1; LANG.2.2.F.2; LANG.2.2.I.5
- 30) UND.3.1.F.1; UND.3.1.F.2; UND.3.1.F.3; UND.3.1.F.4; UND.3.1.I.5; UND.3.1.I.6; UND.3.1.I.7; UND.3.1.I.8; F.9; I.10; F.11; UND.3.F.20
- 31) LANG.2.2.F.4; LANG.2.2.F3
- 32) RD.3.2.F.5
- 33) D1 (CITE VADV <http://www.vadv.org/Resources/dvdefined.html>)
- 34) UND.5.F.2; UND.5.F.3; UND.5.I.4; UND.5.F.5; UND.5.I.6; UND.5.F.7; UND.5.I.8; UND.5.F.9; UND.5.I.1
- 35) UND.3.I.19; UND.3.I.16; UND.3.F.15; UND.3.F.14; UND.3.F.13; UND.3.I.11; UND.3.I.10; UND.3.I.9; UND.3.I.5; UND.3.I.6; UND.3.I.2; UND.3.F.1;
- 36) LANG.2.1.I.3; LANG.2.1.F.16; LANG.2.1.F.12; LANG.2.1.F.17; LANG.2.1.F.16; LANG.2.1.F.12; LANG.2.1.F.17
- 37) UND.4.F.6; UND.4.F.16; UND.4.F.15; UND.4.F.12; UND.4.F.13
- 38) UND.4.F.3; UND.4.F.5; UND.4.I.7; UND.4.F.14; UND.4.F.8; UND.4.F.11; UND.4.F.9; UND.4.I.10; UND.4.F.2; ; UND.3.I.12; UND.3.I.8; UND.3.F.18; UND.3.I.17; UND.3.I.7; UND.3.I.4; UND.3.I.3

- 39) LANG.2.1.F.4; LANG.2.1.F.13; LANG.2.1.F.15
- 40) LANG.2.1.F.5
- 41) LANG.2.1.F.14
- 42) LANG.2.1.I.10
- 43) LANG.2.1.I.9; LANG.2.1.F.2; LANG.2.1.I.7; LANG.2.1.I.1
- 44) LANG.2.1.F.6; LANG.2.1.I.11
- 45) PCR.9.I.15
- 46) PCR.9.F.7; PCR.9.F.16
- 47) PCR.9.F.8
- 48) PCR.9.F.6
- 49) PCR.9.F.9
- 50) PCR.9.F.3
- 51) MS.2.F.10
- 52) MS.1.I.1
- 53) DV.4.2.B.F.13; DV.4.2.B.F.11; DV.4.2.B.I.12
- 54) DV.4.2.B.F.1
- 55) DV.4.2.B.F.6; DV.4.2.B.F.15; DV.4.2.B.F.14; DV.4.2.B.F.5; DV.4.2.B.F.9;
DV.4.2.B.F.7; RD.2.3.3.F.4
- 56) DV.4.2.B.I.10; DV.4.2.B.I.8; UND.2.I.28; UND.2.F.22; MS.1.F.15; UND.2.F.4
- 57) DV.4.2.B.F.16; DV.4.2.B.I.3; DV.4.2.B.I.18
- 58) DV.4.2.B.I.2
- 59) RD.3.3.F.9
- 60) DV.4.1.I.3; DV.4.1.F.1; DV.4.1.I.13; DV.4.1.F.2; DV.4.F.9
- 61) DV.4.1.F.5; DV.4.1.F.4; DV.1.F.14;
- 62) DV.4.1.F.6; DV.4.1.I.8; DV.4.1.I.F; DV.4.1.F.9
- 63) DV.4.1.I.11
- 64) DV.5.1.F.17; DV.5.1.I.18; DV.5.1.F.19; DV.5.1.I.6; DV.5.1.F.5; DV.5.1.F.9;
DV.5.1.F.38; DV.5.1.F.23; DV.5.1.F.14; DV.5.1.I.13; DV.5.1.I.12; DV.5.1.I.21;
DV.5.1.I.16; DV.5.2.I.14; DV.5.1.F.15; DV.5.1.F.22; DV.5.1.I.33; DV.5.1.I.35;
DV.5.1.F.36; DV.5.1.F.4; DV.5.1.I.8; DV.5.1.I.10
- 65) DV.5.2.I.17; DV.5.2.I.5; DV.5.2.I.27
- 66) DV.5.2.I.15; DV.5.2.F.16

- 67) DV.5.2.F.1; DV.5.2.F.13; DV.5.2.I.24; DV.5.2.I.4; DV.5.2.I.10
- 68) DV.5.2.F.26; DV.5.2.F.12; DV.5.2.F.2; DV.5.2.F.8; DV.5.2.F.7; DV.5.2.I.23;
DV.5.2.I.22; DV.5.2.F.3; DV.5.2.I.21; DV.5.2.I.6; DV.5.2.I.25;
- 69) DV.5.1.I.7; DV.5.1.F.11; DV.5.1.F.24; DV.5.1.I.37; DV.5.1.F.20; DV.5.1.F.34;
DV.5.1.F.25
- 70) DV.5.1.I.31; DV.5.1.I.26
- 71) DV.5.1.F.1; DV.5.1.F.2; DV.5.1.F.3; DV.5.1.F.32; DV.5.1.F.39
- 72) DV.3.F.11; DV.3.F.16; DV.3.F.14; DV.3.F.2; DV.3.F.13; DV.3.F.15
- 73) DV.3.I.17; DV.3.I.12; DV.3.I.5; DV.3.I.4; DV.3.F.9; DV.3.F.6;
- 74) DV.3.F.10; DV.3.I.3; DV.3.I.8; DV.4.1.F.12
- 75) DV.3.I.1
- 76) DV.3.1.I.1; DV.3.1.I.12; DV.3.1.I.9; DV.3.1.F.11; DV.3.1.F.3; DV.5.2.I.11
- 77) DV.3.1.F.2; DV.3.1.I.8; DV.3.1.I.7; DV.3.1.I.10
- 78) DV.3.1.F.5; DV.3.1.I.4; DV.3.1.I.6; DV.8.1.F.8
- 79) DV.3.2.F.6; DV.3.2.F.5;
- 80) DV.3.2.I.2; DV.3.I.7
- 81) DV.3.2.F.1; DV.3.2.I.4; DV.3.2.F.3
- 82) DV.3.2.F.9; DV.3.2.I.10
- 83) DV.3.2.I.7
- 84) DV.3.2.F.11; DV.3.2.F.8
- 85) RD.2.3.3.I.3
- 86) DV.6.I.6; DV.6.F.10; DV.6.F.5; DV.6.I.14; DV.6.I.16; DV.7.1.F.13; DV.7.1.F.14;
DV.7.1.F.5
- 87) DV.6.I.19; DV.6.F.18; DV.6.F.15; DV.6.I.20; DV.6.F.12; DV.6.F.2; DV.6.F.4;
DV.6.F.7; DV.6.I.8; DV.6.I.11; DV.6.I.17;
- 88) DV.6.I.3; DV.6.F.9;
- 89) DV.6.F.1
- 90) DV.6.2.F.1; DV.6.2.F.2; DV.6.2.F.3;
- 91) DV.6.1.F.5;
- 92) DV.6.1.F.4; DV.6.1.I.9; DV.6.1.F.10; DV.6.1.F.1; DV.6.F.21; DV.6.1.I.11
- 93) DV.6.1.F.8; DV.6.1.F.2;
- 94) DV.6.1.I.3; DV.6.1.I.6;

- 95) DV.9.F.1; DV.9.F.2; DV.9.F.3. DV.9.F.4
- 96) DV.7.1.F.25; DV.7.1.F.24; DV.7.1.F.27; DV.7.1.F.23
- 97) DV.7.1.F.28; DV.7.1.F.6; DV.7.1.F.3; DV.7.1.F.2; DV.7.1.F.1;
- 98) DV.7.1.I.22;
- 99) DV.7.1.F.20; DV.7.1.F.29; DV.5.2.F.9
- 100) DV.7.1.I.17; DV.7.1.F.16; DV.7.1.F.12; DV.7.1.I.11; DV.1.F.8; DV.7.1.F.7;
DV.7.1.I.4;
- 101) DV.7.1.F.21; DV.7.1.F.18; DV.7.1.F.9;
- 102) DV.7.1.I.15
- 103) DV.7.3.F.16; DV.7.3.F.10; DV.7.3.F.8; DV.7.3.F.4; DV.7.3.F.6; DV.7.1.I.26;
DV.7.1.F.10; DV.7.1.I.30; DV.8.1.F.11; DV.5.2.F.18
- 104) DV.7.3.F.15
- 105) DV.7.3.F.3; DV.8.1.F.6
- 106) DV.7.3.I.1; DV.7.3.F.11; DV.7.3.F.5; DV.7.3.F.12; DV.7.3.F.2
- 107) DV.7.1.F.19; DV.7.2.F.14; DV.7.2.I.13; DV.7.2.F.9; DV.7.2.I.3; DV.7.2.I.2;
DV.7.2.F.11
- 108) DV.7.2.I.8; DV.7.2.F.5; DV.7.2.F.4; DV.7.2.F.12
- 109) DV.7.2.F.15; DV.7.2.F.10; DV.7.2.F.6; DV.7.2.F.1
- 110) DV.8.5.F.5; DV.8.5.F.4; DV.8.5.F.3; DV.8.5.F.6;
- 111) DV.8.5.F.1; DV.8.5.I.2; DV.8.5.F.8; DV.8.5.F.7; DV.8.6.F.5; DV.8.6.I.10
- 112) DV.8.6.F.4; DV.8.6.F.6; DV.8.6.F.7; DV.8.6.F.8; DV.8.6.F.2
- 113) DV.8.6.F.1; DV.8.6.F.9; DV.8.6.F.3
- 114) DV.8.2.I.2; DV.8.2.I.4; DV.8.2.F.5; DV.8.2.I.3; DV.8.2.F.1
- 115) DV.8.2.I.8
- 116) DV.8.2.I.9
- 117) DV.8.2.F.7
- 118) DV.8.7.F.5; DV.8.7.F.2; DV.8.7.F.3; DV.8.7.F.4; DV.8.7.F.6; DV.8.7.F.7;
DV.8.7.I.8; DV.8.7.F.9.; DV.8.7.F.1
- 119) RD.2.3.5.I.9
- 120) RD.2.3.5.I.6
- 121) RD.1.2.F.2; RD.1.2.F.3
- 122) RD.3.3.C.3

- 123) RD.1.3.F.5
- 124) LANG.1.I.11
- 125) LANG.1.F.12
- 126) LANG.1.F.4; LANG.1.I.2
- 127) LANG.1.I.1; LANG.1.F.5
- 128) UND.1.I.20; UND.1.I.19; UND.1.F.18; UND.1.I.10; UND.1.F.7; UND.1.I.1;
UND.1.F.16; UND.1.F.21; UND.1.F.4
- 129) UND.1.I.5
- 130) LANG.1.I.8
- 131) UND.1.I.3
- 132) UND.1.F.23; UND.1.F.22
- 133) UND.1.I.13; UND.1.F.23; UND.1.F.8; UND.1.I.14
- 134) UND.2.F.17; UND.2.I.18; UND.2.I.19; UND.2.I.25; UND.2.I.27; UND.3.F.1;
UND.2.I.5; UND.2.F.6; UND.2.F.11; UND.2.F.14
- 135) UND.2.F.9; UND.2.F.10; UND.2.I.13; UND.2.F.15; UND.2.F.8;
- 136) UND.2.I.29; UND.2.I.23; UND.2.I.16
- 137) UND.1.F.14; UND.1.I.15; UND.1.I.6; UND.1.F.2; UND.1.I.12; UND.1.I.9;
UND.1.F.11
- 138) UND.2.F.26; UND.2.I.7; UND.2.I.20; UND.2.F.21; UND.2.F.24; UND.2.I.12;
UND.2.F.3; UND.4.F.1; UND.4.F.4; UND.4.I.17
- 139) DV.8.1.F.12; DV.8.1.I.2; DV.8.1.I.19; DV.2.I.6; DV.8.1.F.20; DV.8.5.I.9
- 140) LANG.1.I.13;
- 141) DV.8.1.I.1; DV.8.2.F.6; DV.8.1.F.15
- 142) DV.8.1.I.18; DV.8.1.F.17; DV.8.1.I.16; DV.8.1.I.7; DV.8.1.I.23; DV.8.1.I.22;
- 143) DV.8.1.I.4; DV.8.1.F.13; DV.8.1.I.9; DV.8.1.F.10; DV.8.1.F.3
- 144) DV.8.3.F.2; DV.8.3.F.8; DV.8.3.F.7
- 145) DV.8.3.I.9; DV.8.3.F.5; DV.8.3.F.20; DV.8.3.F.16; DV.8.3.F.12; DV.8.3.I.11;
DV.8.3.F.10; DV.8.1.F.14; DV.8.3.F.1; DV.8.3.I.4; DV.8.1.F.24; DV.5.2.F.20;
DV.5.2.F.19; DV.8.3.F.18; DV.8.3.F.15; DV.8.3.F.17; DV.8.3.I.19; DV.8.3.I.21
- 146) MS.1.C.13; MS.1.F.2
- 147) DV.8.3.F.14; DV.8.3.F.3; DV.8.3.F.22; DV.8.3.I.13; DV.8.3.F.6
- 148) DV.8.4.F.2; DV.8.4.F.3; DV.8.4.F.4; DV.8.4.F.5; DV.8.4.F.6; DV.8.4.F.7;
DV.8.4.F.1; DV.8.1.F.5

- 149) DV.7.3.I.9; DV.7.3.F.7
 150) CJS.1.F.5
 151) CJS.1.F.4
 152) CJS.1.F.8
 153) CJS.1.F.1
 154) CJS.1.F.9
 155) CJS.1.F.9
 156) CJS.1.F.11
 157) CJS.1.F.12
 158) PCR.5.F.7
 159) PCR.9.F.4
 160) PCR.9.F.11
 161) RD.1.2.F.5; RD.1.2.I.6
 162) RD.1.2.F.4
 163) PCR.9.F.14
 164) LANG.4.1.F.11
 165) LANG.4.1.F.10
 166) LANG.4.1.I.4
 167) LANG 1.I.7; LANG.1.F.6; LANG.1.F.3
 168) LANG.1.F.10
 169) LANG.4.4.2.F.2
 170) LANG.4.4.2.F.11; LANG.4.4.2.F.1; LANG.4.4.2.F.4; LANG.4.4.2.7;
 LANG.4.4.2.F.8
 171) LANG.4.4.2.F.3; LANG.4.4.2.F.6
 172) LANG.4.4.2.F.12
 173) LANG.4.5.F.7
 174) LANG.4.5.F.8; LANG.4.5.F.6
 175) LANG.4.5.F.9; LANG.4.5.F.10; LANG.4.5.F.11
 176) LANG.4.2.F.5; LANG.4.2.F.9; LANG.4.2.F.6; LANG.4.4.2.F.9
 177) LANG.4.2.F.7

- 178) LANG.4.1.F.14; LANG.4.1.F.13; LANG.4.1.F.8; LANG.4.4.1.F.13;
LANG.4.2.F.10; LANG.4.2.F.3; LANG.4.2.F.8; LANG.4.2.F.11; LANG.4.2.F.2;
LANG.4.2.I.4; LANG.4.4.1.F.19
- 179) LANG.4.1.I.6; LANG.4.1.F.2; LANG.4.1.F.1
- 180) LANG.4.1.I.9; LANG.4.1.I.7
- 181) LANG.4.1.F.3
- 182) LANG.4.4.2.F.13; LANG.4.4.2.F.5
- 183) LANG.4.4.1.F.4; LANG.4.4.1.F.3; LANG.4.4.1.F.1; LANG.4.4.1.I.17;
LANG.4.4.1.F.11
- 184) RD.2.4.3.I.10
- 185) LANG.4.4.1.F.16; LANG.4.4.1.F.5; LANG.4.4.1.F.14
- 186) LANG.4.5.F.13; LANG.4.5.I.14; LANG.4.5.F.16; LANG.4.5.F.17; LANG.4.5.F.12
- 187) DV.7.2.I.7
- 188) LANG.4.5.F.18; LANG.4.5.I.15
- 189) LANG.4.4.1.I.12
- 190) LANG.4.4.1.F.9
- 191) LANG.4.4.1.F.18
- 192) LANG.4.3.F.7; LANG.4.3.F.5; LANG.4.3.F.4; LANG.4.3.F.3; LANG.4.3.F.1;
LANG.4.3.F.2
- 193) LANG.4.3.F.6; LANG.4.1.F.15; LANG.4.3.F.8
- 194) LANG.4.3.F.9
- 195) LANG.4.4.1.F.7; LANG.4.4.1.F.6
- 196) LANG.4.4.1.I.8; LANG.4.4.1.F.10
- 197) LANG.4.5.F.5; LANG.4.5.I.1; LANG.4.4.2.F.10
- 198) LANG.4.5.I.2
- 199) LANG.4.5.F.4
- 200) PCR.6.1.F.10
- 201) LANG.4.1.F.5; LANG.4.5.I.3
- 202) LANG.4.1.I.12; LANG.4.2.F.1
- 203) LANG.4.4.1.I.15; LANG.4.5.I.19
- 204) LANG.4.4.1.F.20; LANG.4.4.1.I.21; LANG.4.4.1.I.22; DV.6.1.F.7
- 205) RD.2.3.3.I.1; RD.2.3.3.F.5

- 206) RD.2.3.4.F.11
- 207) RD.2.3.5.C.17; RD.2.3.3.F.2
- 208) RD.2.3.3.F.2
- 209) RD.2.3.5.F.18
- 210) RD.2.3.5.F.11; RD.2.3.5.F.12
- 211) RD.2.3.5.F.14
- 212) RD.2.2.F.9
- 213) RD.2.3.4.I.13
- 214) RD.2.3.4.I.8
- 215) RD.2.3.3.F.6
- 216) RD.1.1.F.3; RD.1.1.F.12; RD.1.1.F.5; RD.1.1.F.2; RD.1.1.F.6
- 217) RD.3.3.F.4; RD.3.3.F.2
- 218) RD.3.3.F.5
- 219) RD.2.2.F.15; RD.2.2.C.16
- 220) RD.2.4.1.F.2
- 221) RD.2.4.1.I.16
- 222) RD.2.4.2.I.13
- 223) RD.2.4.2.F.5
- 224) RD.1.1.C.8
- 225) RD.2.4.2.F.7; RD.2.4.2.F.3
- 226) RD.2.4.2.F.10
- 227) RD.2.4.2.C.1
- 228) RD.2.4.2.F.4
- 229) RD.2.4.2.F.2
- 230) RD.2.4.2.F.11
- 231) RD.2.4.2.I.9
- 232) RD.2.4.3.F.4
- 233) RD.2.4.3.I.12
- 234) RD.2.4.1.C.17
- 235) PCR.8.2.2.I.7; PCR.8.2.2.C.2; PCR.8.2.2.C.8
- 236) PCR.8.2.2.F.6; PCR.8.2.2.F.4; PCR.8.2.2.F.3; PCR.8.2.2.F.9

- 237) PCR.8.1.F.4
- 238) PCR.7.1.F.3; PCR.8.1.F.5
- 239) PCR.9.F.5
- 240) PCR.8.2.2.I.7
- 241) PCR.8.1.F.8; PCR.8.1.I.7
- 242) PCR.8.2.2.F.1
- 243) PCR.8.2.2.F.1
- 244) PCR.8.2.2.F.5
- 245) PCR.8.2.1.I.4; PCR.8.2.1.I.2
- 246) PCR.8.2.1.F.1; PCR.8.2.1.F.3
- 247) PCR.8.2.2.F.5
- 248) PCR.8.1.F.12
- 249) PCR.8.1.F.6
- 250) PCR.7.1.F.4
- 251) PCR.7.1.F.8
- 252) PCR.7.2.F.7
- 253) RD.2.5.F.2
- 254) RD.2.5.F.1
- 255) RD.2.5.F.6
- 256) RD.2.5.F.3
- 257) RD.2.5.F.5
- 258) RD.2.5.F.4
- 259) RD.4.F.1
- 260) RD.4.F.9
- 261) RD.4.F.4
- 262) RD.4.F.11
- 263) RD.4.F.10
- 264) RD.4.C.5
- 265) RD.4.F.7; RD.4.F.8
- 266) RD.4.F.7
- 267) RD.4.C.6

- 268) DV.7.3.F.17
269) RD.2.3.4.F.1
270) RD.2.3.5.C.17
271) RD.2.4.3.I.1
272) RD.2.4.3.I.9; RD.2.4.3.F.5
273) RD.2.4.3.I.7; RD.2.4.3.I.6
274) RD.2.4.3.I.8
275) RD.2.4.3.F.2
276) RD.2.4.3.I.11
277) RD.2.4.4.F.6
278) RD.2.3.5.F.10
279) RD.2.4.4.F.2
280) RD.2.4.4.F.4
281) MS.2.F.11
282) CJS.3.1.F.12
283) CJS.3.1.F.10; CJS.3.1.I.1
284) CJS.3.1.F.6; CJS.3.1.F.2
285) MS.2.C.14; MS.2.C.15; MS.2.C.3
286) CJS.3.1.A.I.3
287) CJS.3.1.A.I.5
288) CJS.3.1.A.F.4; CJS.3.1.A.F.1; CJS.3.1.A.I.2
289) CJS.3.1.F.3
290) CJS.3.1.F.7; CJS.3.1.F.5; CJS.3.1.F.8
291) CJS.3.2.R.1; CJS.3.2.R.2
292) DV.6.I.13
293) CJS.3.2.F.4; CJS.3.2.F.3
294) CJS.3.F.13; CJS.3.I.1; CJS.3.F.8; CJS.3.F.9
295) CJS.3.1.F.4; CJS.3.1.F.9; CJS.3.1.F.11
296) CJS.3.1.F.14
297) RD.2.4.1.F.13
298) RD.2.4.1.F.14

- 299) RD.2.4.1.I.11
 300) RD.2.4.1.F.12
 301) RD.2.4.1.F.15
 302) CJS.3.2.F.6
 303) LANG.4.4.1.F.2
 304) RD.2.4.1.F.5
 305) LANG.3.F.6; LANG.3.F.7; LANG.3.I.4; RD.2.4.2.I.6; LANG.3.F.1; LANG.3.F.2.
 306) LANG.3.F.3
 307) LANG.2.1.F.8
 308) LANG.3.1.I.5; LANG.3.1.F.2; LANG.3.1.F.3; LANG.3.1.F.4
 309) LANG.3.1.F.1
 310) PCR.7.1.F.15; PCR.7.1.F.14
 311) LANG.3.2.I.3; LANG.3.2.I.6; LANG.3.2.F.4; LANG.3.2.F.5; LANG.3.2.F.1;
 LANG.3.2.F.2; RD.2.4.2.F.8
 312) RD.1.2.F.1
 313) LANG.3.F.5
 314) LANG.1.F.9
 315) LANG.3.F.8; LANG.1.I.14
 316) MS.1.C.11
 317) CJS.3.F.7; CJS.3.F.5; CJS.3.F.6; CJS.3.F.11; DV.4.F.32; CJS.3.F.18
 318) MS.2.I.19
 319) MS.2.F.4
 320) MS.2.F.1; MS.2.C.2; MS.2.C.9; RD.2.4.3.F.3
 321) PCR.6.1.F.4
 322) RD.2.4.1.F.7
 323) RD.2.4.1.I.10
 324) CJS.2.F.13
 325) CJS.4.F.16
 326) CJS.4.F.4; CJS.4.F.9; CJS.4.F.5; CJS.4.F.13
 327) CJS.4.F.6
 328) CJS.3.F.10; CJS.3.I.16; CJS.3.F.15

- 329) CJS.4.F.12; CJS.4.F.2
330) CJS.4.F.7
331) CJS.4.F.1
332) CJS.4.F.11
333) CJS.4.F.3
334) CJS.4.F.8
335) CJS.4.F.10; CJS.4.F.17
336) CJS.1.F.7
337) CJS.1.F.2
338) CJS.3.F.3
339) CJS.3.F.14; CJS.4.F.15
340) CJS.3.F.2; CJS.3.F.4
341) CJS.3.F.17
342) CJS.2.F.8
343) CJS.2.F.5; CJS.2.F.12; CJS.2.F.10; CJS.2.F.7
344) CJS.2.F.11; CJS.2.F.9
345) CJS.2.F.1
346) CJS.2.F.2
347) CJS.3.1.F.13
348) CJS.1.F.6; CJS.1.F.2
349) CJS.2.F.6; CJS.2.F.3
350) DV.4.1.F.10
351) PCR.6.3.F.1
352) CJS.2.F.4
353) PCR.1.F.1; PCR.1.F.18
354) PCR.1.F.4
355) PCR.1.I.16
356) PCR.1.F.2
357) PCR.1.F.5
358) PCR.8.1.F.1; PCR.8.1.F.2
359) PCR.8.1.F.3; PCR.8.1.I.15

- 360) PCR.8.1.F.10; PCR.8.1.F.9
361) PCR.6.3.I.11
362) CJS.3.R.12
363) PCR.6.3.F.6.
364) PCR.6.3.F.4; PCR.6.3.F.5; PCR.6.3.F.2; PCR.6.3.F.8
365) PCR.6.3.F.3
366) PCR.6.3.F.7
367) PCR.6.3.F.9; PCR.6.3.I.10
368) MS.1.C.8
369) PCR.1.F.8
370) PCR.4.F.6; PCR.4.F.5
371) CJS.4.F.14
372) MS.1.C.11
373) MS.1.F.5; MS.1.C.12
374) MS.1.C.3
375) MS.1.I.14;
376) MS.1.C.7; MS.1.C.6
377) CJS.3.2.F.5
378) MS.2.C.12; MS.1.F.10; MS.1.F.9
379) PCR.4.F.14
380) PCR.4.F.13
381) PCR.4.F.15
382) PCR.4.F.1; PCR.4.F.11
383) PCR.4.F.2; PCR.4.F.3
384) PCR.3.I.4; PCR.3.I.7
385) PCR.4.I.7
386) PCR.4.I.4
387) PCR.4.F.8
388) PCR.9.F.1
389) PCR.9.F.12; PCR.9.I.13
390) PCR.9.F.2

- 391) PCR.9.F.10
- 392) PCR.4.C.10; PCR.4.C.9
- 393) PCR.6.2.F.2
- 394) PCR.1.F.19; PCR.1.F.14
- 395) PCR.1.F.15
- 396) PCR.1.F.7
- 397) PCR.1.F.21; PCR.1.I.20
- 398) PCR.1.F.17
- 399) PCR.1.F.11; PCR.1.F.12; PCR.1.I.9
- 400) PCR.1.I.10
- 401) PCR.1.F.6
- 402) CJS.3.F.19
- 403) PCR.6.2.F.10
- 404) PCR.6.2.F.18
- 405) PCR.6.2.F.20
- 406) PCR.6.2.F.16
- 407) PCR.6.2.F.12
- 408) PCR.6.2.F.7
- 409) PCR.6.2.F.9; PCR.6.2.F.4
- 410) PCR.6.2.F.5
- 411) PCR.6.2.F.8
- 412) PCR.6.2.F.17; PCR.6.2.F.13
- 413) PCR.6.2.F.1; PCR.6.2.F.3; PCR.6.2.F.11
- 414) PCR.6.2.F.6
- 415) PCR.6.2.F.14
- 416) PCR.6.2.F.19
- 417) PCR.6.1.F.17
- 418) PCR.6.1.F.18; PCR.6.1.F.19; PCR.6.1.I.20; PCR.6.1.F.16; PCR.6.1.F.12
- 419) PCR.6.1.F.3
- 420) PCR.6.1.F.14
- 421) PCR.6.1.F.2

- 422) PCR.6.1.F.5
 423) PCR.6.1.F.6; PCR.6.1.F.7
 424) PCR.6.1.C.21
 425) PCR.6.1.F.9; PCR.6.1.F.15
 426) RD.1.1.F.4; RD.1.1.F.1
 427) DR.1.1.C.9
 428) RD.1.1.F.7; RD.1.1.F.11; RD.1.1.C.8
 429) RD.1.1.F.10
 430) PCR.6.F.4; PCR.5.I.8; PCR.5.I.6
 431) PCR.2.F.8
 432) PCR.2.F.2
 433) PCR.2.F.5; PCR.2.F.10; PCR.2.F.5
 434) PCR.2.F.7; PCR.2.F.3
 435) PCR.2.F.9; PCR.2.F.1; PCR.2.F.4
 436) PCR.6.2.F.15
 437) PCR.2.F.6
 438) PCR.4.F.12
 439) RD.2.2.C.19
 440) RD.2.2.F.12; RD.2.2.F.10
 441) RD.2.2.F.7; RD.2.2.F.8; RD.2.2.F.11
 442) RD.2.2.F.10; RD.2.3.4.F.10
 443) RD.2.2.C.4; RD.2.2.C.21
 444) RD.2.2.F.3
 445) RD.2.2.F.13; RD.2.2.F.14
 446) RD.2.3.1.C.2
 447) RD.2.3.1.F.6
 448) RD.2.3.1.F.6; RD.2.3.1.F.9
 449) RD.2.3.1.F.7
 450) RD.2.3.1.F.8
 451) PCR.6.F.3
 452) PCR.6.I.6; PCR.6.I.5; PCR.6.F.8; PCR.6.F.11; PCR.6.F.

- 453) PCR.6.F.10
 454) PCR.6.F.1; PCR.6.F.2; PCR.6.I.4; PCR.6.F.12
 455) RD.1.1.F.4; RD.1.1.F.1
 456) MS.2.F.20
 457) MS.2.C.18; MS.2.C.16
 458) MS.2.C.6
 459) MS.2.F.13; MS.2.C.16; UND.2.F.2
 460) MS.2.F.8MS.2.F.7
 461) MS.2.I.5
 462) PCR.8.1.F.11
 463) RD.3.3.C.10
 464) RD.2.3.4.F.4; RD.2.3.4.F.15
 465) RD.2.3.4.I.16; RD.2.3.4.F.14
 466) RD.2.3.4.F.9
 467) RD.2.3.4.F.3; RD.2.3.4.I.5
 468) RD.2.3.4.F.2
 469) PCR.5.F.5
 470) PCR.5.F.2; PCR.5.F.3
 471) PCR.5.I.1
 472) RD.2.3.5.F.7
 473) RD.2.3.5.F.16
 474) RD.2.3.5.F.5
 475) PCR.7.3.F.12
 476) PCR.7.2.F.9
 477) PCR.7.2.I.10
 478) PCR.7.2.F.4; PCR.7.2.F.3
 479) PCR.7.2.I.12
 480) PCR.7.2.F.2; PCR.7.2.F.5
 481) PCR.7.2.F.1
 482) PCR.7.2.F.6; PCR.7.2.F.8
 483) PCR.7.3.I.11

- 484) PCR.7.3.F.8; PCR.7.3.F.9; PCR.7.3.F.10; PCR.7.3.F.2; PCR.7.3.F.7
 485) PCR.7.3.F.5
 486) PCR.7.3.I.13PCR.7.3.F.6; PCR.7.3.F.4; PCR.7.3.F.3
 487) PCR.7.3.F.8; PCR.7.3.F.9; PCR.7.3.F.10; PCR.7.3.F.2; PCR.7.3.F.7
 488) PCR.7.2.I.11
 489) PCR.7.3.F.1
 490) PCR.7.1.F.11; PCR.7.1.F.11
 491) PCR.7.1.F.1
 492) PCR.3.F.1
 493) PCR.3.F.5
 494) PCR.3.I.8
 495) PCR.3.I.3
 496) PCR.3.F.6; PCR.3.F.2
 497) PCR.7.1.I.12; PCR.7.1.F.13
 498) PCR.7.1.I.7
 499) PCR.7.1.F.10
 500) PCR.7.1.F.9
 501) RD.1.3.C.4RD.1.3.C.9
 502) PCR.7.1.F.6
 503) RD.1.3.F.7RD.1.3.C.8
 504) RD.1.3.C.8
 505) RD.1.3.F.21; RD.1.3.C.19RD.1.3.C.12
 506) RD.1.3.F.11
 507) RD.1.3.I.22
 508) RD.1.3.C.4RD.1.3.C.9
 509) PCR.6.F.7
 510) RD.1.3.F.11
 511) PCR.6.1.F.11
 512) PCR.6.1.F.13
 513) RD.1.3.C.13; R.D.1.3.C.10; R.D.1.3.C.3; R.D.1.3.F.20
 514) RD.1.3.F.18

- 515) RD.1.3.F.24
 516) RD.2.2.F.1; RD.2.2.I.20
 517) DV.7.2.F.16
 518) RD.2.2.F.6
 519) RD.2.2.F.18
 520) RD.2.2.I.5
 521) RD.2.2.C.17
 522) PCR.8.1.F.14
 523) PCR.6.1.I.1
 524) PCR.7.1.I.16
 525) PCR.7.1.F.2
 526) PCR.3.I.7
 527) MS.2.I.17
 528) RD.1.3.F.25
 529) RD.1.3.F.15
 530) RD.1.3.F.17
 531) RD.1.3.F.14
 532) RD.1.3.F.27; RD.1.3.F.2; RD.1.3.I.28; RD.1.3.I.26
 533) RD.1.3.F.23
 534) DV.4.2.A.F.16
 535) RD.2.1.F.12; RD.2.1.F.10; RD.2.1.C.20; RD.2.1.F.33; RD.2.1.F.5; RD.2.1.F.26
 536) RD.1.3.F.16; RD.1.3.C.1
 537) RD.2.1.F.31
 538) RD.2.1.F.2; RD.2.1.F.9; RD.2.1.F.4
 539) RD.2.1.F.4; RD.2.1.F.24
 540) RD.2.1.F.21; RD.2.1.I.7; RD.2.1.F.34
 541) PCR.6.1.F.13
 542) RD.2.1.F.27; RD.2.1.F.8
 543) RD.2.1.F.18
 544) RD.2.1.F.14
 545) RD.2.1.F.28; RD.2.1.F.15

- 546) RD.2.1.C.30
547) RD.2.1.F.11
548) RD.2.1.F.17; R.D.2.1.F.19
549) RD.2.1.F.6
550) RD.2.1.F.22
551) RD.2.1.F.25
552) MS.2.F.21; MS.2.F.23
553) MS.2.F.22
554) RD.2.3.4.F.7
555) RD.2.3.4.F.6
556) RD.2.1.F.16; RD.2.1.F.23; RD.2.1.F.32; RD.2.1.F.13
557) RD.2.1.F.3
558) RD.2.3.1.F.3
559) RD.2.3.1.F.4; RD.2.3.1.C.5
560) RD.2.3.1.F.10; RD.2.3.1.F.1
561) RD.2.3.2.I.9
562) RD.2.3.2.F.15; RD.2.3.2.F.12
563) RD.2.3.2.F.10
564) RD.2.3.2.F.14; RD.2.3.2.F.8
565) RD.2.3.2.F.8
566) RD.2.3.2.F.7
567) RD.2.3.2.F.6
568) RD.2.3.2.I.1
569) RD.2.3.2.F.3; RD.2.3.2.F.2
570) RD.2.3.2.F.4
571) RD.2.3.2.F.5; RD.2.3.2.C.13
572) RD.2.3.2.C.11
573) RD.2.3.5.F.15
574) RD.2.3.5.F.1
575) RD.2.3.5.F.13
576) RD.2.3.4.C.12

- 577) RD.2.3.5.C.8
- 578) RD.2.3.5.F.2
- 579) RD.2.3.5.I.3
- 580) RD.2.1.F.1
- 581) RD.2.1.F.29
- 582) RD.2.3.5.C.4
- 583) RD.2.3.5.F.19
- 584) RD.2.4.4.F.1
- 585) RD.2.4.1.F3
- 586) RD.2.4.1.C.1
- 587) RD.2.4.1.I.9; RD.2.4.1.F.8; RD.2.4.1.I.6
- 588) RD.2.4.1.F.4; RD2.4.2.I.12
- 589) RD.2.4.4.I.5
- 590) RD.2.4.4.F.3
- 591) RD.2.4.4.F.1
- 592) RD.3.1.C.3
- 593) RD.3.1.C.2
- 594) RD.3.1.C.1
- 595) MS.1.I.4
- 596) RD.4.F.2
- 597) RD.4.F.12; RD.3.3.C.8
- 598) RD.3.2.C.9
- 599) RD.3.2.C.9
- 600) RD.3.2.C.12
- 601) RD.3.2.F.2
- 602) RD.3.2.F.11; RD.3.2.F.7
- 603) RD.3.2.C.1
- 604) RD.3.2.F.10
- 605) RD.3.2.I.3
- 606) RD.3.2.C.8
- 607) RD.3.2.I.6

- 608) RD.3.2.C.4
- 609) DV.8.1.F.21
- 610) RD.4.F.3
- 611) RD.4.F.4
- 612) RD.4.I.19
- 613) PCR.1.F.13
- 614) RD.3.3.C.1
- 615) RD.3.3.F.7
- 616) RD.3.3.F.6
- 617) PCR.6.1.F.22
- 618) PCR.6.1.F.23; PCR.6.1.F.24
- 619) LANG.4.5.F.7
- 620) RD.4.C.15; RD.4.C.14
- 621) RD.4.C.13