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Feminist Advocacy in Community Based Responses to Domestic Violence: Gendered Identity, Ideology and Practices

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**Feminist Advocacy in Community Based Responses to Domestic
Violence: Gendered Identity, Ideology and Practices**

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Abstract

The anti-domestic violence movement began as a feminist grassroots effort. Early feminist advocates relied on survivor-defined and social change practices rooted in feminist identity and ideology. Advocacy has evolved over time, moving from grassroots efforts into professionalized organizations, and now includes collaboration with the justice system in community based responses to domestic violence (CBR). Through inductive analysis of interviews with 26 domestic violence victim advocates and drawing from a gendered organizations framework, I examine how advocates' feminist identity and ideology shape their practices in CBR. Findings indicate that advocates both resist and reproduce various gendered practices within traditionally feminist anti-domestic violence organizations and in traditionally masculine organizations within the criminal justice system. Gender "neutral" or patriarchal practices are resisted through feminist survivor-defined and intersectional approaches to advocacy, as well as through social change activism. They are reproduced when advocates use and support controlling or "neutral" practices within anti-domestic violence organizations. From these findings, I draw implications for gendered organizations theory as well as best practices for advocacy in community based responses to domestic violence.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The Evolution of Advocacy Responses to Domestic Violence

The anti-domestic violence movement began in the late 1960s, stemming from the feminist movement of the same time period. The movement began with feminist grassroots shelters and victim advocacy, and maintained this form throughout the 1970s (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Early shelters were operated in the homes of women who had previously been in abusive relationships (Rodriguez, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999). These feminists were the first domestic violence¹ victim advocates, tasked with providing abused women shelter and emotional support. Feminism was a cornerstone of the anti-domestic violence movement. Feminist advocacy included social change activism, survivor-defined practices, and collaborative shelter structures.

Early feminist domestic violence victim advocates worked toward collaborative shelter structures because they saw bureaucratic models as patriarchal and oppressive to women (Ferguson, 1984; Rodriguez, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999). More specifically, they aligned with the ideology that bureaucratic structures are a means of

¹ I use the term domestic violence to refer to intimate partner violence and wife battering. The use of this terminology has been contentiously debated; see Ferraro (2001) for an

implementing patriarchy through hierarchical client-professional relationships. Advocates initially maintained that such hierarchical interactions put abused women in a position of reduced power, mimicking the same power dynamics that are conducive to domestic violence (Rodriguez, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Saathoff and Stoffel, 1999). Thus, early shelters resisted any form of hierarchical structure (Gelb & Hart, 1999). Collaborative practices involved residents in the decision making of the shelters, as abused women were perceived as the key stakeholders (Rodriguez, 1988).

Moreover, collaborative practices included survivor-defined advocacy². Early advocates maintained that domestic violence results primarily from patriarchy—the unequal distribution of household and social power, education, workplace, and wage opportunities (Tong, 1998; hooks, 2000). Survivor-defined advocacy thus focused on the empowerment of women by collaboratively *facilitating* decision making, economic and social independence (Rodriguez, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999). The idea was that survivor-defined approaches should allow and encourage women to make their own decisions based on individual goals, situations, and needs with the help and support of advocates, rather than dictating women's choices through bureaucratic structures that *force* their decision making (Lehrner & Allen, 2009).

² Survivor-defined advocacy is also referred to as woman-centered advocacy or the empowerment model.

In addition to supporting abused women on an individual level, advocates in the grassroots phase of the anti-domestic violence movement focused on changing structural conditions with the goal of reducing violence against women overall. Prior to the 1970s, public awareness of domestic violence was limited, as was political interest and funding (Gelles & Straus, 1986; Saathoff & Stoffel, 1999; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003). Early advocates in the anti-domestic violence movement recognized women's social and economic inequality as a structural influence on domestic violence and consequently worked to expand support services to abused women and bring the problem of domestic violence to public and political attention (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Such social change ideology and action resulted in advocates' development of the first regional hotline in 1972 and the first domestic violence shelter in 1974, both in St. Paul, Minnesota. The second shelter in the nation developed in Pasadena, California in 1976.

Importantly, the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence (NCADV) was developed in 1978, and has remained a strong centralized organization to this day. The NCADV maintains a goal of social change and has consequently been a cornerstone in legislative initiatives such as the Violence Against Women Act, Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, and the International Violence Against Women Act (NCADV, 2011). In addition to working collaboratively on a federal level, the National Coalition also works collaboratively with State Coalitions

Against Domestic Violence, which provide education and training to advocates working in state coalition member organizations (such as shelters). This training includes survivor-defined advocacy and education about the gender dynamics involved in domestic violence.

Throughout the 1980s, domestic violence organizations greatly expanded their service provision and became better known publicly. For example, the NCADV developed the first national hotline in 1982 (Schechter, 1982). Advocates also worked to become politically involved, and in 1984, the National Task Force on Family Violence was created. Another key accomplishment was an increase in the number of shelters and domestic violence services from only a few in the late 1970s to more than 800 by the late 1980s (Gelles & Straus, 1986; Dugan, Nagin, & Rosenfeld, 2003; Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

While advocates generally resisted the trend of their grassroots coalitions to develop into professionally staffed bureaucratic organizations (Rodriguez, 1988), gradually grassroots efforts became professionalized, bureaucratized, and institutionalized. The means for professionalization was mostly through external (government) funding, and domestic violence organizations were then, at least in part, shaped by funders' requirements. Funding was largely influenced by the first passage of the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA), which provided \$1.6 billion in grants to various stakeholders in the domestic violence movement. The VAWA was first passed in 1994, with the primary goals of preventing violence against

women, prosecuting offenders, and protecting victims. Two main streams of funding were initially created by the VAWA. The first stream was provided through the U.S. Department of Justice for criminal justice purposes, such as grants for law enforcement, the implementation of mandatory arrest policies, and the prosecution of domestic violence and child abuse. The second stream of funding was provided through the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services for social service support programs, such as domestic violence hotlines and shelters, rape crisis centers, and related education programs (Boba & Lilley, 2009). Thus, the VAWA allowed for increased and more stable funding for domestic violence shelters (Macy, Giattina, Parish, & Crosby, 2010).

Most domestic violence shelters today rely on a mix of federal, state, and local or foundation funding. While state funding for domestic violence shelters has not changed considerably over the last three decades, most agencies get funding from state agencies that distribute federal funding, such as through VAWA. Organizations typically depend on this federal funding, and have to meet expectations of professionalism to receive it (Macy et al., 2010). When domestic violence organizations receive money from other organizations, such as from the government or United Way, they immediately become accountable for that money in a language the funders understand. This often means an organizational style those funders understand (hierarchy), paperwork they understand (bureaucracy), and professionals doing or at least supervising the work, as

this indicates competency, or at least credentials. When grassroots shelters became professionalized and funded organizations, and became dependent on such funding, they had to conform to the expectations and requirements of their funders. For example, social service programs, such as shelters, that depended on funding from federal, state and private sources were pressured to “operate conventionally with few radical policies and goals” (Tierney, 1982). As a result, many feminist organizations (including shelters) altered their structure to hierarchal bureaucratic models (Markowitz, 2002; Miller, 2008). Consequently, feminist grassroots shelters and victim advocacy evolved into agencies, organizations, and service provision (Tierney, 1982; Rodriguez, 1988; Miller, 2008).

Development of Community Based Responses to Domestic Violence

Many domestic violence victim service providers have further evolved to include more organizations with whom they work collaboratively. Collaboration between advocates, social services, and the justice system is generally referred to as community based responses (CBR), or coordinated community responses. The development of collaborative responses to domestic violence initially began in the 1980s and occurred on a relatively small scale as a result of advocates’ social change agenda. Involvement of the justice system in community based responses to domestic violence was initially based on the assumption that the partnership would increase the prosecution of batterers and consequently reduce domestic violence (Daly, 1994; Ferraro, 2001). Prior

to that time, domestic violence was largely seen by the justice system as a private family issue rather than a public issue, and members of the justice system were generally uninvolved in cases of domestic violence (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Advocates worked to change the justice system response to domestic violence by lobbying for increased prosecution of batterers and protection of battered women. Policy development included protective orders, mandatory or pro-arrest policies, no-drop prosecution — and importantly — collaboration between justice officials and advocates (Hart, 1995; Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

One of the first and most well-known efforts towards community based responses to domestic violence included the justice system working collaboratively with victim advocates in the 1980 Duluth Minnesota Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (Shepard & Pence, 1999). The project involved coordinating and cross-training domestic violence victim advocates, police, prosecutors, judges, and social service providers. The result was victim-advocate informed legislation, police policies and protocols that held offenders accountable and did not blame victims (Shepard & Pence, 1999). For example, court ordered advocate-run batterer-intervention programs are part of the Duluth Model. The Duluth program efforts facilitated the collaboration of various stakeholders in combating domestic violence, and allowed advocates to disseminate their expertise to other anti-domestic violence stakeholders (Shepard & Pence, 1999). In the late 1980s, because of the success of the Duluth program,

other states began adopting community based approaches to domestic violence.

Community based responses expanded on a larger scale throughout the 1990s and 2000s, in part due to the availability of federal funding for collaborative models (Boba & Lilley, 2009). A primary focus of VAWA grant funding, particularly through reauthorization of the VAWA in 2000, was to strengthen victim services through coordinated responses involving multiple agencies (Shepard & Pence, 1999; Zweig & Burt, 2007; Miller, 2008; Boba & Lilley, 2009). These legislative, funding, and research agendas still primarily came from the Department of Health and Human Services, through the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, and the Department of Justice's National Institute of Justice (Miller, 2008). The reauthorization of VAWA involved new grant programs, including the STOP Program (Services, Training, Officers, and Prosecutors) and the Arrest Program (Grants to Encourage Arrest Policies and Enforcement of Protection Orders) (Boba & Lilley, 2009). Consequently, community based responses generally included advocates working hand in hand with police, judges, hospitals, social workers, and federal government workers (Boba & Lilley, 2009). Moreover, victim advocates were increasingly employed in police departments and the courts.

In their current iteration, community based responses generally include domestic violence victim advocates working cooperatively with police, judges, and social services (Boba & Lilley, 2009). Community

based responses vary in their forms and members in different sites, but generally, their responses can be defined as “comprehensive or at least [including] multiple options in the justice and human services systems” (Hart, 1995, pg.6; Muftic & Bouffard, 2007). Members of these groups coordinate and integrate services with a shared goal of reducing domestic violence.

Effectiveness of Community Based Responses

As community based responses have become more common, a growing body of research focuses on their effectiveness (Wathen & MacMillan, 2003). Several studies find positive outcomes for abused women working with multiple organizations. Zweig & Burt (2007) found that battered women using domestic violence services reported higher levels of helpfulness when their advocates worked with other agencies and provided multiple services. Importantly, there is evidence that CBR may be significant in terms of helping women to escape violent relationships. Allen, Bybee, & Sullivan (2004) found that women who used multiple domestic violence services as part of an experimental group were much less likely to experience re-abuse than women in a control group that did not use multiple services. Significantly, women in the experimental group were also less likely to experience re-abuse after two years (Sullivan & Bybee, 1999) and women who reported more social supports and better access to community resources experienced a lower likelihood of abuse over time (Bybee & Sullivan, 2002). Similarly, Websdale & Johnson

(1997) evaluated a program in Kentucky that provided advocacy, education, careers, child care, health care, and criminal justice interventions. They found that 82 percent of women using these services did not experience revictimization by their abuser. Finally, Hart (1995) found that the availability of more resources increased women's safety, protection, and likelihood of leaving abusive relationships.

Challenges of Professionalized and Community Based Responses

The anti-domestic violence movement that began as grassroots feminist advocacy has evolved into professionalized, specialized, and collaborative organizations. Advocates now specialize beyond the shelter setting, working in police departments, the courts, hospitals, shelters, outreach, counseling, and transitional housing. As noted, there is some evidence that the overlap in services is effective. Yet it is unclear how the shift to CBR models has impacted feminist advocacy and advocates specifically.

In fact, a growing body of research articulates the challenges of professionalization and CBR models (Rodriguez, 1988; Lehrner & Allen, 2008; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Arnold, 2010; Macy et al, 2010). Researchers have examined the co-optation of feminist advocacy organizations in community based responses to domestic violence. Co-optation arguments generally suggest that when organizations collaborate, one group may have more control over decision making than the other (Arnold, 1995; Shepard & Pence, 1999). Explicitly, researchers find that

when feminist organizations are professionalized and collaborate with other social service institutions, their feminist ideologies, social change agendas, and survivor-defined practices are shifted to gender-neutral service provision (Shechter, 1982; Shepard & Pence, 1999; Moe, 2000; Lehrner & Allen, 2009; Macy et al, 2010). In particular, the ideologies of structural and gendered³ sources of domestic violence and the social change activism that attempts to change them, so strong in early advocacy days, are abandoned in favor of standardized service provision, development of rigid rules and mandatory classes women must attend as a condition of receiving shelter (Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Haaken & Yragui, 2003; Moe, 2007). For example, Lehrner and Allen (2009) found many present-day advocates were unaware of the feminist anti-domestic violence movement, and were no longer focused on social, political, and other macro-level changes. Instead, a majority of advocates saw domestic violence as an individual level problem rather than stemming from an unequal distribution of societal resources and power, and thus had no inclination toward social change activism. Yet imagine what anti-domestic violence would look like today if early advocates had not had a social change agenda: it is likely that community based responses and widespread availability of shelters, hotlines, and other resources would not exist.

Not recognizing gendered socio-structural inequities and their

³ Phenomena are gendered when they “draw on and reproduce existing assumptions about masculinity and femininity” (Britton, 2011, p.21).

contribution to domestic violence also potentially alters advocacy and opens the door to victim-blaming (Moe, 2000, 2007; Macy et al, 2010). Researchers have documented such changes in advocates' current practices. For example, Macy and colleagues (2010) found that some advocates felt victims were responsible for their abuse, and were then authoritarian in their practices with clients. Moreover, advocates themselves are writing about their experiences and lobbying for change. A group of advocates from the Washington State Coalition Against Domestic Violence and the Minnesota Coalition Against Domestic Violence are currently addressing these shifts in the field. Specifically, their call-for-change includes a resurgence of feminist ideology and advocacy, as they find over-adherence to shelter rules and requirements has negatively impacted their advocacy (Hobart, 2006; Olsen, 2007; Adams & Bennet, 2008; Avalon, 2008; Olsen, 2008; Curran, 2008; Lindquist, 2008; Tautfest, 2008) and can be problematic for their clients (i.e., the victims).

Effectiveness of Feminist Advocacy

Survivor-defined advocacy and social change activism have both historically been major components of feminist advocacy (see Figure 1.1). Survivor-defined approaches assume that victims are capable of making their own decisions, and their individual needs should be considered when providing advocacy. In practice, advocates work to explain different options and choices, and supply information so victims can make their

own informed decisions (Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Lehrner & Allen, 2009). Women report better outcomes and higher satisfaction with services involving survivor-defined advocacy (Zweig & Burt, 2007; Goodman & Epstein, 2005, 2008; Nurius et al, 2011). Women's agency⁴ is central to the practice of feminist advocacy, and research finds it is key to shaping outcomes (Weisz, 1999; Zweig & Burt, 2007; Goodman & Epstein, 2008). For example, Weisz (1999) found that women working with advocates practicing survivor-defined advocacy were more likely to bring further legal action towards their abusers. In her qualitative study of 19 women in domestic violence shelters, Moe (2007) also found that women in control of the services they received were less likely to return to their abusers. In contrast, victims who were denied agency through non-survivor-defined practices, such as when judges told victims to get along with their abusers instead of prosecuting, were more likely to return to their batterers (Moe, 2000). Zweig and Burt (2007) found in their quantitative study of 890 women in shelters that abused women reported service provision as more helpful when they had a higher level of control over their services. If women felt they were not involved in the process, or their input was not regarded, they reported that their willingness to use services declined (Zweig & Burt, 2007). Abrahams and Bruns (1998) compared a feminist CBR coalition to a gender "neutral" CBR coalition and found the gender "neutral" coalition took part in victim-blaming

⁴ The choice, action, medium, or means by which something is accomplished.

practices, focused on individual rather than socio-structural sources of violence, and did not work to support women in making their own choices. These practices resulted in deterring women from using services in the future, and returning to abusive relationships. In sum, the research suggests the significance of advocacy maintaining feminist practices, as it produces better outcomes for women, both in its survivor-defined approach and in the social change activism that resulted in availability of social services and justice system responses (Abrahams & Bruns, 1998; Weisz, 1999; Zweig & Burt, 2006, 2007; Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

Yet, aside from the handful of studies cited in this discussion, it remains unclear how shifts in professionalization, funding—and specifically CBR models—have impacted feminist advocacy. Given the bureaucratization of their work environment, increasing government control over funding, and collaboration with non-feminist organizations, do advocates today hold feminist identities, ideologies, and practices that are similar to those of their grassroots predecessors? Are they feminists? Do they maintain gendered ideologies of domestic violence and social change perspectives/activism? Have advocates retained their practice of survivor-defined advocacy, or have they become “neutral”, or even controlling in their practices? Are advocates in the justice system less feminist than their peers in traditionally feminist organizations? How is feminist advocacy impacted by community based responses? These questions remain to be answered. Because such questions involve

gendered identity, ideology, and practice, they can be addressed with simultaneous attention to the organizational frameworks in which they operate.

A Gendered Organizations Framework

Decades of feminist research indicates that organizations are gendered (Daly & Chesney-Lind, 1988; Acker, 1990; Britton, 1997, 2000, 2003; Risman, 2004; Miller, 2008; Britton & Logan, 2008). Yet, the literature focusing on gendered domestic violence organizations remains limited (Nichols, 2011). The theory of gendered organizations is especially applicable to domestic violence organizations because they have evolved from gendered (feminist) structures and continue to be shaped by collaboration with the justice system. In my research, I examine advocates' identities, ideologies, practices and experiences with collaboration using components of Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations.

First, I introduce the concepts "gender based" and "gender neutral"⁵ to illustrate how organizations' processes can be gendered. *Gender "neutral"* models purportedly ignore gender, under the ideological assumption of "sameness," that men and women are the same and should be treated as such (MacKinnon, 1987). The policies and practices of organizations are uniformly applied and consequently do not take gender dynamics into consideration. Many researchers note that

gender “neutrality” is biased for the very reason that it does not take gender dynamics into consideration. Neutrality was described by Chesney-Lind and Pollock (1995) as “equality with a vengeance” in their study of women’s prisons. Men and women ostensibly followed the same policies under a “neutral” framework, but because the policies were based on a male standard, the specific backgrounds, social positions, and needs of women were not taken into consideration, and were consequently biased (see also Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2004).

A common *gender based* model is that which reflects the ideological assumption of “difference” between women and men (MacKinnon, 1987). *Patriarchal gender-based* models hold women as passive, dependent, in need of protection, and lacking in agency. In addition, such models often reproduce traditional inequality by recreating power structures that take away women’s choices or relegate women to less powerful positions (Chesney-Lind & Pollock, 1995). For example, Allen’s (1987) content analysis of court reports in London in the 1980s found that women convicted of violent crimes were required to resume the roles of mothering and housewifery in an attempt to rehabilitate them. Similarly, women in U.S. prisons were historically taught to be good mothers and housekeepers, and received domestic training (Chesney-Lind & Pollock, 1995). Although policy in women’s prisons has changed to be largely punitive (see Britton, 2003); women’s prisons still offer gender stereotyped vocational training and programming (Chesney Lind &

Pollock, 1995; Britton, 2011). *Feminist gender-based* models also recognize differences between men and women, but assume women's agency as rational, independent, capable decision makers. Feminist models may also label any "differences" as socially constructed and thus able to be deconstructed (Britton, 2011). In addition, feminist models do not perpetuate traditional gender inequality.

Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations maintains that organizations are institutional sites of gendered processes — which can be neutral, feminist, or patriarchal. Specifically, Acker's framework includes the following interrelated processes: the structure of work organizations, identity, ideological assumptions, and the actions and interactions of workers⁶. Each of these processes can be seen in the work of domestic violence advocates.

First, Acker describes identity as the "internal processes in which individuals engage as they construct personas that are appropriately gendered for the institutional setting" (Acker, 1992, p. 568). Early domestic violence advocates had a feminist identity, which was perfectly appropriate for the setting, as both shelters and advocacy were borne from

⁶ The gendered organizations perspective posits that four or five interrelated gendered processes are a part of organizations (Acker, 1990, 1992). I center on three of these gendered processes: identity, ideological assumptions, and practices. I exclude structure and interactions. According to Acker, structure includes gendered division of labor, policies and practices. Interactions include representations of gender ("doing gender") in interpersonal communication and the workplace. Acker describes practices as a part of both structure and interactions. Because my data is largely micro/meso-level data, and the data related to structure, policy and interactions was largely related to practices, I determined it was better framed as practices, as informed by the research findings.

the broader second wave feminist movement. I identify a “feminist” as a gendered identity, because both the internal persona and the outward representation of a feminist center on recognizing gendered inequalities; thus the internal processes of feminist identity and their manifestation are clearly gendered. In turn, in the context of advocacy, “neutral” identities are also gendered because they *don't* recognize gendered inequalities or phenomena, and thus do not incorporate them into their identities.

Second, cultural and ideological assumptions about gender include images, symbols, and ideologies present in and influencing organizations. Acker maintains that such ideological assumptions come from multiple sources, such as language, popular culture, the media, and other symbolic representations (1990, p. 146). In the case of advocates, feminism was a symbol of the early anti-domestic violence movement, and the ideology of feminism shaped advocacy. The ideological assumptions of the feminist anti-domestic violence movement included recognizing gendered inequalities and the domestic violence resulting from such inequalities. Such ideological assumptions “explain, express, reinforce, or sometimes oppose” gendered phenomena (Acker, 1990, p. 146). For example, feminist ideology in the anti-domestic violence movement opposed gendered assumptions leading to inequality and abuse. In contrast, gender “neutral” ideological assumptions do not recognize the gender dynamics of intimate partner violence or the gendered structural sources of inequality that may impact dynamics of abuse and leaving an abusive

partner (Abrahams & Bruns, 1998; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Lehrner & Allen, 2009; Macy et al, 2010). Further, patriarchal gender-based advocacy lies on the ideological assumption that battered women cannot make their own decisions, and need to be taken care of.

Third, the theory of gendered organizations maintains that an organization's structure can be comprised of policies and practices that perpetuate gender inequality—or alternately—promote gender equity. For instance, some shelters have policies that ban teen boys from staying there. This policy results in gender inequality—for the boy whose masculinity is feared or perceived as threatening, and for his mother who is consequently denied shelter due to socio-cultural gender norms of mothering. The policy is both neutral and gendered. It is gendered in the assumption of violent masculinity, and it is neutral in ignoring that most primary caregivers of children are women, and women may not want to leave their mothering roles to go into shelter. Policies often guide practices—the practice in this case would be denying the mother and son shelter because of the entrance requirement. Acker maintained gendered processes involve “overt decisions and procedures that control, segregate, exclude, and construct hierarchies based on gender, and often race” (1992, 567-568). Certainly a policy denying shelter to boys with their abused mothers excludes, segregates, and to some degree controls their outcomes based on gender. Further, patriarchal gender-based advocacy denies women's agency through practices based on the assumption that battered

women cannot make their own decisions—such as requiring women to get a protective order.

In turn, gendered practices can also be feminist, and work to promote equality in organizations, such as the feminist and collaborative practices of early domestic violence shelters that were intended to empower women (Rodriguez, 1988). Survivor-defined advocacy is labeled as a feminist practice because it is centered on the individual needs of women, facilitates women's agency surrounding those needs, and acknowledges the gender dynamics of intimate partner violence. Further, social change activism in advocacy is a feminist practice, as it works to improve battered women's access to resources, recourse, and the social environment.

Acker argued that gendered processes are interrelated. Acker included practices as a part of structure, but also included practices as a form of action/ interaction (Acker, 1990, 1992). Henceforth, I will refer simply to “practices” rather than “interactions” or “structure.” Based on my research findings, the term “practices” is more descriptively accurate than “interactions” or “structure,” and I consequently chose to emphasize “practices” as a focal point of this dissertation.

In addition to the interconnectedness of practices, interactions, and structure, other gendered processes can also be interrelated. This is clearly the case with feminist identity and the corresponding feminist ideologies. Holding feminist ideologies themselves are what make an individual more

likely to identify as a feminist. The interrelated nature of ideology, policies, and practices is apparent — social change ideologies of early victim advocates were related in obvious ways to social change activism. In addition, feminist ideologies of socio-structural sources of domestic violence were associated with the social change activism that worked to change them, collaborative shelter structures, and survivor-defined practices. In contrast, gender “neutral” and patriarchal gender based ideologies are related to victim blaming practices and denied agency because they understand domestic violence as an individual problem rather than stemming from broader gender inequities of power and resources.

In addition to the interrelated nature of identities, ideologies, and practices, Haney (1996) suggests that the gendered nature of organizations is complex and may have competing ideologies, policies, and practices working simultaneously. In her research, she found complexities reflected in organizations in the juvenile justice system. One of the organizations she researched, Alliance, a group home for juvenile females, maintained feminist practices and worked to cultivate “the determination and strength the girls already had” (Haney, 1996, p. 764). Within this same organization, however, she found patriarchal gender-based practices as well. For example, she noted that probation officers would threaten to send girls to juvenile hall if they refused to break up with “unfit”

boyfriends. She also found inconsistencies in gendered policies and practices both within juvenile programs and between different programs.

In turn, organizations that serve battered women may be gendered in complex, competing ways as well. Some shelters may maintain gender “neutral” policies, like eligibility requirements, while they may simultaneously apply feminist gender-based ideologies and practices in various domestic violence organizations. Yet, it remains to be seen whether the gendered processes of advocates — such as their identities, ideologies, and practices — have implications for advocacy.

Research Objectives

Though criminologists have explored gendered organizations in the context of prisons, courts, policing, and juvenile facilities (Martin, 1980; Jurik, 1986, 1986; Chesney-Lind & Pollock, 1995; Haney, 1996; Britton, 2001, 2003); research on the gendered processes of domestic violence stakeholders and the impact on advocacy remains limited. Community based responses (CBR) to domestic violence benefit women through multiple coordinated service provision. Yet, some challenges remain for advocates who assist abused women in CBR. Specifically, a small but growing body of research finds that the use of feminist advocacy is diminishing. This is problematic because such advocacy has been found to increase abused women’s agency and thus improve their outcomes, and has also produced widespread social change (Weisz, 1999; Zweig & Burt, 2006, 2007; Goodman & Epstein, 2005, 2008; Nurius et al, 2011). I

explore gendered identity, ideology and practices in community based responses to domestic violence. More specifically, I question: What are the gendered identities, ideologies, and practices of domestic violence victim advocates? How do advocates respond to gendered practices of other domestic violence stakeholders in community based responses?

Outline of Chapters

Drawing from a gendered organizations perspective to examine various facets of advocacy in community based responses to domestic violence, I identify gendered practices (feminist, patriarchal, or neutral) in CBR, and—more importantly—how advocates simultaneously reproduce and resist them. In chapter two, I outline the methods employed for my research. Specifically, I describe my sample of advocates, study settings, data collection procedures, research questions, data analysis techniques, and identify the strengths and limitations of my research.

Beginning in chapter three, I examine the feminist identities and ideologies of victim advocates, based on their words, and investigate how these gendered processes relate to the practice of advocacy. I also investigate the concept of co-optation by comparing the feminist identities, ideologies, and practices of advocates working in the justice system to those of advocates working in traditionally feminist organizations. Further, I explore a regional contextual difference by providing rural/metropolitan comparisons.

In chapter four, I focus on advocates' practices involving the criminal justice system. Respectively, I identify gendered practices in the criminal justice system related to protective orders, pro-arrest, and no-drop prosecution and specifically examine advocates' strategies to mitigate both batterer-based and systemic revictimization of battered women. I relate these strategies/practices to components of gendered (feminist) identity and advocacy.

Chapter five focuses on advocates' practices within traditionally feminist organizations: shelters and transitional housing. I examine the gendered complexities of shelter rules. Explicitly, I investigate entrance requirements, curfew, mandatory classes, and confidentiality, questioning how advocates describe such processes as assisting or problematizing their ability to help victims and how they relate to feminist advocacy.

Finally, in Chapter six I detail implications of the research findings for both advocacy and theory from a gendered organizations perspective. The findings led to a number of recommendations for advocacy responses in shelters and various facets of the justice system. In addition, I investigate potential theoretical developments.

Figure 1.1: Components of Early Feminist Advocacy

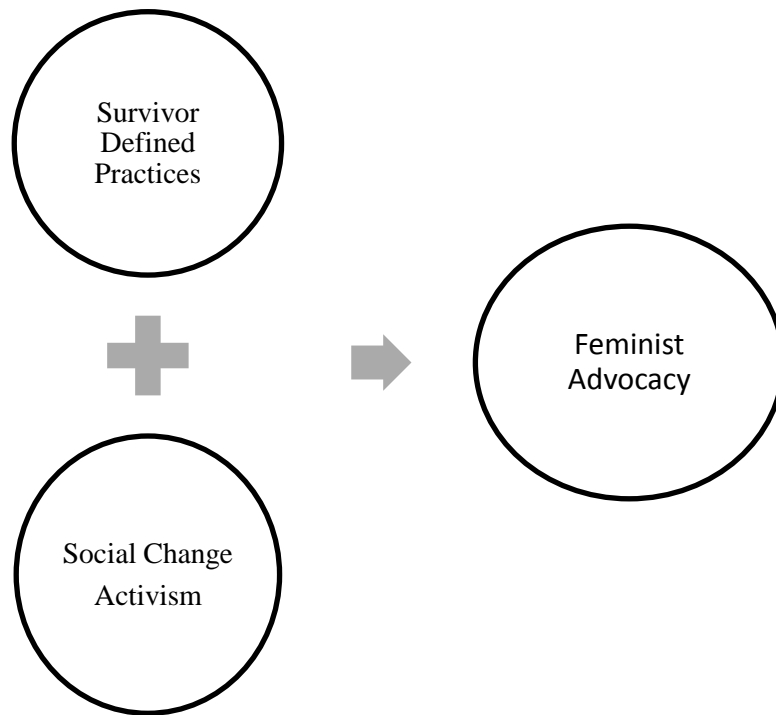
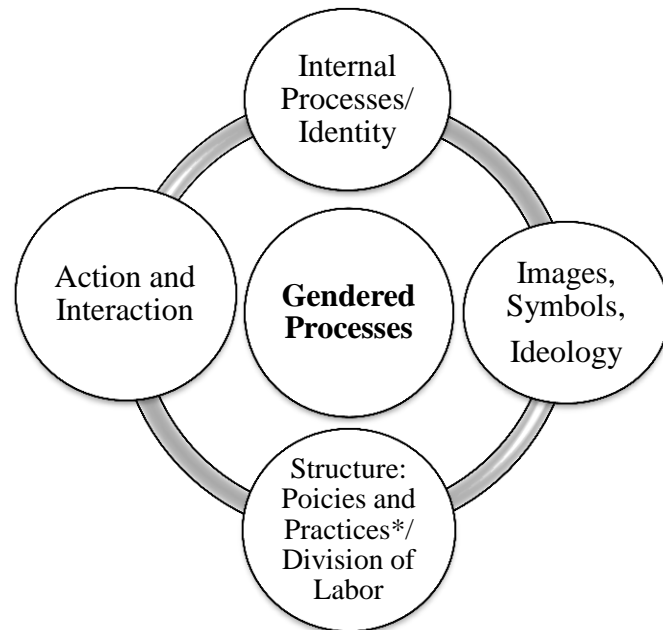
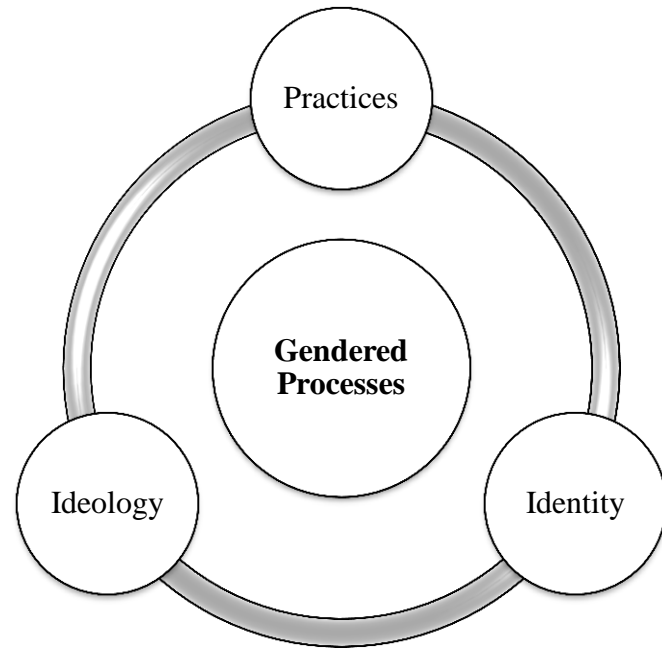


Figure 1.2: Acker's Theory of Gendered Organizations



*Acker described practices as a part of both structure and interaction.

Figure 1.3: Gendered Processes To Be Examined



Chapter 2

Research Design

In this chapter, I outline the approach I used to examine the research questions addressed in my study. Broadly, my work focuses on feminist advocacy in community based responses to domestic violence. Drawing from the gendered organizations framework, I ask: 1) What are the gendered identities, ideologies, and practices of domestic violence victim advocates? 2) How do advocates respond to the gendered practices of other domestic violence stakeholders in community based responses? Based on the existing literature, I wanted to know if advocates⁷ themselves hold feminist identities, ideologies, and practices that are similar to those of their grassroots predecessors. In other words, are they feminists? Do they maintain gendered ideologies about domestic violence? Have they retained the components of feminist advocacy: survivor-defined practices and social change activism? Are advocates in the justice system less feminist than their peers in traditionally feminist organizations? How is advocacy practiced in community based responses — in traditionally feminist organizations and in accessing criminal justice system interventions?

In the following sections, I delineate the research design and

⁷ Advocates are those who support abused women by offering emotional support, safety planning, information about community resources, and related recommendations.

methods used to investigate these research questions. Next, I describe the settings for my study, the sampling strategies employed for my interviews, and my sample. I also detail data collection and analytic techniques. Finally, I discuss limitations to my study, while simultaneously addressing its strengths.

Study Settings

Background Information on Glawe County

To deal with an increasing number of domestic violence- related calls to police, rural Glawe County⁸ developed a domestic violence victim services program in 1994. The program initially involved the addition of a full-time domestic violence victim services coordinator to the Sheriff's Department staff, and has since evolved to include a community based response team (see Figure 2.1).

In 2008, the Domestic Violence Response Unit [DVRU] developed in Glawe County, and expanded to a professional staff of three advocates in the Sheriff's Department, all of whom are trained by the State Coalition in domestic violence victim advocacy. Advocates have access to police reports and contact victims who report abuse to police. Advocates provide information to victims about the justice system and assist them in filing for a temporary protective order and safety planning. They also offer information about and referrals to other community resources, such as mental health and substance abuse programs, legal services, and shelter.

⁸ The names of counties and organizations have been changed to preserve confidentiality.

The DVRU currently includes the director of a mental health facility that offers counseling, individual and group therapy, and substance abuse counseling. The co-chair from the local Family Violence Council and the director of the county's only women's shelter are also a part of the DVRU. In addition, DVRU includes other justice system stakeholders in addition to the advocates working in the police department. Part of the team includes two detectives who investigate cases of domestic violence.⁹ There is also an advocate in the prosecuting attorney's office and a prosecutor who is assigned to cases involving domestic violence. A probation officer, who deals with the majority of cases involving domestic violence, is also a part of the DVRU team. While all DVRU members are trained in domestic violence through the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence, there is no evidence of a present or historical anti-domestic violence movement in this rural county, nor is there a local coalition¹⁰.

Background Information on Faulds County

While the domestic violence stakeholders are centralized in one distinct community based response group in rural Glawe County, in Faulds County, which contains a large urban city and surrounding metropolitan area, domestic violence organizations are relatively small separate organizations (see Figure 2.2). While there is some coordination

⁹ Detectives investigate domestic violence cases involving the following criteria: any intimate partner violence felony, and misdemeanor cases involving recidivism, any degree of potential lethality, and/or misdemeanors with children in the home.

¹⁰ Coalitions are typically feminist and have their roots in the feminist ideology and action of the battered women's movement.

between various groups, each has a distinct independent organizational structure. Most specialize in specific area(s) such as legal services, shelter, transitional housing, outreach, drop-in counseling, and long-term follow up, although they typically also provide multiple services. While the organizations are small, and generally have small staff sizes, there is strong recognition of the larger state and local domestic violence community. There are regular “community meetings” among members from various organizations and a collaborative e-mail list-serve in the local feminist anti-domestic violence coalition. They also are highly involved in, and receive education and training from, the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence. There are high levels of informal relationships among advocates in both traditionally feminist organizations as well as advocates working in the justice system. Referrals to one another’s various specialty organizations are also high. So, while they are generally small specialized organizations with their own distinct organizational structures, they together form a cohesive local coalition.

The anti-domestic violence movement in Faulds County dates back to the early 1980s, with strong feminist leadership and mentoring that has continued to date, with some “movement veterans” in directors’ positions throughout the domestic violence community in both the justice system and in traditionally feminist settings (Arnold, 2010). Additionally, Faulds City has two prominent Universities that are known for their feminist

curriculum that do internships in the local domestic violence community (Personal communication with Confidential, 2010).

In 1986, the justice system response in Faulds County initiated Domestic Violence Legal Advocates [DVLA] who assist victims with the legal system, the courts, and law enforcement. By 1995, the group became a non-profit domestic violence organization. DVLA also provide advocacy, safety planning, and referrals to social services within Faulds County. Specifically, DVLA has a partnership with the City police department; three advocates have their offices in the department and directly work with officers and the Domestic Violence Detective Unit [DVDU], composed of ten detectives. DVLA also have a court advocate present in the Faulds City/ County courthouses.

The Victim Service Division (VSD) in Faulds County works under the umbrella of the prosecuting attorney's office and provides counsel, information on the justice system, and referral to community resources to clients. VSD staff and volunteer advocates assist victims of domestic violence with obtaining protective orders and creating victim impact statements, and also provide support by accompanying victims to court. The Domestic Violence Division is a part of the VSD and includes five prosecutors trained in domestic violence who specifically take both misdemeanor and felony domestic violence cases such as: assault, kidnapping, felonious restraint, false imprisonment, violation of adult abuse orders, unlawful use weapon (exhibiting) harassment and stalking.

In addition, the division practices victimless prosecution: abused women do not have to testify for their abuser to be prosecuted. Instead, evidence such as 911 calls, police reports, and witness testimony can be used.

Regional Similarities and Distinctions

The sites are similar in that they both follow the same state laws related to domestic violence including but not limited to: no-drop prosecution, pro-arrest, and discretionary permanent and temporary protective orders. The sites are also similar in that they have a community based response in place that includes collaboration between law enforcement, the courts, advocates, and social services. The differences between the sites include a strong local feminist coalition and history of a battered women's movement in Faulds County compared to Glawe County. Another difference is availability of more services in Faulds County, and local Universities in Faulds County that provide education in feminist studies and internships in domestic violence organizations. In contrast, Glawe County has a more centralized CBR team compared to Faulds County. These two sites are useful for comparison because they provide an opportunity to examine whether the differences are important for the research questions addressed in this investigation. Moreover, the two sites offer rural/metropolitan comparisons of both similarities as well as the differences. For example, dynamics of advocacy surrounding pro-arrest and no-drop prosecution might look different in regional comparisons, although both sites are required to adhere to the same state

laws. Advocates' practices in shelters, which seemingly are similar in their [State] coalition membership and training, may have different practices of advocacy within the shelters.

Sample

This study draws from interview data collected in 2010 from twenty six advocates in metro Faulds County and rural Glawe County. Eight advocates in Glawe County and eighteen advocates in Faulds County participated. Initial contacts were made through one personal relationship and two professional acquaintances in Faulds County. These contacts included one individual working as an advocate in transitional housing, another who is a legal advocate in Faulds City police department, and an advocate recently retired from a domestic violence program at a large hospital in Faulds City. The initial contacts allowed for a sample of advocates who do similar work, but in differing organizational contexts. Snowball sampling was then used to further the sample through referrals from my initial contacts (see Figure 2.3). Snowball sampling is standard practice in qualitative research, and it provided credibility in recruitment of research participants through trusted referrals (Wright, Decker, Redfern, & Smith, 1992).

Once I exhausted my contacts and referrals through snowball sampling, I began to purposively select organizations that were not adequately represented in my sample by using a list of organizations taken from the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence, contacting the

organizations' directors, and then individually contacting each potential participant. I was thus able to expand my sample to include advocates serving women in rural and metropolitan areas in Glawe and Faulds counties as well as advocates working in varying contexts including: hospitals, police departments, the courts, outreach, shelters, and transitional housing (See Figure 2.3). I made requests to individual advocates by sending a recruitment letter over e-mail, and through telephone calls. All e-mail addresses and phone numbers were provided by my initial contacts or through the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence.

I made a monetary contribution to participating organizations, which was indicated in the e-mailed recruitment letter.¹¹ I generally found that advocates were eager to participate and provide additional referrals. I did not have any refusals, although three advocates who expressed interest in participating were not able to find a time to meet with me. Study participants ranged in age from 22 to 60, and all of the participants were white women, which is typical of the field (Donnelly, Cook, VanAusdale & Foley, 2005) and also reflects the population in rural Glawe county (97.5% white), but, to a lesser extent, metro Faulds County (70% white) (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010).

Notably, the majority of organizations from which the advocates came had very small staff sizes with high caseloads; in many cases staff

¹¹ I chose to make a donation rather than paying advocates directly at the recommendation of one of my contacts, who suggested a donation would be appreciated and show my dedication and interest in their organizations.

consisted of two or three people. In total, eleven different organizations participated. Because of small staff sizes and the limited number of some types of organizations, I conflated the organizations into two distinct groups to preserve confidentiality. “Justice system advocates” (N=10) include those working in or employed by the police department and the courthouse, while “traditional advocates” (N=16) include those working in historically woman-centered contexts, such as shelters, outreach, transitional housing, a drop-in center, and a hospital.¹² I use these groupings throughout the dissertation.

Using comparative samples led to a more developed analysis because it allowed me to examine contextual differences between regions and types of organizations. Purposive-comparative sampling techniques thus permitted investigation of similarities, differences, and variations in advocates’ identities, ideologies, policies, and practices across these groups. Consequently, I could examine the concept of co-optation by exploring similarities and differences between justice system advocates and traditional advocates. In addition to comparing “traditional” and “justice system” advocates, I compared regions. My regional comparisons included rural and metropolitan located advocates, a comparison that is limited in the existing research.

¹² The hospital program was labeled as a traditional program, rather than as a justice system organization, because it is a non-profit grant-funded non-governmental organization (NGO) program stemming from an initiative rooted in the anti-domestic violence movement. Its goal is to support women’s safety, assist women in leaving abusive relationships, and support women who choose to stay with their abusive partners.

As noted, altogether, I interviewed 26 advocates, 18 in Faulds County and 8 in Glawe County. Of these, 10 were justice system advocates and 16 were traditional advocates. In the Faulds Metro Area, justice system advocates (N=6) came from one city police department, and two courthouses. Half of the participants in the Faulds County justice system were directors (three out of six). The “traditional advocates” worked in the hospital, transitional housing, a drop-in program, outreach program and a shelter (N=12). Half of the “traditional advocates” in Faulds County were also directors (six out of twelve). All directors provided advocacy as part of their position, or had provided advocacy in the recent past.

In rural Glawe County, justice system advocates (N=4) included those who worked in the police department and in the courthouse. Traditional advocates included those working in the shelter (N=4). There was no hospital program, transitional housing program, drop-in or other outreach in this county. My sample in the rural county included two directors, one each from the justice system and the shelter.

Consequently, I had a mix of both directors and staff in both Glawe and Faulds Counties. This is significant, as prior research indicates those in directors’ positions are more likely to be veterans of the battered women’s movement. This was certainly the case in Faulds County, with the history of a strong local coalition and history in the movement, but not

at all the case in Glawe County, which had no historical position in the battered women's movement or local coalition.

Data Collection

Participants received a consent form at the time the interview took place that described the purpose of the study, assured confidentiality, and indicated that participation was voluntary and could be declined at any time (see Appendix A). I further explained all of the components of the consent form to the participants. All materials, including the consent form and interview guide, were approved by the University of Missouri-St. Louis Institutional Review Board (protocol number 100430N).

The interviews ranged from 45 minutes to 2 and a half hours, with the average interview lasting approximately an hour and 15 minutes. The interviews generally took place in the participants' offices but, in one case, I met with an advocate in my home. The location of the shelter she worked at was undisclosed and she indicated that we could not meet there.

Advocates were interviewed in private offices where they could speak freely without concern for violations of their privacy. I asked participants not to use their own name, the names of others, or the organizations when speaking. Pseudonyms were used for all of the interviews, including participants and the organizations that they work for, so no explicit identifying information remained. I chose the organizations' pseudonyms to maintain consistency in the transcribed interviews. Participants were informed of this at the time of the interview.

As I am someone outside of domestic violence victim advocacy, I initially had the concern that advocates might be less likely to reveal internal problems within the organizations they come from. There was also a concern that, if advocates had the perspective that the research could affect funding, which has been reduced in recent years, they would be less likely to expose negative responses about community partners that could alter future streams of funding. However, I found advocates to be quite willing to share both the benefits and challenges they experienced within their own organizations and the other organizations with whom they worked. Framing the questions using the relatively neutral language of “challenges,” and asking about benefits first in my ordering of the interview questions appeared to be quite successful in assuaging any reluctance to talk about problems in the system.

The snowball sampling technique, with referrals from other advocates, was also a way of overcoming any reluctance to disclose challenging experiences. I have been doing volunteer work in the form of fundraising for two of my initial contacts for the last seven years. I have developed relationships with these advocates in which they already trust me and reveal information to me. By using the names of my initial contacts as referrals, I gained credibility among the advocates with whom my contacts connected me. Even in the cases where I recruited outside of my contacts, I had no difficulty getting advocates to participate and did not note any differences in willingness to disclose between advocates that

came from referrals compared to advocates that came from the sampling frame—the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence organization member list.

The interviews were recorded using a digital recorder with the participants' permission. I used a semi-structured interview guide, but allowed for other themes and threads to be addressed within the interview (see Appendix B for the interview guide). Drawing from Acker's conceptualization of gendered processes to develop research questions, I focused on three phenomena related to feminist advocacy: *feminist identity, ideological assumptions, and practices* (Acker, 1990, 1992). I first asked advocates to describe their approach to advocacy. To explore these questions further, I asked advocates generative questions about collaborating with police, judges/the courts, shelters, and other advocates. I then asked advocates if they would describe themselves as feminist, and what feminism meant to them.

I interviewed until saturation took place both by region and by type of organization. In Glawe County, due to the limited number of advocates, I reached saturation simply by interviewing every available advocate. In Faulds County, I stopped interviewing after it was apparent that no new information was developing from the transcripts in both types of organizational contexts (Guest, Bunce, & Johnson, 2006).

The interviews were transcribed verbatim to maintain accuracy. Description of emphasized words, and any increased or decreased speed,

sound effects, volume or pitch was indicated either in brackets, capital letters, or in the preceding text. Any pauses or breaks in participants' statements were specified with a dash, and any missing text was indicated with ellipses. These elements can be important for analyzing and interpreting the data (Adler & Adler, 2008; Bailey, 2003). I also included field notes, written immediately following interviews, to document facial expressions or demeanor.

I re-checked all the transcripts to ensure accuracy through simultaneous playback of the audios and scrutiny of the transcripts. I gave my contact information to participants when reviewing the consent form and two advocates sent me additional notes afterwards. In one case, an advocate sent hand-written notes to my office, which I typed and added to her transcript with a label indicating it was from hand-written notes. In the other case, an advocate sent me an e-mail with some more information about the structure and history of domestic violence responses in her community. I added the information to her transcript as well, and noted that it came from an e-mailed response after the interview took place.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the collected interview data was an inductive process. I began by exploring the details and specifics of the data to discover emerging patterns and themes through open coding (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). First, I went through each transcript and identified and labeled phenomena found in the transcripts by hand. Then, I went back

through the transcripts and categorized phenomena that were recurring themes, patterns, or key topical areas. Open coding allows for detailed coding and immersion in the data (Adler & Adler, 2008). The benefit of open coding was that I was able to uncover themes that I may not have discovered through selective coding alone. By identifying recurring themes, patterns and topical areas, I was able to discern important core categories for analysis and theory-building. Following initial coding, I created separate data files of merged narrative accounts for each core category. The creation of the merged narrative accounts of core categories was based on the uncovered patterns of topical areas and themes found through open-coding (Corbin & Strauss, 1990).

In addition, the research design and interview questions were used as a guide to further selective coding of the data. For example, because of my sampling strategy, I was able to draw comparisons between advocates working in different types of organizations and regions. Specifically, I coded similarities and differences between rural and urban/suburban advocates as well as between justice system advocates and those working in traditionally feminist organizations within the merged narrative accounts of core categories. As another example of how the interview questions guided coding, one interview question asked, “What does ‘feminist’ mean to you?” Based on advocates’ responses, I was then able to selectively code meanings of feminism. A similar strategy was used for each of the other interview questions.

While I did use the research design as a guide to selective coding as a secondary step, in the first step of initial open-coding, I went through each transcript coding phenomena outside of the original research questions as well. This was important in uncovering overarching themes, as well as themes I had not thought of in my research design. For example, evidence of intersectional approaches to advocacy—that is, advocates’ recognition of how women’s social backgrounds and positions impact experiences with domestic violence—emerged as an important element of my findings. I would not have found this with selective coding based on the interview questions only, reiterating the importance of the open-coding analysis technique.

I additionally used Spradley’s technique focusing on “types” of phenomena, sometimes referred to as taxonomic analysis (Spradley, 1980), to further code my merged narrative accounts of the core categories. For instance, within the “meanings of feminism” core category, I found different meanings. These different meanings were labeled and categorized as “types” of meanings of feminism. In another example, one merged narrative account documented advocates’ approach to advocacy. Approaches included different “types” of approaches, such as survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. These “types” were further coded/ categorized; for example, social change practices included community education, training, court watch, stakeholder collaboration toward system change, and coalition work.

I also did some selective tabular analysis, largely for my own reference, to maintain accuracy of the prevalence of certain phenomena, and to precisely describe how they were related. For example, when exploring feminist identity and ideology and the relationship to practices, I created three tables. One table identified the prevalence and relationship between feminist identity, ideology and survivor-defined practices. The second table categorized the co-occurrence of feminist identity, ideology and intersectional practices. Lastly, another table classified feminist identity, ideology, and social change activism.

Finally, I did a content analysis of mission statements, brochures, and websites of participating organizations. I did open-coding by hand of these items. In addition, I used selective coding for gendered language, differences by organizational context, region, and feminist/non-feminist identities of workers in these organizations.

Sample Strengths and Limitations

Since the sample of advocates came from organizations in two counties in a Midwestern State, they do not represent organizations in other areas outside of the sample. In addition, because of the limited number of advocates in rural Glawe County, the sample included just eight advocates. Yet, the point of qualitative research is to provide context and insights into individuals' lived experience, not to create findings to generalize onto larger groups. Adler and Adler (2008) challenged the popular notion that small non-representative samples, or qualitative data in

general, should be considered only as anecdotal. The goal of qualitative research is to focus on the contextual complexities of the research, to explore an area that has not largely been studied before, and to “give voice to a previously unheard from group” (Adler & Adler, 2008). My research explores relatively new territory in its dual focus on community based responses to domestic violence from the perspective of domestic violence victim advocates and in exploring the gendered processes within domestic violence organizations through comparative contexts.

The study is intentionally comparative across domestic violence organizations in order to explore the differences and similarities in advocates’ experiences. The research purposefully contrasts advocates working in metro contexts with rural advocates, as well as justice system and traditional advocates. Current research tends to group all advocates together, without distinguishing the types of organizations they work in, regional distinctions, and the people with whom they work. My research extends existing literature in its focus on advocates working in differing organizational contexts through a comparison of their identities, ideologies, and practices in CBR. This study includes advocates working in police departments and the courts, as well as advocates working in traditionally feminist organizations including shelters, outreach, transitional housing, a drop-in center and hospital. For example, since advocates working for the justice system and traditionally feminist organizations are included in this analysis, my sample offers an

opportunity to examine the co-optation argument¹³ and the influence of distinct organizational contexts on advocacy.

Another strength of qualitative analysis is its potential for theory building or expanding existing theoretical frameworks. The research explicitly explores anti-domestic violence organizations borrowing individual level concepts from the gendered organizations perspective. I am thus able to identify gendered processes in community based responses to domestic violence and how advocates respond to gendered processes. The findings offer new insights that can be used to inform gendered organizations theory. Further, future research can further test the concepts found in inductive analysis in the form of replication studies or quantitative research.

Thus, my research examines an area not often, and certainly not thoroughly, explored. Moreover, it offers comparative contextual analysis, theory-building, concepts to facilitate further research, and gives voice to advocates (whose expertise and experience is lacking in domestic violence research).

¹³ The co-optation argument suggests that when organizations collaborate, one organization may dominate and “take over” the other. Researchers have found that feminist organizations are co-opted when they work collaboratively with non-feminist organizations (Schechter, 1982; Arnold, 1995).

Figure 2.1: Glawe County Community Based Response Structure

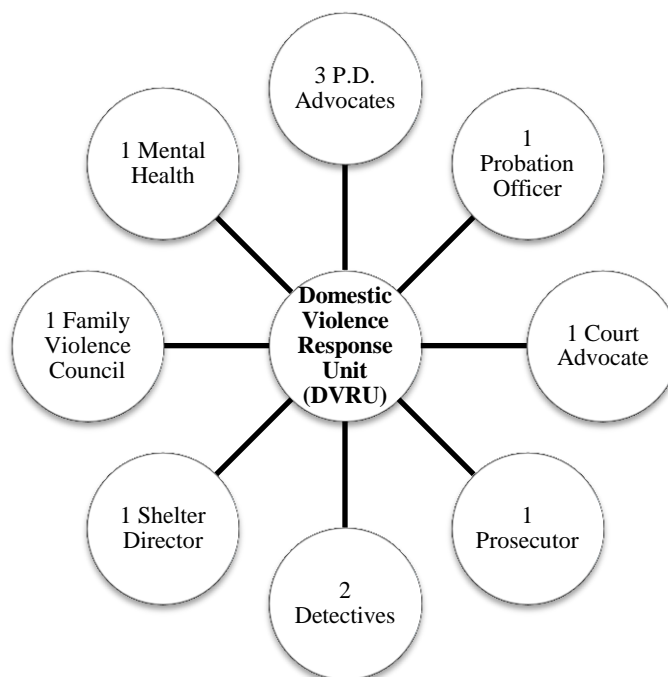


Figure 2.2: Faulds County Community Based Response Structure

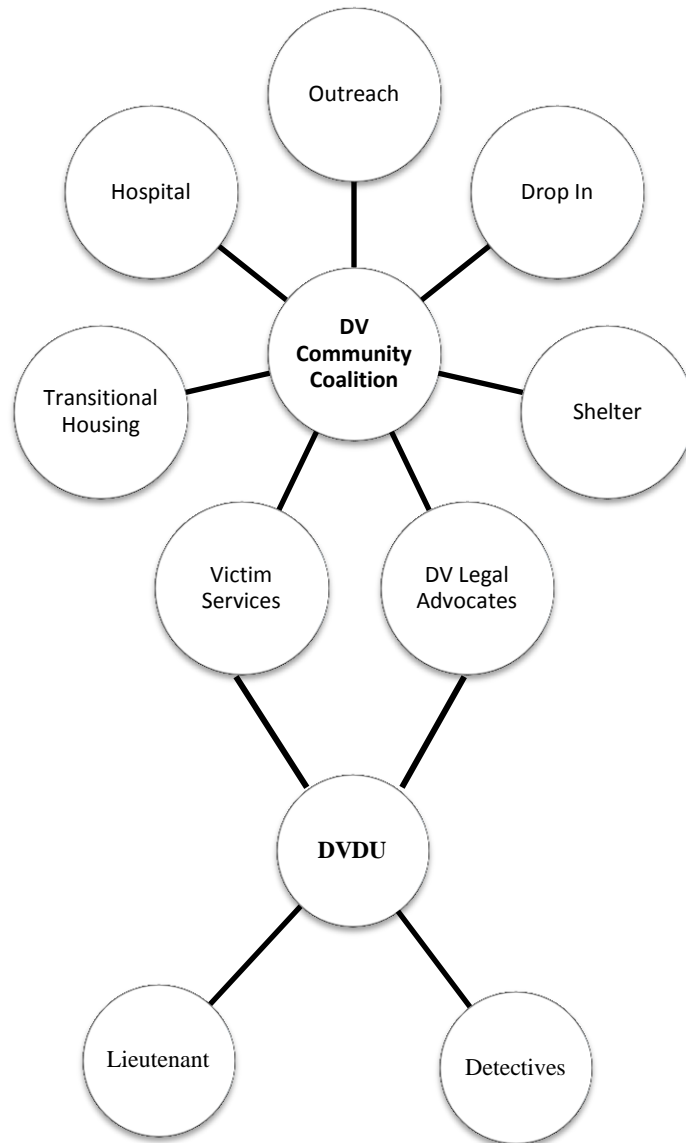
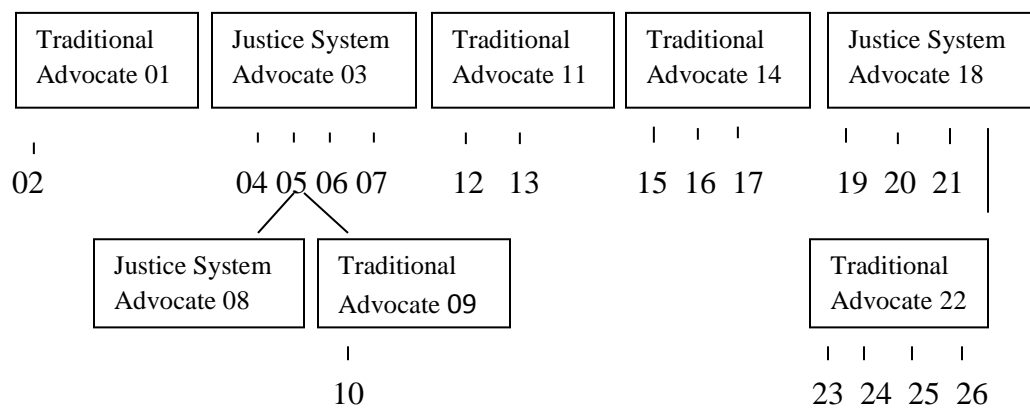


Figure 2.3: Sampling “Snowball” Referral Chart



Chapter 3

Gendered Identity, Ideology, and Practice

In chapter one I described how early feminist advocacy was grounded in survivor-defined practices and social change activism. In this chapter I examine whether advocates still hold feminist identities, ideologies, and practices that are similar to the early feminist advocates. I also explore feminist advocacy in community based responses, and contextual differences between rural advocates and those working in metropolitan areas. First, I provide a basic overview of advocates' self-identification as feminist by regional and organizational contexts. Second, I investigate how advocates describe feminism, detailing the complexities and contradictions of meaning. I further explain how advocates' conceptualization of feminist identity relates to their various and multifaceted ideologies. Next, I explore the ways advocates negotiate their feminist identities in community based responses. Last, I discuss the interrelated nature of feminist identity, ideology, and practices, clearly delineating the ways in which feminism shapes advocacy and why it is important.

Feminist Identity and Ideology

I explored advocates' identity by asking whether they would describe themselves as a feminist, and then further examined identity by asking what feminism meant to them. Of the 26 advocates interviewed for this project, 17 identified as feminist and 9 did not (see Table 3.1). By further examining advocates' feminist (or non-feminist) identities, I found that there were some differences by regional and organizational context.

First, in metro Faulds County, only three of eighteen advocates did not identify as feminist. In contrast, six of the eight advocates interviewed in rural Glawe County did not identify as feminist. Thus, there were some regional distinctions in embracing a feminist identity. In Faulds County, the higher proportion of feminist advocates is likely related to the strong local coalition, the history of a robust battered women's movement, and availability of higher education/ internships with feminist curriculum. In addition, all directors in Faulds County identified as feminist, and a majority described feminist programming in their organizations.

Thus, feminist identity was more prevalent in Faulds County, where feminist directors, programming, education, and strong coalitions were the norm. Such dynamics may be a product of a metro environment compared to a rural environment, and may facilitate feminist identity. For example, Charlotte, a veteran in the field, discussed the influence of a very strong feminist coalition in Faulds County:

Well, it's so funny because I never used to [identify as feminist] and then another advocate from another agency, said "but

Charlotte, you really are, you just don't recognize it about yourself." Probably I have become more of a feminist than when I first started....I'm an old buffalo in the field. I was here when the victim's rights statute¹⁴ was written. There are very few of us left in the field who were around when that statute was written. So I think it's being a voice for varying different aspects for our field. In terms of being a voice for women, I'm lucky to be working in a very, very pro-women setting.

In similar discussions, several other advocates in Faulds County also indicated the importance of the strong local feminist domestic violence coalition in perpetuating feminist identity among advocates. In fact, advocates in these organizations undergo training prepared by the local coalition. This training is informally called DV 101 and formally called "Violence against Women: An Introduction. Welcome to the Movement." The training includes a history of the feminist battered women's movement, the gender dynamics involved in domestic violence, and the foundations and principles of advocacy. Advocates from Faulds County were also trained by the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence in best practices. The [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence has links to the early feminist anti-domestic violence movement, and movement veterans in Faulds County are still active in the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence.

¹⁴ "State law guarantees crime victims and witnesses certain notification rights and participation in the criminal justice system." These rights are found in Section 595.209 of [State] Revised Statutes ([State] Constitution).

In comparison, in Glawe County neither of the directors identified as feminist, nor did feminism appear to be a part of the programming. There was no evidence of a battered women's movement or a strong centralized local coalition. Advocates received training from the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence related to best practices in advocacy, but did not get education and training from a local feminist coalition. The only two advocates in Glawe County identifying as feminists had college degrees in women's studies. Feminist identity was not as common in Glawe County, where feminist directors, programming, and coalitions did not exist.

These findings are consistent with prior research indicating that feminist directors and managers with a background in domestic violence provide mentorship in and thus preserve feminist advocacy within their organizations (Arnold, 2010; Lehrner & Allen, 2009; Macy et al, 2010). It is also consistent with research finding that feminism is less likely among rural domestic violence victim advocates, who are not as likely to be exposed to feminist mentorship, programming, education, and social movement philosophy (Lehrner & Allen, 2009).

Second, in addition to regional distinctions in feminist identity, there were differences in feminist identities when comparing those working in the justice system to those working in traditionally feminist organizations. Contrary to prior research, in my research, advocates in the justice system were *more* likely to identify as feminist than their peers

working in traditionally feminist organizations, both in rural and in metro contexts. Therefore, existing concerns over co-optation through employment of advocates by the courts, police departments, and hospitals and consequently not being feminist or practicing feminist advocacy are not necessarily supported by my research (Shepard & Pence, 1999; Avalon, 2008; Nichols, 2011). However, it should be noted that in the metro justice system, individuals typically attained their positions because of their background in domestic violence. For example, one of the justice system advocates previously worked in a highly feminist batterer intervention program. Another worked in a shelter before getting her position working in the police department, and yet another had a degree in women's studies. Both directors of victim services in the courts were veterans of the domestic violence movement. In the rural setting, the only advocates identifying as feminists were working in the justice system, but had college degrees in feminist studies. Thus, the institutional setting may be less important in solidifying identity than the background, education, and experience of the individuals in organizations, as well as strong local feminist coalitions.

Meanings of Feminism

Whether an advocate identified as feminist or not depended, in part, on her definition of feminism. Many advocates who did not identify as feminist had different meanings of feminism from the meaning generally accepted by feminists— that women should have the same

economic, social, and political rights as men. While some advocates did not identify as feminist, all advocates believed women and men should be equal. Thus the interviews divulged conflicting and multifaceted meanings of feminism.

‘I’m not a feminist, but...’

Acker (1992, p. 567) contends that “gender identity in the sense of knowing which gender category to place oneself in, is not necessarily an adequate guide.” Similarly, when an advocate does not label herself as a feminist, it may not mean that she does not support some or all of the components of feminism. Feminism often has a negative connotation; not all women or men want to associate themselves with it (hooks, 2000; Rowe-Finkbeiner, 2004). For example, a majority of advocates who did not identify as feminist made seemingly contradictory statements: they expressed belief in equal rights for all, but did not identify as feminist. Shelli, a self-identified feminist, came across the same dynamic in her education and awareness programs: women did not want to associate themselves with feminism though they supported its premise of equal rights. When Shelli was asked to describe what it meant to be a feminist, her initial reply was flippantly sarcastic. But she went on to note some of the defining characteristics of a feminist identity:

It means I hate men! (laughs) I have to tell you one of the saddest things, is when I go in and talk to young women and they say they’re not a feminist. Older women too, but if you ask them what it means— they don’t know! First of all, a feminist can be male or female, number one get over it everybody! Some of my biggest supporters throughout the years have been male feminists. So

anyway, a feminist to me is someone who realizes that there is oppression and inequality of different peoples in the world, and that one of the biggest ones are women— you recognize that there's an inequality in the dynamics of power and control and oppression— you then commit yourself to bringing about the systemic changes that will bring that down, that's a feminist.

Shelli's experience reflects my own in this research project. Advocates who did not identify as feminist did not know what one was or had a meaning of the word that was inconsistent with its definition.

First, the misconception of feminism as a desire for “superiority of women” as opposed to “equality for women” led some advocates to not identify as feminist. For example, when I asked Eve, “Would you describe yourself as a feminist?” Her response was, “Okay, I'm not really good at putting people in pigeon holes, I believe in e-qual-i-ty.” I then asked what feminism meant to her in order to clarify her response. She said, “I believe in equality for everyone, albeit man, woman or child.” Eve's example delineates reluctance to identify as a feminist because she supported equal rights for all persons; in her mind, feminists fought, not for equality, but for more power for women than for men. Further, although Eve did not identify as feminist, she expressed a strong recognition of both the sexed and the gendered nature of domestic violence, as largely male-to-female violence that was a display of masculinity and “gendered privilege.” She repeatedly discussed hierarchal arrangements in society, the oppression of women, and the relationship with domestic violence. Thus, while she did not label herself as a feminist, she supported feminist ideologies.

Yet, the meaning of feminism is complex; a feminist must recognize gendered inequalities in the first place to understand what wanting equal rights means. While Eve did recognize gendered inequalities, a majority of non-feminists did not. Not identifying as a feminist was a red flag that these individuals do not recognize the gendered inequalities that do exist. For example, when Belinda was asked if she would describe herself as a feminist, she replied, “No, a humanist.” When asked to explain what that meant to her, she stated:

I care about everybody. We all have our part in this world. We’re all part of the fabric of life and the universe, and I don’t want to be exclusive. I want to be inclusive. I value men and women, children, the whole nine yards.

Her response, similar to Eve’s and to other non-feminist advocates, indicated that her meaning of feminism was the desire for women to be superior to men. For clarification, I then asked, “So feminism to you would mean putting a higher value on women, or at least more of a focus?” and she replied in the affirmative. When I asked how her perspective related to victim advocacy, Belinda then said that domestic violence services should not focus more on women than men. In this example, one might initially think Belinda is a feminist and just does not know it because of her incorrect definition of feminism— she clearly supported equality. Yet, she did not recognize the gender dynamics of domestic violence and the disproportionate need for services and resources. As feminism largely centers on recognizing gender inequalities and changing them to create an equal society, Belinda was correct in not

labeling herself as a feminist because of her “neutral” ideology. Similarly, all but one non-feminist advocate, Eve, did not have gendered ideologies of domestic violence or perspectives recognizing socio-structural gender inequalities. Thus, it seems as though a feminist identity is important, as it is associated with the ideologies that guided the practices of early feminist advocates— survivor-defined practices and social change activism.

Second, another contradiction of meanings occurred when an advocate conflated lesbian identity with feminism. When I asked Vicki if she would describe herself as a feminist, she raised her eyebrows, and gave a short “No.” I then asked her, “What does that word, feminism, mean to you?” Vicki stated:

You know I guess I look at a feminist as someone who has extreme women’s rights. I guess I see someone who marches in gay pride and doing things like that. I guess— I just— I’m all about women’s rights, but (shrugs).

Vicki’s example indicates her association of feminism with gay identity. While she supported women’s rights, she did not support all women’s rights, such as lesbians, or gay rights which in turn shaped her identity as a non-feminist. One other rural advocate expressed this same definition—that one had to be a lesbian to be feminist.

Then what is a feminist? Feminist ideologies. Among advocates that did identify as feminist, their meanings of feminism were also complex. All advocates identifying as feminist described a feminist as someone who wants women to have the same rights and opportunities as men. For example, when asked if she would call herself a feminist, Kari

stated, “Absolutely!” And when further asked, “What does that word feminism mean to you?” she replied: “I’ve always gone with the more broad term which is simply— you desire a higher quality of life and equal rights for women, that’s it.” Advocates identifying as feminist unanimously stated recognition of gendered inequalities as a part of feminist identity as well. In addition, all but one feminist advocate believed a feminist must be an activist to be a feminist, and a majority of feminist advocates clearly stated that a feminist must recognize how other inequalities such as race and class factor into gendered inequalities. Thus, for those advocates who did identify as feminists, their meanings of feminism were intimately related to their feminist ideologies, such as gendered, social change and intersectional ideologies (see Table 3.1).

Gendered and social change ideologies. Feminist identity was related to acknowledgement of the gendered nature of domestic violence, social change perspectives, and intersectional feminist perspectives. First, since feminists are generally aware of and actively seek to change gendered inequalities, it is not surprising that feminist advocates had gendered ideologies about domestic violence. For example, when I asked if she thought feminism applied to domestic violence, Amy indicated the importance of recognizing the gender dynamics of domestic violence:

I’m going to use men as the offender and female as the victim, I think through society we need to make changes on how we view gender roles and women are supposed to do this, and men are supposed to do that, and I think that...contributes to, “I can, she’s mine, I can control her, I can hit her, or I can assault her or take advantage of her.” So it goes hand in hand with domestic violence

and these men learning and seeing and thinking that it's okay to do that.

Like most feminist advocates, Amy integrated social change perspectives with her recognition of gendered inequalities of domestic violence. She believed that societal changes in gender dynamics would diminish domestic violence. In another example, when asked if she would describe herself as a feminist, Jean said, "Oh absolutely!" Jean then elaborated on the meaning of feminist identity:

To me being a feminist is, first of all, understanding that the society that we live in is— not only patriarchal but hierarchal. I think, it's too, as a feminist I feel that there is a commitment to educating as much as possible. Many people don't understand that sexism still exists to such a large degree in our society— I think it's a part [of feminism] to educate people about that.

Like Amy, Jean and a majority of other feminist advocates exemplified a feminist identity and perspective matching that of the early feminist advocates. Jean recognized societal gender dynamics and incorporated social change ideology— in her case, through education programs. Similarly, Liz stated:

Specifically, how can I work to empower women specifically in a culture that doesn't necessarily make that a priority? So for me that's what being a feminist is about— looking for ways that women can be empowered, to identify ways in which a hierarchy is in place that works against women and to call that out and to say that this isn't okay. I think that like a lot of people don't necessarily look to see how much privilege we give men in our culture— because we are just so inundated with it everywhere. Again, it gets back to that whole cultural thing about how we socialize men in this country, how we socialize women in this country. So we're talking about cultural shifts and cultural changes. My feminist perspective has a lot to do with my social change perspective, they are totally linked together.

In Faulds County, such gendered and social change ideology was expressed by all advocates identifying as feminist. In contrast, gendered and social change ideology was not articulated by non-feminist advocates. In rural Glawe County, feminist ideology was expressed by both of the advocates who identified as feminist, and was only conveyed by one of the six advocates who did not identify as feminist. None of the non-feminist advocates expressed social change ideologies, and one feminist did not delineate social change ideology. Among the advocates I interviewed, then, feminist identity was largely related to gendered and social change ideologies.

Intersectional ideologies. Unlike early (white) feminists, the advocates I spoke to stressed the importance of recognizing intersecting identities. Aileen described what it meant to her to be a feminist:

It means that it's the theoretical framework through which we try to understand unequal distributions of power and access to resources and that we look at it as a gendered issue. How does gender play out in that? And how do intersections of race and class influence how we "do gender" and how that limits access to resources?

Like Aileen, most advocates with feminist ideologies also expressed intersectional feminist ideologies. The second wave feminist movement of the 1970s has been widely critiqued as a largely white middle/ upper class women's movement that ignored women's race and class identities, and activism of women of color (Hill-Collins, 2000). In contrast, most feminist advocates in my research integrated these intersectional feminist perspectives in their advocacy. For example, like Aileen, Ingrid stated:

Feminism is all about seeing how women experience inequality...disability is a big one. Working with very overweight women, I see biases there too. And that has everything to do with gender and how women are supposed to be to get privilege.

Advocates in my research also expressed how identities such as ethnicity and limited-English speaking abilities, disability, and obesity related to gender, victimization, and advocacy. Advocates with intersectional ideologies were more prevalent in Faulds County, where those with a feminist identity generally had an intersectional outlook.

In rural Glawe County, feminist identity also was associated with intersectional perspectives. Rural advocates who did not identify as feminist (six) did not express intersectional perspectives, while the two feminist advocates did. In Faulds County there were no differences between advocates in the justice system and in traditionally feminist organizations in intersectional ideologies. In Glawe County, the advocates with intersectional ideologies were both in the justice system, and none of the advocates in traditionally feminist organizations had intersectional viewpoints. In sum, intersectional ideologies were related to feminist identity, background, education, and region but were not apparently related to organization type, at least not in the manner that one might expect.

Negotiating Feminist Identity

Advocates who self-identified as feminist described the ways in which they negotiated this identity in their role as advocates. Advocates who were feminist reported toning down their outward representations of

feminism in collaborating with other organizations, interacting with community based response (CBR) members, and in the general community. They used “neutral” language in community education programs, training programs, and organizational materials. Advocates in Glawe County described hiding their feminist identity both with other non-feminist advocates and with CBR members. Some advocates in Faulds County also hid their feminist identity from other CBR members; moreover, justice system advocates simultaneously described navigating their feminist identities with other feminist advocates who did not see them as “real” feminists because of their work in criminal justice organizations.

Advocates described pressure from board members and others involved in community education programs to not use feminist or gendered language when talking about domestic violence in education and training programs in the community. For example, Ingrid described use of neutral language in training programs:

Oh good lord. Don't get me started. Like we have to pretend that men are abused like women are to be accepted and to get anyone to listen to what we have to say. So, we have to say perpetrator/victim” or “abuser/victim.” You show me the demand for our services from men and then I'll change the language! But it's ridiculous to do training using this neutral language when what we get 99.9% of the time is women and their abusers are men. Period.

Shelli stated a similar experience; she was asked by a board member of a batterer intervention program to tone down feminist language in educational trainings:

Pronouns! “Don’t say he, make sure you say only abuser or perpetrator, or this, or her husband— use the relationship term from it.” [If] one of the guys from SUCCESS [a batterer intervention program] is going with us to talk, “let him start out the show. Let him set the scenario because it’s more believable coming from him.”

Shelli, Ingrid, and other feminist advocates described using neutral language in training programs. This is consistent with prior research finding advocates may “tone down” their feminist identity in the presence of funders, board presidents, the courts, and their communities (Arnold, 2010; Macy et al, 2010).

Second, in addition to use of gender-neutral language in trainings, advocates also reported concealing feminist identity in their interactions with other community based response (CBR) stakeholders. For example, in rural Glawe County, Kari described hiding her feminist identity at work with other non-feminist advocates and police officers:

So I tend to keep my education and my feminism under wraps, nobody knows that and I don’t know if they would get it, if I did tell them. If they did it would probably marginalize me. So I just to try and keep a better working relationship for victims, I tend to try and fit in, and not be too feministy...not identify that my [college] degrees are in feminism.

Kari’s outward representations of identity took different forms depending on the group, organization, or individuals she interacted with. While she had a strong feminist identity, she negotiated this identity within her environment to represent it in more acceptable terms and hid her accomplishments in feminist studies.

In the following statement, Summer, who works with Kari, depicted the mentality of the non-feminist advocates that Kari worked with. When I asked Summer if she'd describe herself as a feminist, she said, "No. I can't wait for you to ask the next person this question because I would love to hear her answer, because we have one here [a feminist]..." Her response was stated in an excited jesting manner, and indicated the novelty of feminist identity within her organization and community. Thus it is not surprising that Kari would tone down her feminist identity in such circumstances. Summer then described the local context and its impact on feminist identity, suggesting why feminist identity is rare in rural Glawe County:

I think that the fact that I work in a law enforcement agency with 99% men, you have to kind of keep in check in a small town. This is rural small town, and so if you're going to fit in and have the respect of the people that are around you, you can't come across as being someone who thinks that all victims deserve the benefit of the doubt...To me that is a little bit of a feminist attitude- I guess to describe a feminist, I'm not ultimately for the female.

Her words describe her interpretation of how feminism is received in her rural community and within a male-dominated justice system, further suggesting that successful navigation of feminist identities in such a context largely requires hiding them from others.

Like Kari in the rural justice system, two advocates in the urban justice system stated that they had to hide or negotiate their feminist identity, and if they did not, they would "get flak" from officers and attorneys. Teresa, who worked in the urban justice system, described

having a good relationship overall with officers, her chief, and the detectives she works with. However, Teresa maintained, “If I were to walk out in the police department and say I’m a feminist, they [officers] would say ‘no you’re not!’ because they have a very different idea of what a feminist should be.” Teresa then described her perception of officers’ definition of feminism: “There are still some that think that they [feminists] just hate men.” She illustrated officers’ behavior in such circumstances by drawing an analogy to a time when she told a few officers she was a democrat and one of them called her a “communist.” The officers that see democrats as communists also saw feminists as man-haters. Teresa also recalled having experienced harassment from attorneys, who associated lesbianism with feminism: “The other thing that occasionally comes up is that we must all be lesbians because we’re a group of women who work in the same office— attorneys like at the Order of Protection Court will say things like that.”

Teresa described not only navigating her identity with the officers and the courts, but with other advocates who did not work in the justice system:

They [other advocates] think that is where you find distinctions— about whether or not you work with the government. Or advocates define you also and your feminist idea by that [working in the justice system] as well, so I think that is why we’re seen a little bit less like a true advocate.

Emily expressed similar sentiments:

Not a lot of advocates want to work with police at all, so they [other advocates] see us as very different than them, maybe not as

feminist as them, maybe that's a good way to put it, I don't know. I think that there are some, I would say it's a few, but there are some who see us [advocates working in the justice system] as them [police].

Such advocates thus walk a thin line in their feminist representations—other advocates not working in the justice system may not accept the justice system advocates' feminist identity because they work in largely masculine institutions. But at the same time, they have to negotiate their feminist identities within the justice system as well. This dual approach to identity – hiding and simultaneously revealing – was present in both Faulds and Glawe Counties.

Outside of the justice system, when asked how feminism was received in collaborative responses, Shelli, who did not hide her feminist identity, said, “Humor, people use a lot, jokingly [others say] ‘watch out for them [feminists].’ [laughs] That’s a euphemism for ‘they’re bitches!’” Her statement indicates that such individuals feel uncomfortable, threatened by, or even feel that it is acceptable to make fun of feminist identity. They choose to mitigate this perceived threat under the veil of humor. Shelli’s interpretation, that feminists are perceived in a negative light, was supported by other advocates who described that they had to hide their identities or experience harassment.

Third, in a slightly different focus, I examined websites, brochures, mission statements, and pamphlets of the organizations advocates came from in my sample to provide additional context for the environments advocates worked in and how it may relate to advocacy. In both rural and

in metro contexts, I found no mention in these material items of feminism or the battered women's movement. All material representations of the organizations in Glawe County were otherwise neutral, while there was a mix of neutral and feminist language in material representations of organizations in Faulds County in both the justice system and in traditionally feminist organizations. The language was neutral for some organizations, and clearly indicated services were available to women and men, or used non-identifying generic language. For example, one mission statement of an outreach program used gender neutral terminology: "to provide counseling, emergency sanctuary, and other critical services to adults and children who have been impacted by domestic abuse, as well as to increase awareness in order to create a supportive community. The vision is to end domestic abuse, restoring safety and peace one family at a time." Neutral mission statements and brochures also largely framed domestic violence as "family violence" as opposed to "violence against women." In Glawe County, the gender neutral patterns in titles, mission statements and material items largely matched the non-feminist ideologies of the advocates working in the organizations.

Yet, other websites and brochures explicitly stated the gender dynamics involved in domestic violence, framing domestic violence as violence against women, largely male-perpetrated, and related to masculinity or oppression of women. Further, some mission statements clearly indicated the organization provided services specifically for

women. For example, one mission statement of a shelter program in Faulds County was gendered in a very feminist way, reminiscent of early feminist models: “to provide safe shelter and support services to battered women and their dependent children and to empower women to make informed choices about their futures.” In Faulds County, organizations that had feminist mission statements had a majority of advocates that were feminist working there. Yet, advocates working in organizations with neutral materials were majority-feminist also. However, all advocates in my sample participated in the local feminist coalition as well, which has “violence against women” in its title.

In sum, outward representations of feminism are somewhat mitigated in collaborative responses – through use of neutral language in trainings and in material representations of organizations, as well as hiding feminist identity to avoid negative interactions with officers, attorneys, and other advocates. While feminist identity generally guided social change and intersectional perspectives, as well as ideologies of domestic violence as gendered or neutral, the relationship to practice was more complex. Next, I detail the practice of feminist advocacy, how it relates to feminist identity/ideologies, and why it is important.

The Practice of Advocacy

As described in chapter one, historically, feminist advocacy was largely composed of two parts: social change activism and survivor-defined practices. A survivor-defined approach works to empower abused

women through providing information, resources, and support so women can make their own informed decisions. The survivor-defined approach of feminist advocacy assumes women's agency, considers individual cases and needs, and provides resources and support to empower victims (Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Lehrner & Allen, 2009; Jordan, 2004, 2010). Social change activism involves recognition of the gendered nature of domestic violence, and works to change the socio-structural inequalities that support it. Based on this, I consequently expected that feminist advocates would be more likely to have survivor-defined approaches and social change in their advocacy compared to their non-feminist counterparts.

Survivor-Defined Approaches

Contrary to my expectations, I found that a majority of advocates, whether they had feminist identities/ideologies or not, practiced survivor-defined advocacy (See Table 3.1). In this section, I first describe feminist advocates' approach to survivor-defined advocacy, and how it stems from their feminist ideologies. I then illustrate non-feminist advocates' survivor-defined practices, and detail catalysts to survivor-defined approaches among non-feminists.

Feminist survivor-defined advocacy. A typical response of feminist advocates to the question, "What is your approach to advocacy?" is represented in Gillian's description of her approach to advocacy:

The situations that women find themselves in, and what may help to remedy things for them, is varied. To do this from other than a

woman-centered approach— you're just not going to connect with a woman and really provide something that is meaningful, without finding out what's meaningful to her. To do that you have to be woman-centered. When they [survivors] are in a relationship with somebody who is sucking up all of the control, and to engage in a relationship with that person [the survivor] in which you also assume a role of control and authority, it's not what she wants or needs. Now, it's not that the advocate has this role of you just kind of roll over and play dead, it's more of a partnership, where I know a ton about domestic violence, I know a ton about resources in the community, and this woman knows a ton about her life, what matters to her, what has worked before, she knows the ins and outs of the person who's making problems, and so it is really a partnership of putting those things together. Then coming up with a plan. It's an active role but you don't get sort of dominant, so it's respectful and it's built on her knowledge and expertise and really it's about her making the choices and decisions— but that all comes about from this bigger conversation with the advocate.

In this example, Gillian compared a controlling style of advocacy to abusive relationships and suggested that women-based (survivor-defined) forms of advocacy were more effective and “respectful.” Similarly, Glenda discussed why feminist advocacy is important in psychological terms:

Because I think the women that come here haven't had it [empowerment]. I think once they begin to do that it gives them the courage and it builds up their self- esteem, their image of themselves that they can do it and it's empowering.

Glenda too illustrated the parallels between controlling advocacy and an abusive relationship, arguing that empowerment is key and cannot emerge within the constraints of controlling practices. Such beliefs remain central to feminist ideologies.

In addition, in a conversation about survivor-defined approaches, when asked, “What's the problem with doing it the other way, trying to

convince her to leave her abuser if she doesn't want to or isn't able to?"

Jasmine delineated the importance of safety:

It's just not safe, first of all, if she's not ready to leave him, she's not going to leave him. So, she's still in an unsafe situation but without the help that we can provide in terms of helping her with a safety plan at home with that abusive partner. We're also denying her our support while she's in that abusive relationship... we have to trust her [the survivor]. I think that's the crux of the problem and I think that's a sexist problem in our society that we still have a patriarchal attitude toward women. They need to be taken care of, they need to be told what they need to do, we're smarter than they are, and we have to help them learn how to be smart, and live better, and be better parents, and all of that.

Jasmine clearly illustrated the importance of collaborative and empowering advocacy to women's safety, and related it to feminist ideologies. She described how each individual woman she worked with had specific needs that were important to safety. Listening to women and noting what their needs were played a significant role in her advocacy. If individual cases and needs were not considered in patriarchal or "neutral" advocacy, then women's safety could be compromised because they would have no support or recourse. So advocates associated survivor-defined practices not only with feminist ideology, but with the reality of improved outcomes and safety through feminist survivor-defined approaches. Feminist advocates consistently described what individual women wanted and needed as the cornerstone of their advocacy. They highlighted listening to victims in order to best work for their safety, even when victims chose to remain with their abusers, as safety depended on victim's willingness to use and access services. Feminist advocates

regularly related survivor-defined models to feminist ideologies of empowerment and agency of victims.

So why do non-feminists practice survivor-defined advocacy?

Feminists practiced survivor-defined advocacy, clearly indicating it was because the approach was consistent with their feminist ideologies as well as the realities of women's safety. However, my findings indicate that all non-feminist advocates also described their approach to advocacy as survivor-defined. The difference was that non-feminists did not see this practice as a part of feminist advocacy, and did not relate it to gendered ideologies. Instead, personal experience as survivors, experience with safety issues as an advocate, training from the [State] coalition, and feminist programming in organizations were sources leading to survivor-defined approaches.

For example, Belinda offered her approach to advocacy as *woman-centered* advocacy. Although she did not identify as a feminist, she eloquently described how utterly damaging controlling practices can be to women who are already suffering from abuse. Drawing from her own experiences of abuse and eventually leaving her abusive relationship, she related:

We practice woman centered advocacy, yes, absolutely! Because the opposite of being abused and oppressed most people think it's love, no! The opposite of being abused and oppressed is having your own personal power. Being part of that process when a woman empowers herself to be her own person, to reclaim her life, to reclaim her spirit, it requires that we respect her decisions, requires that we respect her opinions and her experience, and we honor and we reverence it, and we don't judge it, we don't put it

down, we don't minimize her. So it's very, very important here. So while some of the decisions that women make that we're working with may not be what we think are appropriate, she knows the best thing for her. She knows her abuser better than we do, and her timing is her timing and I respect that. It took me a long time to get out of my abusive relationship. Well-meaning people lost interest in me a long time before I ever made my way to safety. So having patience, having respect and regard and watching her personal power grow is so motivational, and so satisfying to us.

I asked why she thought her approach was beneficial to victims, and she began to discuss hierarchal approaches:

I don't like that because that takes her personal power away from her, that says your way is not good enough, you have to make it our way, and she has been told she's not good enough for so darn long...

So while Belinda did not have feminist identity or ideology, she did recognize hierarchy and its impact in individual advocacy. She chose to forego such controlling advocacy in favor of the survivor-defined model similar to that of the early feminist advocates. Such ideologies and related practices came from being in an abusive relationship herself and consequently understanding victims' needs on a more personal level.

Feminist programming in organizations also facilitated survivor-defined practices among non-feminists. Aileen, a feminist director of an organization, delineated the role of feminist programming at Safe Harbor:

...Whether individual advocates identify themselves as feminist or not, we have an extremely feminist design in the programming... So we design our services to help her take control of her life. It's all about helping her put together the resources she needs to have control of her life, the way that she defines it. So, it's very woman-led advocacy. She defines it. She sets her goals. We help her get the resources she needs and help her understand how to put those together to live a life she wants as she defines it, not how we tell her she needs to live.

Aileen's example indicates the significance of programmatic design, which may explain why advocates working at Safe Harbor (a transitional housing program) who did not identify as feminist nonetheless practiced advocacy reflecting feminist survivor-defined models.

For example, when asked if feminism was part of her advocacy, Heidi, who works with Aileen, maintained that she was not a feminist nor was feminism a part of her advocacy. However, she also went on to describe her practice of survivor-defined advocacy:

I think it's important to empower them [abused women] to make their own decisions, I think a lot of what we do in advocacy is to provide them with a lot of different resources and suggestions and ideas, but what's really important is to respect their decisions, and respect this is what they've chosen regardless of what we think is best for them, but providing them with the resources to make the best decision...that they can stand and be economically independent and empowered to make choices for themselves and their children.

Thus, feminist programming at the organizational-level can facilitate survivor-defined models in advocacy organizations. In addition, training from the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence worked to educate advocates on survivor-defined approaches. Non-feminist advocates described training as very important to developing and maintaining survivor-defined approaches. For example, Eve said:

The coalition has come up with a wonderful power and control training for us and we will refer to that. You get job burnout. You get cynical. You become judgmental. And as an advocate you can't! So I don't care if you have heard one story or you have heard fifty stories today, she demands the respect, time and attention. But working in a shelter where you're working 24/7, it gets hard. And you do get tired. But you have to remember why

you are here. The [State Coalition] meetings give you kind of a re-set.

In addition to personal experience as a survivor, [State] Coalition trainings and feminist programming in organizations, a majority of non-feminist advocates found survivor-defined approaches were most effective and adapted to them over time. For example, while Vicki did not identify as a feminist and was not a part of a feminist organization with feminist programming, she described survivor-defined advocacy and how she eventually changed to this form based on her experiences as an advocate:

You know I think that until they're [victims] ready to make their own decision regardless, like it doesn't matter what you tell them... "I'm not here to tell you to get a divorce, to stay, to leave, I just want to make sure that you have all of the options that are available to you, so that you can make the best decision for you." I guess when I was younger I probably had a different philosophy, "you need to do this, this and this type thing" and it doesn't get you anywhere. You find out they are less likely to call back [an advocate] in that case...

I then asked Vicki, "Is that why you changed your model?" and she said:

Mmmm hmmm, and that's when I worked at Family Services, "you need to do this, this and this," and then I guess with age, time and I guess just...experience...you realize it doesn't work. So it's up to them to figure out what works best for them and then go from that point.

Vicki, while not a feminist, concluded that hierarchal or controlling advocacy does not work, and gives victims lack of recourse if they feel their choices are dictated. While arrived at through experience rather than through feminist ideologies, Vicki's viewpoint was otherwise identical to feminist advocates in regard to safety.

Social Change Activism

While all advocates practiced survivor-defined advocacy, the social change activism component of feminist advocacy was conspicuously absent from all the advocates who were not feminists. Rather, feminist identity largely predicted both social change ideology and practices (See Table 3.2). Feminist advocates spoke freely about social change activism without being prompted. For example, Anais delineated the difference between feminist advocacy and social service provision. Her example indicates, like the early feminist advocates, that feminist advocacy also includes social change activism:

I think that certainly some advocates look at it as just like a social service job that we are providing and that's not as interesting to me, because we are not really changing anything or making things better... when in reality if we are not only getting women to safety but also getting them resources or support to make their life better, they are less likely to go back to their abuser and are more empowered not to get into abusive relationships in the future. But we are also [not only] sending the message that domestic violence is wrong, and you don't deserve to be treated that way to the women, but to the general community so [if] we are creating a community where DV [domestic violence], and then also the oppression of women, is not tolerated or accepted, then it is making the community a safer place for all women that live there, so that's interesting and exciting to me.

Thus, Anais described her advocacy as including societal changes in perceptions of both gender and domestic violence. Like Anais, Shelli suggested that feminists are those who recognize gender inequality and actively seek to change it. Her social change ideology and activism was interrelated with her feminist identity. Shelli elaborated on the

interconnectedness of social change and feminist identity, describing how she liked asking other women if they were feminists:

I love asking people those questions. So you'd rather not have a checking account in your name? Don't want to vote, huh? Don't want to own property, do ya? Don't want to keep your birth name? Ohhh okay. [The women I ask say] "Yeah I want to do all of those things," [I say] Then you're a feminist! Do you realize that there is inequality and oppression? That's all, and then the next step is that you have to commit to actively do what you have to do, to bring that system down, because I don't believe that you can be a feminist just by recognizing it. You have to do it. You have to commit to do something, and I don't care if it's a small little thing, but you have to commit to do something. You are not a bystander.

Shelli further described how social change was a part of her approach to advocacy largely through community activism, education and awareness programs, and activism through the local feminist coalition. Similarly,

Glenda stated:

Well, I think it [social change] means to have a level playing ground, to have a model of self-empowerment, a participative model; to do everything you can to change the patriarchal system in which we live in, and to really do everything that I can to change the 'isms' in our culture.

In contrast with Shelli, Anais, Glenda, and other feminist advocates, Heidi, who did not identify as feminist, emphatically stated:

... I don't describe myself as the reason I do this work is because of being feminist...I think it's that, so feminism is basically empowering women and I am that but I hesitate to say I'm feminist as to why I do this work. I do this work because I care about women and children. It's not because of a greater cause of women's rights.

Heidi indicated that to her, feminism and women's rights are unrelated to victim advocacy. She believed feminist identity included social change

activism and, unlike the feminist advocates, she did not support social change activism as a part of her advocacy.

Shelli, Anais, and the other advocates with social change perspectives largely highlighted community education as a part of their social change practices. In other words, they worked in schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, and police departments to provide education about domestic violence. They also emphasized being active in changing social systems in the community through their activism and in the justice system (see Chapter four) and in shelters (see Chapter five). This activism was almost exclusively present in largely feminist Faulds County, although one feminist advocate in Glawe County described writing an article for publication that she saw as activism within academia; she tried to change a shelter rule without success (see Chapter 5), and worked on an interactional level to seek out changes for victims. Thus, feminist identity generally predicted social change practices. Feminist identity also predicted intersectional practices as well.

Intersectional Practices

I found a component of feminist advocacy in my sample that is not a finding of early advocates— an intersectional feminist approach to advocacy (See Table 3.3). Of those identifying as feminist, the majority of advocates had perspectives in which they saw how different women had varied experiences based on their sexual orientation, ethnicity, disability,

racial and class distinctions. Their approach to advocacy recognized these distinctions and actively sought to mitigate potential bias in their practices.

Thus, while early feminist practices of advocacy included social change activism and survivor-defined advocacy, current feminist practices in both Glawe and Faulds County combined survivor-defined practices, intersectional approaches, and social change activism (See Figure 3.1). For example, when asked if feminism played a part in her advocacy Jean described an intersectional approach:

Well, feminism plays a huge role in advocacy, partly because when you are working with a woman as an advocate you have to see how she fits in this societal stratification, not only she is a woman but ... she may be a black woman, she may be a lesbian woman, she may be a disabled woman...there's all of these layers of oppression and you have to really understand those to be able to advocate for a woman, that's true with the police, with the courts, with our agencies, with our own domestic violence agencies, who don't often see the sexism in their own organization, how it may be operating.

Jean believed feminist advocacy included not just recognition of gendered inequalities, but how other identities women hold affect their experiences with domestic violence, victim services, and the justice system. Advocates with intersectional approaches stated this perspective was imperative in order to know how to advocate for women's individual needs, and to counter the various biases such women experience. Importantly, intersectional feminist advocacy works to mitigate the systemic biases these individuals may experience because of sexual orientation, ethnicity, race, or other social identities.

Kari described how some officers did not take cases of domestic violence seriously when it occurred in the context of a gay or lesbian relationship. She recognized some biases among a few officers and she recalled talking to them to get better results for the victims she worked with. In addition, Kari's following example illustrates intersectional feminist practices in her advocacy:

I think a lot of times there are a lot of assumptions about gender roles from all over the place from officers and what not— so things like that as a feminist like I do bring that in, I'm like, "Really? Why is that relevant?" Or if they are a gay couple. "Since when do GLBTQ folks not have the same rights under the law? It doesn't matter that they are gay!" I do bring it [intersectional practices] in a lot.

Kari went on to describe her work helping some officers understand the gender dynamics of domestic violence, and how these dynamics play out with gay and lesbian couples in the same way. Aileen expressed similar sentiments:

...male victims are overwhelming abused by other males so it's still male violence and certainly there are women who are abused by other women, but it always goes back to, it's the power and privilege dynamics and power and pressure dynamics, and whether they fall strictly on gender lines. What we find is there is still gendering of a certain nature within those relationships that a feminist framework really helps us understand; and that, in same sex relationships where there is an abusive partner somebody is taking control of the resources or preventing somebody else from taking control of resources and how they "do" gender can often have a lot to do with where they are in those resource stratifications.

Thus, feminist frameworks were applied to understand gender dynamics in gay/lesbian relationships involving domestic violence as well. Such intersectional feminist perspectives add to our understandings of current

practices within advocacy organizations and with other CBR members. In addition, these findings contribute to the research exploring the ways feminist advocacy has evolved.

Conclusion

In sum, early feminist advocacy included social change activism and survivor-defined practices. In my research those advocates identifying as feminist also used survivor-defined practices and social change activism, but additionally practiced intersectional feminist approaches. Feminist identity predicted social change and intersectional approaches. However, even advocates that did not identify as feminist typically practiced survivor-defined advocacy, albeit without the feminist label. Therefore, non-feminist advocates are still practicing the survivor-defined component of feminist advocacy, but social change and intersectional approaches are absent from their practices.

As rural advocates were less likely to identify as feminist, they were less likely to have social change and intersectional approaches. However, both advocates that did identify as feminist in rural Glawe County expressed these components of feminist advocacy. Because justice system advocates in both counties were more likely to identify as feminist, they were also more likely to hold social change activist perspectives and intersectional approaches compared to their counterparts in traditionally feminist organizations. However, the majority of advocates in Faulds County in the traditionally feminist organizations did identify as feminist

and had such perspectives and approaches as well, whereas none of the traditional advocates in Glawe County did.

Why does it matter if advocates have feminist identities and corresponding ideologies? Simply put, because identity guides their practices. My findings indicate that the majority of advocates in this study did identify as feminist. They had feminist ideologies and survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. While the survivor-defined model still reigned within practice, non-feminists did not recognize gender dynamics of domestic violence and socio-structural gender inequalities. They also did not have social change perspectives. Advocates may run up against system obstacles in the courts, with police, and with social services— and removing those obstacles requires system change. Advocates who are not feminist may not recognize those obstacles, or think they are acceptable. Failure to recognize systemic gendered inequality and processes leading to revictimization does not work to change those gendered processes or even to address them.

In addition, most advocates identifying as feminist expressed intersectional feminist perspectives and thus recognized barriers based on intersecting identities. Non-feminists who are unable to see such barriers relating to societal unequal distributions of resources by gender, race, class, sexuality, disability and immigrant status are unlikely to work to change such barriers, and may not be able to advocate specifically to explicit needs. An intersectional approach to advocacy works toward

recognizing individual identities and backgrounds and how they relate to domestic violence, and can also work to avoid potential biases within the system.

Why does it matter if advocates maintain feminist identity and representation? It is important to recognize domestic violence as gendered or we lose context for why violence occurs. It is predominately male-to-female violence as a display of power and control, not neutral “family violence” (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Ferarro, 2001; Osthoff, 2001; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Britton, 2011). Violence against women is primarily the context in which domestic violence occurs and early feminist social change targeted that explanation by developing coalitions, hotlines, shelters and collaborative responses. If the perception of domestic violence becomes neutral and it is not recognized as largely male-to-female violence, social change efforts will not be targeted accurately—or exist at all.

Further, research bears out that feminist advocacy, including survivor-defined and social change practices, produces better outcomes for abused women. Survivor-defined approaches are associated with lower levels of future abuse, higher rates of leaving an abusive partner, further legal action toward an abuser, use of multiple services, and higher satisfaction with services (Epstein, 2009; Weisz, 1999; Zweig & Burt, 2006, 2007; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Bennet & Goodman, 2010). Social change activism has produced all of the social services and justice

system resources currently available to domestic violence victims. Consequently, the absence of either survivor-defined or social change practices would be detrimental to battered women.

In the following chapters, I explore how advocates use their survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices in community based responses, further clarifying the importance of such practices. In the next chapter, I examine advocates' practices related to the protective order process, pro-arrest and no-drop prosecution. I show how advocates use social change activism in their community to improve the protective order process for victims. I also discuss the implications of survivor-defined approaches in these criminal justice interventions. In addition, I demonstrate how advocates' intersectional approaches may work to benefit victims in reducing barriers to accessing protective orders. I also describe how no-drop prosecution and pro-arrest can lead to both empowerment and revictimization of battered women, and how advocates deal with any challenges surrounding the policies and related practices of justice system stakeholders.

Figure 3.1: Feminist Advocacy

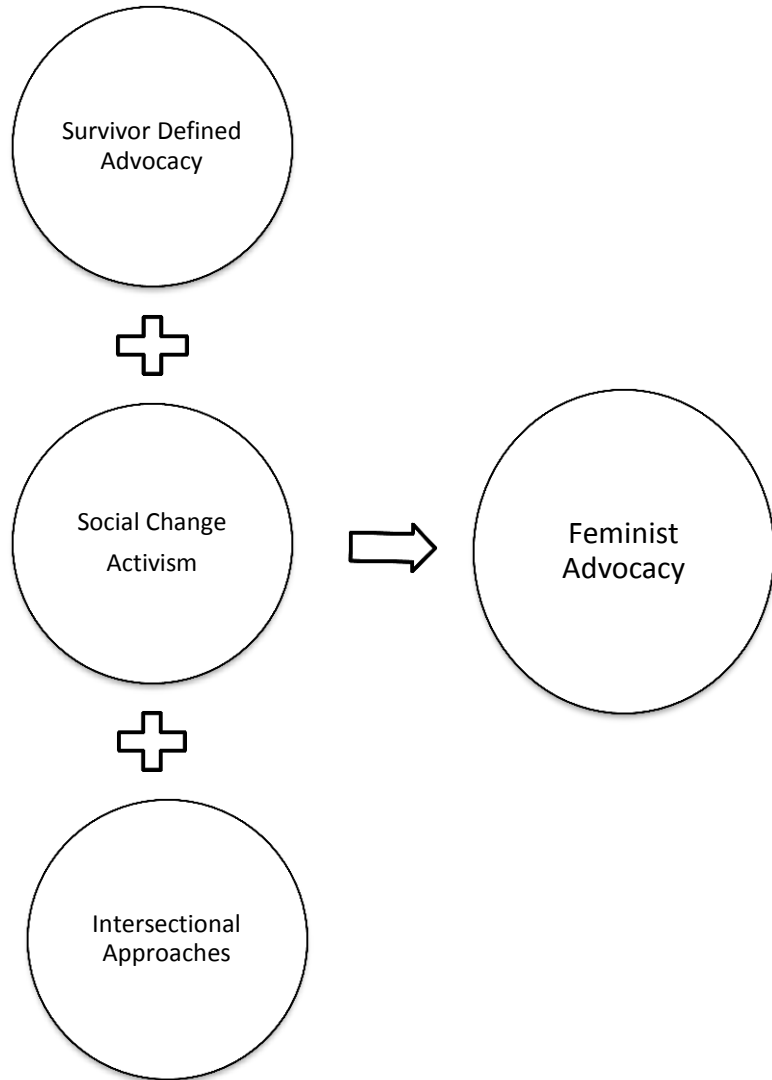


Table 3.1

Participants	Feminist	Feminist Ideology	Survivor Defined Practice
Rural Justice System			
Summer	No	No	Yes
Kari	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vicki	No	No	Yes
Jasmine	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rural Traditional			
Eve	No	Yes	Yes
Deb	No	No	Yes
Gwen	No	No	N/A
Beth	No	No	N/A
Metro Justice System			
Teresa	Yes	Yes	Yes
Emily	Yes	Yes	Yes
Liz	Yes	Yes	Yes
Amy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	Yes	Yes	Yes/No
Annie	Yes	Yes	Yes
Metro Traditional			
Aileen	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anais	Yes	Yes	Yes
Heidi	No	No	Yes
Sheila	No	No	Yes
Belinda	No	No	Yes
Glenda	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jean	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gillian	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cheryl	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shelli	Yes	Yes	Yes
Delia	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ingrid	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3.2

Participants	Feminist	Feminist Ideology	Social Change Practice
Rural Justice System			
Summer	No	No	No
Kari	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vicki	No	No	No
Jasmine	Yes	Yes	No
Rural Traditional			
Eve	No	Yes	No
Deb	No	No	No
Gwen	No	No	No
Beth	No	No	No
Metro Justice System			
Teresa	Yes	Yes	Yes
Emily	Yes	Yes	Yes
Liz	Yes	Yes	Yes
Amy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	Yes	Yes	Yes
Annie	Yes	Yes	Yes
Metro Traditional			
Aileen	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anais	Yes	Yes	Yes
Heidi	No	No	No
Sheila	No	No	No
Belinda	No	No	No
Glenda	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jean	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gillian	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cheryl	Yes	Yes	Yes
Shelli	Yes	Yes	Yes
Delia	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ingrid	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 3.3

Participants	Feminist	Feminist Ideology	Intersectional Practice
Rural Justice System			
Summer	No	No	No
Kari	Yes	Yes	Yes
Vicki	No	No	No
Jasmine	Yes	Yes	Yes
Rural Traditional			
Eve	No	Yes	No
Deb	No	No	No
Gwen	No	No	No
Beth	No	No	No
Metro Justice System			
Teresa	Yes	Yes	Yes
Emily	Yes	Yes	Yes
Liz	Yes	Yes	N/A
Amy	Yes	Yes	Yes
Charlotte	Yes	Yes	N/A
Annie	Yes	Yes	Yes
Metro Traditional			
Aileen	Yes	Yes	Yes
Anais	Yes	Yes	Yes
Heidi	No	No	No
Sheila	No	No	N/A
Belinda	No	No	No
Glenda	Yes	Yes	Yes
Jean	Yes	Yes	Yes
Gillian	Yes	Yes	Yes
Cheryl	Yes	Yes	N/A
Shelli	Yes	Yes	Yes
Delia	Yes	Yes	Yes
Ingrid	Yes	Yes	Yes

Chapter 4

Advocates' Practices in the Justice System

In chapter three, I examined advocates' approach to advocacy and found survivor-defined practices among all advocates, and intersectional and social change practices among a majority of feminist advocates. In chapter four, I explore how these practices work in collaborating with police officers and the courts. How do survivor-defined practices, social change activism and intersectional approaches work in community based responses? I focus on advocates' practices related to areas where they collaborated with the justice system the most: protective orders, pro-arrest and no-drop prosecution.

While generally supporting these criminal justice interventions and using them as tools for advocacy, advocates simultaneously recognized the potential for resulting batterer-based and systemic revictimization directed toward the women for whom they advocated. Advocates consequently developed strategies to avoid revictimization resulting from such difficulties. Generally, non-feminist advocates used survivor-defined approaches to respond to these challenges, and feminist advocates used survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change approaches. I delineate how practices within the justice system surrounding these policies can be gendered in multiple ways, and how advocates responded through their own gendered practices—sometimes in contradictory ways.

Feminist Advocacy and Protective Orders

Options for advocates in the criminal justice system have become increasingly available, including protective orders. The availability of protective orders is regarded as a milestone in the anti-domestic violence movement because it was one of the first steps the justice system took in becoming actively involved in addressing domestic violence. Protective orders first became available largely due to the social change agenda of feminist advocates (Shepard & Pence, 1999; Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Today, all states provide some form of protective order for victims (DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Jordan, 2010).

Protective orders legally bar or place limitations on abusers' contact with victims; the purpose is to protect victims from future abuse and violence (Logan et al, 2005; Goodman & Epstein, 2008). An order of protection typically stipulates a distance the perpetrator must remain from their victim. Orders of protection can also be somewhat tailored to the situation— such as preventing an abuser from going to the victim's workplace or school (Sorenson & Shen, 2005; Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

Efficacy of Protective Orders and Feminist Advocacy

In this section, I explore how advocates used orders of protection in their practices as a potential strategy to help victims. More specifically, I show how advocates use the survivor-defined and intersectional

components of feminist advocacy to determine whether or not a protective order was a good option for helping victims to avoid batterer-based revictimization. I then illustrate advocates' descriptions of social change practices to counter some officers who were not using survivor-defined approaches in the protective order process.

Survivor-defined practices. As orders of protection were not mandatory in the regions I sampled from, advocates had discretion in their recommendations to victims. All advocates practiced survivor-defined advocacy, and based their advice on individual cases, primarily focusing on collaboration with, and the choices of, battered women. While advocates unanimously supported the availability of protective orders as an option, they consistently stressed the importance of survivor-defined advocacy to victims' safety, which determined whether advocates would recommend protective orders or not.

All advocates described protective orders as a potential tool to help victims avoid revictimization from their abusers. For example, Jasmine said, "Sometimes it will stop somebody. Sometimes when someone else knows about the abuse, they [the abuser] will back off." This finding is consistent with a wide body of literature examining the effectiveness of protective orders; victims with permanent orders of protection are less likely to experience re-abuse (Keilitz et al., 1997; Epstein, 2009; Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

Yet advocates in my sample suggested that the efficacy of a protective order varied widely. While recognizing that orders of protection provided benefits for some, advocates consistently delineated that orders were not effective for others. Protective orders were often enough to stop otherwise law-abiding abusers, but high-risk abusers did not abide by them. Advocates regularly described high-risk abusers as those who had criminal records and a criminal history of abuse. Liz illustrated the challenge:

I think that they [orders of protection] have been a blessing and a curse. Some days I think that they are the most useless piece of paper that was ever printed, because they don't really do any good, but, they do for a certain type of population. So if I'm the kind of batterer that, I've been in and out of prison, and I'm not at all intimidated by the police, an order of protection is useless against me...So they are not a silver bullet, but I do think that for probably 85% of cases they are important.

Summer conveyed the benefits and challenges of protective orders in such case-by-case variation, and the sometimes extreme end-result of domestic violence:

Temporary orders and orders of protection are wonderful for law abiding citizens— that being said we have had a couple of domestic murders here in the last year— they both had orders. It's great for people who say "ohh my gosh, I would never break the law and I'm going to abide by it."

These findings coincide with prior research; in a meta-analysis of thirty-two studies, Spitzberg (2002) found on average 43 percent of protective orders were violated, and violence increased in 21 percent of cases.

In these high-risk cases, advocates in my study used survivor-defined approaches to determine whether a protective order was the best

course of action. Gillian described how survivor-defined advocacy worked to provide safety to women in such situations:

The person who said “I’ll kill ya, you serve me with any papers I’ll kill ya.” Who’s made a lot of threats about that, I’ll be telling them [victims] a little bit about what it [order of protection] is and then saying, “So tell me how you think he’ll react when he gets served with those papers?” So the woman that says something to the effect, “He will be over here in a heartbeat, pouring gasoline around the house and lighting a match,”— not a good thing— so I find that an order of protection is a really good way to talk about woman defined advocacy and how it can play out, because, what makes it good or bad, you learn about by talking with the woman.

Her example indicates how important recognizing individual cases and needs are to women’s ultimate safety. Similarly, Kari described her survivor-defined approach to advocacy in determining whether a protective order would benefit or harm the women she worked with:

Well, I think some of the challenges are sometimes it can make the guy more mad, and I think a lot of times it works for the suspects who are somewhat afraid of the system, but for those who aren’t afraid of the system and think they can always subvert everybody, I can see an order of protection might make things worse. So I always tell victims, “You know best, do you think he would actually abide by this order? Do you think it would scare him enough to stay away or do you think it would make things worse?” And they know the best answer. Sometimes they will tell you, “Yeah once he gets served with this thing he is just going to ignore it and then start calling me all of the time and maybe come to my house.” Or some might be like, “Yeah I think it might scare him enough to stay away from me.” It really varies on a case-by-case basis. I always leave it up to the victim, “You know him best. Do you think this would be something that would be useful for you?”

Summer described her survivor-defined approach to advocacy as well:

An order of protection is such a touchy thing, and being an advocate I think most people think that is probably the first thing that we want our victims to do and it isn’t. Normally what we tell victims is, “You know him better than anyone. Is this going to help

you, or is this going to hurt you?” So we leave it up to them to use their best judgment.

All advocates I interviewed used such survivor-defined practices to determine their recommendations to victims, whether they were feminist or not. They unanimously described approaches similar to Summer, Kari, and Gillian. This approach is similar that of the early feminists. They are avoiding controlling practices; they work collaboratively with victims and put control over the decision to get a protective order in the hands of the survivors they work with. In the case of high-risk abusers, it was key to avoiding further victimization. This is a feminist-gendered practice, whether individual advocates label it as such or not.

Using survivor-defined approaches to determine whether or not to recommend an order is also supported by the research literature. A large body of research finds that abusers with a criminal history are more likely to violate orders and perpetrate further abuse, putting victims at increased risk of revictimization (Keilitz et al 1997, 1998; Klein & Tobin, 2008; Jordan et al 2010). As the benefit of an order of protection varied according to the response of the abuser, the known limitations to orders and specifics of individual cases were imperative to safety planning.

Safety planning was a big part of survivor-defined advocacy. While survivor-defined advocacy assumes women’s agency as a feminist model, it also enables agency by providing information and resources so women can make their own informed choices. For example, in addition to asking women about whether a protective order would be a good choice in

their situation, Summer described the importance of talking with victims about the limitations of an order of protection in individual cases as a strategy to best plan for safety:

We try to make sure that the victims that we deal with are very educated about what that piece of paper is and how it works and that you don't have a false sense of security because you got this, because it doesn't mean that he isn't going to come and find you.

A large volume of research finds that the support of an advocate focusing on developing a safety plan is crucial in avoiding further violence (Goodman, Dutton, & Bennett, 2000; Weisz, Tolman & Saunders, 2000; Heckert & Gondolf, 2004; Campbell, 2004). My findings indicate advocates are acutely aware of the importance of such a safety plan. Importantly, development of such a plan relies on collaborative practices between advocates and victims, another component of feminist advocacy. When women are involved in their safety plan, their outcomes are improved (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Such survivor-defined practices are feminist-gendered because they facilitate the agency of battered women. Thus, safety planning was tailored to the predicted efficacy of protective orders uncovered through survivor-defined approaches, following the gendered ideology of early feminist advocacy.

Intersectional approaches. Advocates were also able to make use of protective orders in their intersectional approaches to advocacy. Advocates reported protective orders were more or less likely to be effective depending on the social background of the women for whom

they were advocating. For example, Jean found protective orders were beneficial in cases involving immigrants:

It is so individualized to the situation, because for some women getting an order of protection is going to really help. An immigrant woman in particular, where her abusive partner may fear deportation, especially. Even though that's not likely to occur, they [abusers] still worry about it, and so an order of protection can be very helpful in keeping an abusive partner away from a woman who is being abused, or help to deescalate or stop some of the violence that he is perpetrating.

Jean illustrated both survivor-defined and intersectional approaches to advocacy in this example. It is survivor-defined because she is looking at women's individual cases, and offering support that is tailored to the situation. It is intersectional because Jean recognizes how immigrant identities may shape the outcome of getting a protective order. Thus, intersectional approaches take survivor-defined practices a step further than early feminist advocates by looking specifically at social identities.

Several other advocates also noted social class as important in choosing whether a protective order was a good option for victims. Jean said:

Also if he's an important businessman or something and he doesn't want to be served at his office with a summons related to an order of protection, or they just don't want to be in trouble with the law [it would be useful]; but a lot of abusive men do not care about that at all, and that's where an order of protection doesn't do much good at all...

This is another example of how intersectional approaches can relate to survivor-defined advocacy. Social class may be related to the effectiveness

of a protective order, but advocates must look at individual cases and the woman's assessment of her abuser before making a recommendation.

A majority of feminist advocates, in both Glawe and Faulds County, used intersectional approaches in determining whether to recommend getting an order of protection or not. In contrast, non-feminist advocates did not describe using intersectional approaches in their survivor-defined practices. Feminist identity facilitated intersectional practices in the protective order process. This is notable because agency and empowerment derived from survivor-defined approaches may look different depending on victims' social identities and background.

Social change practices. Advocates described collaborative responses that facilitate system change as important in helping women negotiate complexities within the justice system. Teresa indicated that she experienced challenges with officers who did not understand safety risks for some women in getting protective orders. She described how officers would try to push women into getting orders, even in high-risk cases:

What's difficult is that they [officers] want to tell her what to do. So they see it as "it's my job to keep her safe by telling her what to do and she should follow what I say." They don't really look at maybe what you think would be harmful. So, like with the orders of protection, sometimes it makes it more harmful for the victim to have that order. It's very hard to get police to understand that—that this could actually get her killed, not help her.

Teresa, and a majority of advocates working in the justice system in both rural and metro contexts, indicated that some officers were not using survivor-defined approaches. In these cases, such approaches are

patriarchal, because officers assume that abused women are not capable of making decisions about the utility of an order of protection and its implications for their safety.

When asked if she could give another example where officers might not understand safety risks related to orders of protection, and how she responded, Teresa illustrated an incident revolving around the Nuisance Property Law:

There is a nuisance property law that is in effect in [Faulds City]. So if somebody calls the police two times in a year for the same reason, they can get a cease and desist letter. And then they [the City] can start charging them for 9-1-1 calls, which ends up domestic violence a lot of the time, are the ones that you are going to get a lot of repeat calls for. You're supposed to— do something to change the nuisance. So in most police officers' minds, for domestic violence, that means you get an order of protection. Because then you're telling him to stay away, you want him to stay away. So they [officers] just kind of do that as “you need to go get this otherwise we're going to start charging you” kind of, in essence.

Teresa collaborated with her Lieutenant and with the officers to advocate for victims' safety in response to this patriarchal practice:

They came up and I was actually talking to the Lieutenant about it. I have a really big problem with them going in and saying that “you have to do this,” so we're talking about it and the problem property officers came up. So, we got to the point where we're like it could be more harmful, let her make the choice and [officers said] “Ohh okay, if she can make the choice— maybe it is a little harmful or could be.”

Teresa expressed both survivor-defined and social change approaches by educating officers about survivor-defined practices, and collaborating with her Lieutenant to promote system change through hierarchal channels.

Similarly, Emily indicated other problems revolving around protective orders and officers' patriarchal practices, with some officers telling victims things that were not accurate:

I believe that they are well intentioned, but officers will tell her "if I get a call back tonight you're both getting locked up!" Or something like that. Or "if we come over and he's here, you're going to get in trouble for violating your own order of protection." Things like that that aren't true, they can't do that, but I get the feeling that it's a little bit of a tough love kind of thing. That they feel they can be tough with her and say "you need to do this or this is what could happen!"

Emily elaborated when I asked her for an example:

There was a district officer and he said everything that I would want him to say as an advocate. Safety planning, all of this stuff, but he ruined it in thirty seconds. The last thirty seconds he [said] "and if that's not enough to convince you, I'm actually going to take my time to come to you next time when you call for help!" I'm like "ohhhhhh." Then it's just done, because the victim no longer trusts them. She's not going to call the police. She doesn't feel like she's going to get help. But he did so good up until that point.

Other advocates made similar statements when asked about challenges to their advocacy in collaborative models: that patriarchal practices by some officers interfered with empowering advocacy. Like Teresa, feminist advocates dealt with this challenge by working toward system change. They would collaborate with individual officers, or "go to the top" to seek changes in officers' practices.

Some justice system advocates also reported police training, in which officers were educated in gender dynamics of domestic violence and the efficacy of protective orders. Justice system advocates in Faulds County, who were exclusively feminist, regularly incorporated social

change practices in their collaboration with police. However, justice system advocates in rural Glawe County, of whom only two were feminist, did not work toward system change in similar situations. Only one of the feminist advocates interviewed described doing so. This indicates that feminist identity and corresponding ideologies may result in social change practices in community based responses to domestic violence, while the absence of these may not facilitate such practices.

Enforcing Orders and Feminist Advocacy

In addition to the efficacy of protective orders, advocates indicated that problems with enforcing orders were challenging to their advocacy. In this section, I first describe difficulties advocates experienced with enforcement of protective orders, and then I indicate how advocates responded to such challenges using survivor-defined and social change approaches.

Survivor-defined practices. One of the most commonly cited problems with enforcement of protective orders was loopholes in the system, where officers could not legally enforce a protective order. For example, Liz delineated loopholes with protective orders as challenging to advocacy:

I think the problem is too, that you call the police and you say, “he’s been driving up and down my street.” Okay, well it’s a public street. They can’t stop him from driving up and down your street. So, there are some big loop holes...So there’s a lot of gray areas with orders of protection that I think are problematic.

Liz responded to this challenge by telling victims the limitations to the law, and developing a strategy revolving around stalking charges¹⁵. In this way, victims would not be as frustrated with police, who they would otherwise perceive as not doing anything to protect them. Victims were encouraged to make a log or journal of intimidating behaviors, which legally do not qualify as violating an order, but could potentially be brought up as stalking charges. Thus, advocates used the existing laws to get the best outcomes for victims and advised them accordingly.

Teresa explained why the survivor-defined component of feminist advocacy in community based responses is important in addressing these loopholes:

There's loop holes in the orders of protection, so it's like you can stand across the street from her house and it's not a violation of the order of protection— so we try to teach them [victims] those loop holes too so that they feel like the order of protection is doing something. Keeping logs and making sure that they are calling the police maybe just once a week instead of everyday. That way they're not as frustrated and the police aren't as frustrated. Because if he is violating the Order 12 times a day by calling 12 times a day, if she is calling [the police] 12 times a day, both parties are going to be frustrated!

In this example, Teresa highlighted the use of survivor-defined approaches in collaborative models. She worked with individual women to assess their needs, and shaped her advocacy to meet those needs. In addition, feminist/survivor-defined approaches are intended to be empowering. Like

¹⁵ In August, 2011, a year following collection of this data, SB 320 was signed into law which incorporated stalking behaviors as criteria for getting an order of protection and for enforcing it. Thus, such loopholes and challenges described here will be addressed by this important bill. Advocates in Faulds County were active in getting this bill signed.

Liz and Teresa, Emily described the same challenge to enforcing orders and also framed the survivor-defined model as empowering to victims:

It goes back to that Empowerment Model. If we can explain all of that [loopholes] and help kind of get her or empower her to help gather some of that evidence. If he is calling 12 times a day and she understands that she can save the messages, or keep the log, so that when she does report it to the police, it is so much easier for the police, and it is so much of a better outcome for her because of what she was able to do.

Thus, not only is advocacy oriented to individual needs in such cases, it also puts some level of control in the hands of victims. Such control is associated with positive outcomes, and is certainly consistent with the survivor-defined component of feminist advocacy (Zweig & Burt, 2006, 2007; Moe, 2007).

Social change practices. Advocates described collaboration with officers as benefitting officers, advocates, and victims. They also described how important it was to work toward system change when some officers were ignoring gender dynamics of domestic violence in their enforcement of protective orders. Teresa said:

Then at the same time we can talk to them [officers] and say, “Hey, this is how things work, please enforce the order of protection this way and please don’t write them up for peace disturbance when he hit her,” which sometimes happens.

Importantly, her example also indicates problems when officers are not educated in the gender dynamics of domestic violence. As shown in the above quote, the reason some women may “disturb the peace” is because of their abuse. Such police practices may be disempowering, and feminist advocacy in collaborative responses works to change that.

Like Amy, justice system advocates in Faulds County were consistently working toward system change by communicating with CBR members and further incorporating appropriate responses into police training. Emily said, “In the police academy, they get like 40 hours or something for domestic violence.” She continued, “We just did a six-hour training for the entire police department last year. I think it was like 37 trainings and it was like 1,000 police officers.” Similarly, Teresa mentioned:

We do the advocate part when we do the training with the police officers, and they did it as continuing education training. We’ve tried to do all advocates in one room and the police having a panel so they can explain what they should do [in enforcing orders], and kind of talking back and forth.

There were regional distinctions here, and distinctions by feminist identity. Advocates in rural Glawe County did not “work from the top” to advocate for system change. Instead they worked with the detectives to go around problematic officers to try to get offenders into the justice system. For example, Summer reported:

...when suspects violate orders ...those are also cases that we can refer out to DVRU [Domestic Violence Response Unit]. Usually we have ones [abusers] that we see time and time again. Those are ones that we start or have red flagged that this person has violated the order three, four, five times in the past two weeks and our DVRU detective will...try to help stop that.

This collaborative strategy worked to reduce further batterer-based revictimization, and mitigate systemic revictimization resulting from some officers’ disempowering practices. Thus they used collaborative practices, and used survivor-defined approaches by getting victims the help they

needed in their individual cases, but did not use social change approaches. In contrast, advocates in the Faulds County justice system consistently described working with officers to get better outcomes for victims as well as providing education and training to address the challenges in the police departments, and working towards system change through hierarchal channels. System change approaches to advocacy were almost exclusively practiced by feminist advocates in Faulds County. Non-feminist advocates did not take part in system change approaches; although the justice system advocates worked on an interactional level with the domestic violence detectives to get help with enforcing orders. However, both feminist and non-feminist advocates practiced survivor-defined advocacy.

Feminist Advocacy in the Courts

While collaboration with detectives, most police officers, probation officers, and prosecutors was described in a generally positive light by the advocates I spoke with, collaboration with particular judges was labeled as problematic in all regional and organizational contexts. In this section, I highlight how advocates responded to judges' gendered practices in the protective order process through social change and intersectional practices.

Social change practices. Some regional differences appeared in the findings related to social change practices. In Faulds County, advocates responded to challenges in the courts through social change activism, whereas advocates in rural Glawe County did not incorporate

social change activism. This was the same pattern I found in responses to challenges with officers, explained above. I first outline the challenges with protective orders in the courts as described by advocates and compare advocates' social change responses (or lack thereof) to such challenges by regional context.

First, advocates in rural Glawe County indicated there was a judge who did not grant orders to battered women who needed them, even with police records indicating evidence of re-abuse of the victim and prior abuse of previous girlfriends. He was described by one advocate off-recording as an "asshole;" another indicated that he "hates victims" and "absolutely will not work with women who have returned to their abuser, it's a 'you got what you asked for mentality' even though it is against the law." Another advocate, also in rural Glawe County, indicated off-tape that their CBR process was coordinated well between various stakeholders, but subverted at the discretion of this same judge in their system. This one judge's practices could be described as patriarchal, as the judge was consistently described as victim-blaming towards abused women. Eve stated that it could be difficult to get an order of protection, since these largely depended on the presiding judge:

Especially if the judge in your county is not in favor of giving temporary orders or feels that the temporary order is not necessary. So a woman that truly needs it might be stopped right there at the order part of it and not even receive the legal representation that she needs.

This particular judge refused to give orders of protection, even in the presence of well-documented evidence of reasonable fear. For example, Vicki said:

Probably our biggest barrier with orders of protection is the judge that they are heard in front of. I don't know that he quite understands domestic violence. So I've had victims who legitimately should get orders of protection who finally have enough courage to go through, get the application, get the temporary order and then go to court and are denied. So that it just really pushes everybody back two steps in order for them to get to recover and get services.

When I asked, "What is the reason that judges give for denying an order of protection?" Vicki replied:

Like he said to one of my ladies who her husband threatened to slit her throat and he said "has he acted on it?" and she said "well, no!" He replied "you can talk— it's freedom of speech, and basically unless he has acted on it you're not getting it [order of protection]." Now this is somebody who grew up in foster care and has been involved with system after system. So for her it was a big step, to go and apply for an order but then to have a judge humiliate her in front of her abuser, and she said "I will never go and get an order of protection again! It's just not worth it!"

The judge ignored dynamics of domestic violence by exhibiting the dominance and control similar to abusive relationships. He was assuming that she did not understand the threat her abuser posed, and despite her proof of reasonable fear, he determined the abuser was not a threat. This opposes the survivor-defined practices described by advocates. This patriarchal practice denied the victim her agency by not allowing her to use a protective order as a tool for safety.

While non-feminist advocates recognized a problem with this judge, they did not actively work to change it. A majority of advocates in

the rural system were not feminist, and therefore did not have the social change perspective typical with feminists. The advocates who did identify as feminist described hiding their feminist identities, and did not express any social change practices involving the courts. Social change activism was generally not an active part of advocacy in Glawe County, with a few exceptions by one feminist advocate discussed in chapter five. Thus the issue with judges remained a significant challenge. This indicates that feminist identity and ideology inclusive of social change activism is important; such systems do not change unless they are actively critiqued and targeted for organizational change. A feminist community is empowering to individual advocates: social change perspectives did not translate into practiced activism without community, coalition, or organizational support.

In contrast, while advocates in Faulds County indicated similar challenges, their strategies also included social change activism. I will first highlight a few challenges they described, then I detail their social change responses. Anais stated that victims had different results depending on the judges in Faulds County. At times, certain judges served as barriers to accessing orders of protection. Anais said:

They [Faulds County] now have a family law court. There are three judges doing all the orders of protection, but before it was a toss-up who you got. And some judges were great and some weren't. But, overall I've had good experiences with judges. There are a couple who are really bad. They are victim blaming— victim blaming, impatient.

In Faulds County, a majority of advocates said that some judges would not grant orders if a woman had no hospital record, or a partner could not be served, or if a judge was simply victim-blaming. Glenda discussed how some judges provided challenges in which social change activism was warranted: “I think some judges feel like you have to be all beaten up before it’s domestic violence, you know, how do you prove it?” Jean further described different experiences depending on the judge, some of whom may require strong evidentiary requirements before granting an order:

Well in my role, I worked mostly with women coming through the emergency room. In what I’ve seen in court is sometimes the judge really understands domestic violence and understands that women are primarily the targets of domestic violence. So, he sees pretty clearly what’s going on. If the abuser is present, and sometimes the abuser will be present, and says that the victim is actually the perpetrator— and these kinds of things happen. Some judges they see through that kind of thing. Other judges I’ve noticed that they may ask for a lot of particular information and real evidence from the woman who wants an order of protection. They’ll want her to bring anything that she may have—photos, testimonials—but mostly they are looking for things like emergency room reports. Those are the things that will weigh more with some judges. Which is unfortunate about that, you know, it means that the abuse often has to go on until somebody needs to make an emergency room visit.

Belinda noted that in metro Faulds County, advocates developed a social change approach to address the problems they were having with judges — a Court Watch Program. The Court Watch Program involved advocates’ presence in the court in cases of domestic violence, in which advocates would document unfair decisions by judges, victim-blaming statements, and negative attitudes towards victims. In such circumstances,

judges received a written notice from the local coalition of their documented behaviors and in some cases a meeting with advocates was requested. Shelli said, “We do have Court Watch. I think that helps for sometimes judges to know that they are being monitored.” Belinda described getting better results for women when the Court Watch was established. Belinda was not feminist, but she did participate in Court Watch as part of the local feminist coalition. In contrast with Glawe County, this suggests strong local coalitions offer organizational support for social change activism.

Court Watch also helped advocates and their clients to avoid problematic judges, as it worked to notify them in advance of “bad judges.” For example, Shelli accompanied women in her shelter to court. When she noted that a “bad judge” was going to be in court to hear the case of the woman she was working with, she did the following:

What you could do is dismiss a judge without cause— you have to do it as soon as you get the notice of a full hearing. You have to write them and say, “I dismiss Judge X, without cause.” I don’t ever have to tell you why I did that. You can’t do it a second time; you can only do it once [per client]. So sometimes you would do that to get a different judge, or we would call the County and we would find out who’s hearing it that week, or that day, and if it was a judge that we knew who was just horrible, we would just tell them [victim] to stay inside the shelter until tomorrow, and we will go with you tomorrow. You don’t want to risk this, getting this today.

Her example delineates that advocates can mitigate the negative responses of judges by avoiding them as part of a Court Watch program.

In contrast with Glawe County, social change activism was prevalent in Faulds County, where a majority of advocates described themselves as feminist and indicated social change activism as an integral part of their advocacy. Importantly, even advocates who did not identify as feminist, or express social change ideologies, ended up participating in some form of activism by being part of the local feminist domestic violence community. This suggests the importance of group dynamics: feminist coalitions support social change. Without them, my research suggests that social change perspectives are less likely to result in activism and consequential system change.

In sum, my findings are consistent with prior research, in that orders of protection are not always granted when requested based on subjective interpretations of judges or strong evidentiary requirements (Moe, 2007; Romkens, 2006). In addition to subjective judgments, Moe (2000) found “condescending” judges exemplified a patriarchal ideology by supporting the abuser, being firm, victim blaming, and patronizing. Such judges in Moe’s study also made inappropriate jokes about abuse and victims’ treatment of the abusers. Victims reported feeling degraded and humiliated, illustrating systemic revictimization through judges’ practices (Moe, 2000).

While my research finds similar challenges, it also indicates how advocates respond to such challenges. Advocates in Faulds County, who were predominantly feminist, incorporated social change activism through

their local feminist coalition to address the challenges with judges through development of the Court Watch Program. Through this program, advocates in Faulds County also avoided judges who had a record of victim-blaming practices, requiring hospital records, or who had a low rate of granting orders. Advocates in Glawe County expressed that they did not have organizational support for change.

Intersectional practices. A number of advocates described women facing barriers to obtaining an order of protection based on race, limited English-speaking abilities, and sexual orientation. Advocates used their intersectional approaches to understand and better advocate for women experiencing specific barriers to accessing an order of protection. This approach was exclusively described by feminist advocates. For example, Anais declared that there were problems specific to immigrant women in the courts, including barriers to accessing orders:

I've had a lot of problems in the county with women speaking limited English, not allowing them to use interpreters and asking them to talk directly to the judge when they can't answer the questions because they don't have the language— she can't say what she needs to say directly to the judges. Judges seem to be impatient with using interpreters because it takes twice as long. So I've had judges get really impatient and frustrated and hurry it along without getting the full information for the domestic violence cases. It is challenging for me and the women who are trying to tell their story and maybe not understanding everything. Even if you are proficient in conversational English, when they start throwing around legal terminology, it's even more important that they have an interpreter. It's her future, her life.

In these cases, Anais described working to get interpreters for victims through a local agency and attempting to work with judges in getting

translation in the courts. She also described using Court Watch to avoid judges who did not work well with women who had limited-English speaking abilities.

Like Anais, Jean also used intersectional advocacy to identify and advocate for immigrant women. She described particular problems that immigrant women experienced, including how their abusers could manipulate the justice system because of their partners' lack of English-speaking ability:

With immigrants it's a real problem because when she gets the court Summons, one woman I worked with that couldn't read English – he [abuser] told her that it was just something that says that it's okay for me [him] to stay here, or something like that. Anyway, he didn't tell her what it really said and it was a court summons to appear for this order of protection that he [the abuser] had gotten against her [the victim]. Well, even if she had gone with him she wouldn't have known what it was for [because she didn't speak English]. And especially I found with men who have been in an abusive relationship prior to this one, where this is not their first abusive relationship, they know all about orders of protection, they have had them taken out against them in the past, and now they are using the court system to get the upper hand with their current partner that they are abusing... I have seen that happen quite a bit, and it's a little bit alarming.

She described calling a local non-profit agency that provided interpreters to ensure that women could read the court documents they received. Like Anais and Jean, a majority of feminist advocates also incorporated intersectional approaches in Court Watch, and worked to get interpreters through a local institute. My findings support prior research indicating the process of obtaining an order can be difficult for some women; particularly immigrant women whose English-speaking abilities are not

conducive to understanding the language of court documents and processes (West, Kantor, & Jasinski, 1998; Moe, 2000). However, my findings also show how advocates respond to such challenges.

In addition to limited-English speaking ability, sexual orientation was described as another barrier to getting an order. Two advocates indicated that this had been an issue with accessing an order of protection. Ingrid described an experience with a lesbian woman she worked with:

One woman I worked with who was a lesbian petitioned for an O.P. [order of protection] and she had a lot of documentation, medical and emergency room reports and she had records of really pretty severe physical abuse but the judge denied her O.P..

Jean illustrated how advocates used social change activism along with an intersectional approach to respond to such challenges:

I had a case where I worked with a lesbian woman, and she had been to the emergency room, she had broken bones, and there was strong, strong evidence of domestic violence. But the judge didn't grant her the order. I brought it up at a community meeting and this is something we are going to address because it is unacceptable.

The strong local domestic violence community has a record of taking up an issue and working toward social change, primarily as an extension of Court Watch.

Some advocates in Faulds County indicated that race could be a factor in getting an order of protection as well. Three advocates described a negative perception of African American women in the community as being loud and violent. They suggested that it is important for African American women in particular to maintain a calm demeanor in the presence of police and also in the courts because of this perception. When

I asked, “Do you think there is a race difference in how judges perceive victims?” Emily stated:

I will say, you know, racially there is. In my experience in Faulds City, African American women can be— and everyone is going to be different individually— but culturally they are more outspoken... like they feel the safety to be angry now [in the courts] and to express that anger and I think that maybe comes off different than it does for someone who is white.

In a conversation about African American women in the protective order process, Teresa said:

A lot of times people expect the victims to be scared and shy, crying instead of the person who now feels safe— because there is a sheriff standing between them— to yell at the offender. So we try and talk with victims about people’s perception of domestic violence as to how they can help themselves get the order of protection. “Don’t yell at the offender, even though you are mad at him and you have every right to be.” So I think that becomes the difference.

So, keeping in mind the potential for racial biases in CBR, some advocates described using their intersectional approaches and survivor-defined advocacy to help victims understand the importance of demeanor. Interestingly, advocates themselves appeared to have these biases while simultaneously using them in advocacy. In addition, maintaining an acceptable “victim demeanor” is to some extent patriarchal (and racialized) in addressing or influencing traditional femininity. Yet, if victims do not maintain this demeanor, they may not get their protective order. These biases that advocates reported to be aware of in the justice system are consistent with prior research finding perceptions of Black women victims as angry, violent, or resilient to the extent that they are

perceived of as not in need of help, by service providers and by law enforcement (Hill-Collins, 2000; Donnelly et al; 2005; Potter, 2008). Yet my findings additionally suggest that advocates recognize and use their awareness of such biases to mitigate them.

As advocates worked with women consistently in getting orders of protection, they were familiar with the orders and when they can and cannot be legally granted. In considering advocates' expertise and experience in this area, I thought advocates would likely be able to recognize discriminatory practices when they occur. Yet, all the advocates who described barriers based on individual identities were feminist. There were *no* non-feminists with such perspectives, and they consequently failed to recognize such biases.

In fact, in Glawe County, when I asked about differences in the protective order process by race, class, or immigrant status, non-feminists indicated that there was no problem and no difference. In contrast, the feminist advocates in Glawe County did recognize differences by individual identities and were able to describe specific examples. For example, Kari said:

Here's kind of the example, [Glawe] County is extremely low income. Most of our people are kind of the very stereotypical ideal of what you would think of as like trailer park hood. But when we get somebody who isn't like that, people are really excited. People are like "she even has a job!" And she is employed, and really well spoken. So, I think people definitely take notice when people [victims] are educated, better dressed. So I definitely think they get better treatment by police or by judges, or by the prosecutor.

Kari and Jasmine, the feminist advocates in rural Glawe County, delineated class as a barrier. While Glawe County is 97% white, and advocates have less opportunity to interact with women of color or immigrant women, feminist advocates in Glawe County indicated limited English speaking abilities as a barrier as well, despite their lower numbers in rural Glawe County. Kari and Jasmine also recognized sexual orientation as a barrier.

Feminist Advocacy and Pro-Arrest

Mandatory or pro-arrest policies were implemented in many states beginning in the early 1990s, in part due to a field-based controlled experiment by Sherman and Berk (1983) that found mandatory arrest of batterers was more effective than mediation or separation.¹⁶ Pro-arrest policy is also attributed to the social change efforts of advocates, who lobbied for a greater justice system response to domestic violence (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Along with the availability of protective orders, pro-arrest is regarded as another milestone in the anti-domestic violence movement.

Twenty-six states and the District of Columbia had implemented mandatory arrest policies or proactive arrest policies¹⁷ by the end of 2005.

¹⁶ Without further analysis of the findings or replication studies, and without the recommendation of Sherman and Berk, 47 urban police departments implemented mandatory arrest policies (Ferraro, 2001). Further research has found different results than Sherman and Berk (1983), including the original researcher (Schmidt & Sherman, 1996), and some research finds increased reoffending (Sherman & Smith, 1992).

¹⁷ Mandatory arrest requires an arrest in any call of domestic violence where physical violence is apparent. Pro-active arrest does not require an arrest, but arrest is encouraged, a police report must be made, and choice not to arrest must be rationalized in the report.

Such policies meant that batterers were more often arrested. For example, in 1990 in the District of Columbia, only 5% of accused batterers were arrested when victims called 911. However, after the implementation of mandatory arrest policy, by 1996, arrests were made in 41% of such cases (Goodman & Epstein 2008).

In 1989, [State] enacted pro-arrest. Pro-arrest is similar to mandatory arrest in its focus on holding batterers accountable, but an arrest is not mandatory. Rather, arrest is strongly encouraged and pro-arrest requirements are put in place. Under pro-arrest, if an arrest is not made, an officer is required to write a report stating why an arrest did not occur on a call for domestic violence. Basically, they have to provide a justification for *not* making an arrest. Arrest is the norm, and not making an arrest is a qualified exception. In addition, if an officer does not make an arrest and another call from the same address occurs within 12 hours, then an arrest *is* mandatory.

Both Glawe County and Faulds County practice pro-arrest under the [State] law. However, in Glawe County, pro-arrest was largely framed *as* mandatory arrest by advocates— they even used the language “mandatory arrest” as opposed to “pro-arrest.” Whereas in Faulds County, when I said “mandatory arrest” most advocates corrected me, and indicated that the law was in fact “pro-arrest.” Advocates in Glawe County indicated that in any call to police, the person that used the highest degree of lethality would be arrested, and an arrest was made in all cases if there

was any sign of physical violence. Thus, in this rural context, pro-arrest policy took the form of mandatory arrest. In this section I investigate advocates' responses to pro-arrest policy.

Social Change Practices

In my research, all advocates unanimously supported the availability of pro-arrest while simultaneously recognizing some of the challenges it posed. Feminist advocates referenced the social change efforts of advocates in the movement that resulted in this improved justice system response. In the experience of two movement veteran advocates, they both detailed how arrests were infrequently made prior to implementation of the policy. The policy caused systemic change, in which domestic violence cases were taken more seriously in the justice system. For example, Emily described how pro-arrest was a positive social change in the anti-domestic violence movement. She further stated how this improved the responses of officers:

I think one of the big benefits of the pro-arrest laws are setting guidelines and standards for the officers. That's not to say that it [not taking DV calls seriously] still doesn't happen, but to some extent it gets away from the situation where officers are coming out like over and over and saying "take a walk around the block," that kind of a thing. They are required by law to proceed with a police report and all of that, if they see that a crime has been committed. I think that it really improves the response.

Other feminist advocates made statements almost identical to Emily's. For example, Liz related pro-arrest to her feminist perspective:

I use this example all of the time: a bank is robbed no one goes in and asks the bank President do you want us to press charges? So we shouldn't do that in any crime. If a stranger came up and

clocked me in the parking lot no one would say “what do you want us to do Liz,” but if it was my husband that clocked me they would be like “well what do you want us to do?” So that kind of dynamic should be taken out of the equation all together. It’s a sexist assumption that reduces and normalizes violence against women. So, I’m very in favor of pro-arrests to change that.

However, such accounts of system change were exclusively made by Faulds County advocates, as the battered women’s movement did not exist in Glawe County and there was no local coalition. In Glawe County, pro-arrest was implemented because of the [State] law, distanced from the efforts of feminist social change advocacy. There was one movement veteran in Faulds County who was involved in getting the policy on a state level more than 20 years ago. In addition to viewing the policy as a result of advocates’ feminist social change efforts, advocates related the policy to survivor-defined approaches in complex and competing ways.

Survivor Defined Practices...(kind of)...

The most common reasons both feminist and non-feminist advocates gave in both regions and in both organizational contexts for finding the policy beneficial was that it empowered victims by providing an opportunity to get out of the house without the abusers’ interference and gave advocates a chance to offer advocacy. Summer said, “We have time to try to find her a place to go if she so chooses, [or she] certainly has time to deescalate the situation.” Basically, arrest resulted in a window for advocates to provide survivor-defined advocacy. For example, Vicki’s statement was similar to all the justice system advocates in both regions:

I think with the mandatory arrest, it at least gives us a window to try to make contact with victims while he is not there. Hopefully, then we can talk to them about what has been going on and then encourage them to follow through with prosecution or at least seek services.

Summer further indicated another layer of complexity— that at times victims would act like they did not want an arrest in the presence of their abusers, but would later disclose to advocates that that they did in fact want their abuser to be arrested either to deescalate or to potentially deter the abuse. Summer stated that fear of the abuser resulted in this behavior:

It's not unusual for us to see victims turn on our deputies when the deputies are trying to arrest the suspects. I think that's something that is really difficult no matter how much we talk about it for deputies to understand that the victim maybe really, really wants for him to be arrested but she can't show that she wants for that to happen. We're only going to keep her safe for 12 hours while he is locked up. 12 hours from now, who keeps her safe? Nobody!

Thus, in this particular context, advocates related pro-arrest to survivor-defined practices. Because a victim does not want to be retaliated against after the short period of reprieve— generally 12 hours— she cannot visibly support the arrest in front of the abuser. Consequently, a majority of advocates believed the policy worked in favor of women's choices in these circumstances when they made arrests.

Advocates' responses were surprisingly consistent. Both feminist and non-feminist advocates unanimously supported pro-arrest. They described the benefits in the following ways: it meant the justice system took domestic violence more seriously than it had in the past; it gave

victims some recourse for their victimization; it placed responsibility for arrest on the State not on the victim; and it provided an opportunity to deescalate the situation or gave advocates an opportunity to provide survivor-defined advocacy. Yet, even with such benefits, advocates simultaneously delineated challenges with pro-arrest because it was a standardized response with little discretion. Advocates, in a direct contradiction, suggested that it resulted in approaches that were not survivor-defined because the victim did not always get to choose whether an arrest was made or not.

In some cases, advocates described how victims did not want their partners arrested because they feared retaliation once their abuser was released, regardless of “displacing” blame onto the state. Such findings are consistent with prior research. For example Dugan, Nagin, and Rosenfeld (2003) found that some victims in cases of mandatory arrest for protection order violations were at an increased risk of homicide, including white unmarried women and black unmarried women. Additionally, research suggests that 20-30% of batterers who experience mandatory arrest will commit further acts of violence before and after the court process (Goodman & Epstein, 2008).

In my research, if the victim did not want to leave her abuser and feared retaliation, advocates mitigated the negative side of pro-arrest by calling the abuser after his release to explain the law. They explained that

it was not their partner that had them arrested, and their partner tried very hard not to get the perpetrator arrested. For example, Kari stated:

So then, I'll tell them that, "if he's hassling you, it's not up to you, you didn't do anything, we're doing it. I'll talk to him if you need me to. If he needs to call me I would be happy to tell him, 'not up to you.'"

Advocates did not directly resist pro-arrest policy, even though in some cases it was not survivor-defined when women did not want their partners arrested. Advocates' rationale for supporting the policy reproduced both feminist and patriarchal elements of the policy. Support was feminist in its social change agenda to create a society that was not tolerant of violence against women. While pro-arrests gave women a window to get out of the house safely, or provided a temporary reprieve from the abuse, it was patriarchal because the arrest occurred without the victim's input or consent. Thus, pro-arrest limits women's agency because it is not survivor-defined while simultaneously facilitating agency by providing justice system recourse for their victimization. The problem is confounded when women retaliate against their abusers in self-defense and are arrested themselves.

Dual Arrest

One latent consequence of pro-arrest policy that has been documented in the research literature is arrest of both an abuser and a self-defensive or retaliating victim (Ferro, 2001; Osthoff, 2001; Nichols, 2011). Advocates in both regions said that this was a rare occurrence. In Glawe County Kari said, "We rarely.... we don't see it too often, so that's

good.” In Faulds County, Teresa said, “We don’t get a lot of dual arrests.”

Other advocates in both regions unanimously stated that it was very rare.

Summer described the typical scenario in cases of dual arrest:

Normally, the deputies’ wording in the report is that they absolutely cannot determine who the primary physical aggressor is because they both have done injury, left marks on one another. Because we don’t go by who started anything it’s the degree of lethality that is used. So if it becomes that they are both punching each other and the deputy absolutely cannot sort it out then he will arrest both people. Often times when we get those reports I look at all of the past reports that we’ve had. If we have a lot of reports where she has been the victim and now we have one and she has been arrested, we’re still going to work with her, because we get that she is the victim and she’s defending herself.

These findings are consistent with prior research— victims may be arrested for retaliatory battering and self-defensive battering under pro-arrest laws, as the laws state that an arrest should be made if a partner has inflicted physical abuse against another (Hart, 1995; Ferraro, 2001).

Jasmine described dual arrest as rare, but challenging to advocacy when it did occur, “[After] review of the case later it’s a lot more clear who was at fault, who started things and all of that in self-defense.” Jasmine said that the dual arrest charge would work itself out by the time it reached the courts. When dual arrest happened, advocates used survivor-defined collaborative responses to get the best outcome for victims. A review of individual cases and criminal histories provided a clear picture of who the primary aggressor was. Summer further described that in such cases, it was generally found that the male “victim” had a long history of abuse with the current partner/victim and with previous girlfriends. Summer,

Vicki, and Jasmine described the process of working with the prosecutor's office to drop charges against victims. Consequently, while pro-arrest sometimes resulted in a dual arrest involving a victim, the victim was rarely charged. Vicki said that once the collaborative response with the prosecutor's office was underway, and charges were dropped, "So then, at that point, just try to make contact with them [victims] and apologize."

Yet, the victim was still revictimized by the system that was supposed to protect her— because her call to police resulted in her own arrest. This is not survivor-defined, and justification of the arrest by suggesting that such arrests were rare, were not charged, or apologizing and offering services after the fact does not address the problem. Again, social change activism surrounding the negative challenges of pro-arrest was lacking in Glawe County, but did occur in Faulds County.

Social change practices. Efforts toward social change in Faulds County regarding dual arrest included police training. Emily described conducting police trainings in which one of the focal points was dual arrest:

In the trainings that we do, we say "don't do it, don't do it, don't do it" [dual arrest] but there are of course, legitimately, there are some situations where they cannot determine the primary aggressor or where both were the aggressor, but there are far fewer of those.

In Faulds County, advocates worked to provide education to officers about the gender dynamics involved in cases of domestic violence as an effort towards eradicating dual arrest involving a victim. This training, or a related collaborative response, was not described by advocates in Glawe

County. Thus, again, there is a pattern of social change apparent in Faulds County, and not in largely non-feminist Glawe County advocates. In Glawe County, they dealt with dual-arrest after the fact as opposed to working toward systemic change to prevent its occurrence. So while advocates in both regions supported pro-arrest policy, they dealt with its negative latent consequence of dual arrest in different ways.

Advocates in Faulds County generally supported pro-arrest. They did not wish to change it through activism, as it was their feminist activism along with the [State] Coalition in the first place that resulted in the policy. Pro-arrest itself often takes control of arrest away from victims, and can result in revictimization when dual arrest involving a victim occurs. They responded to the challenges the policy presented only through looking at criminal histories and working with prosecution to drop charges, and police education and training related to dual arrest.

Thus, advocates' responses were gendered in multifaceted ways. The activism and support of the policy was feminist, because they were seeking improved justice system responses and recourse for battered women, thus facilitating women's agency on a societal level. The goal of societal change to promote gendered socio-cultural change resulting from the policy was also feminist. At the same time, advocates reproduced patriarchal approaches by supporting the policy, because they recognized that the policy at times resulted in non-survivor-defined practices that denied agency to some individual battered women who did not want their

partners arrested for a variety of reasons. Thus, while simultaneously recognizing the policy as *not*-survivor defined, they related the policy to survivor-defined practices and social change consistent with feminist advocacy.

Feminist Advocacy and No-Drop Prosecution

Prior research finds that while arrest rates did increase with the implementation of mandatory/ pro-arrest, batterers initially were rarely prosecuted. For example, one study found only 15% of arrests resulted in being charged with a crime (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Batterers could get their partner to drop charges through threats of violence or through apologetic manipulations (Nichols, 2011). The result was implementation of “no-drop” policies, where the prosecution became the property of the state rather than the victim (Goodman & Epstein 2008). Advocates worked through coalitions to accomplish this, including the coalition in the state in which my research occurred. The idea was that if responsibility for prosecution were moved from the victim to the state, abusers would be less likely to retaliate, could no longer intimidate their partners to drop charges, and prosecution rates would consequently increase.

Empowerment of victims was a goal of this feminist activism through victims’ increased access to recourse through the justice system. Societal change was another goal of advocates, where the justice system could clearly indicate that domestic violence would not be tolerated (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). A consequence of the “no-drop prosecution”

policy was increased prosecution of batterers (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). The state where my research takes place is a no-drop state, although the prosecutor has discretion to drop cases and there a few loopholes surrounding no-drop policy¹⁸. In this section, I examine how advocates interpreted and dealt with no-drop prosecution, highlighting social change and survivor-defined practices.

Survivor-Defined? The Empowering Nature of No-Drop Policy and its Impact on Advocacy

Advocates described no-drop prosecution and its relationship to survivor-defined advocacy in two competing ways: 1) it empowers victims by providing recourse through the justice system, and removes responsibility of arrest/prosecution from the victim to the state; but 2) it is disempowering because it denies victims' agency, and can result in both systemic and batterer-based revictimization.

First, some advocates described no-drop prosecution as empowering, because victims may otherwise be coerced or threatened by their abusers into not testifying. No-drop prosecution (ideologically) removes blame from the victim for prosecuting, thus she can prosecute without her abuser holding her responsible. Kari elaborated:

Especially if the guy's on probation, the probation officer takes that over and it's like, "It doesn't matter that she doesn't want anything done!" Like, "You violated probation, we're doing something about it." So, at first they [abusers] don't seem to get that, or they at least try and intimidate the victim to make her think

¹⁸ In order to avoid testifying, victims can invoke the Fifth Amendment, and [State] is one of few states that still have spousal immunity, where married women do not have to testify against their husbands.

that it's not the case, but I'm sure that they figure it out eventually when they see that sometimes it's just not working. Like they are calling everybody, they are making her call everybody and it's not working.

Importantly, Kari noted that the victim is still being intimidated by her abuser, regardless of "state control" of the situation.

Teresa indicated the way they addressed cases with high-risk abusers in Faulds County:

I think its [no-drop prosecution] benefit is definitely that it takes the pressure off of the victim. The offender is the one that can go back to them [prosecutor], [who says] "she had no abilities to stop this, we're going to go forward anyway." It also gives the victims the ability to do it anyway. So, what they [victims] will do is they will go to the Circuit Attorney and say "I'm really afraid of him. If he knows I'm prosecuting I want you to tell him I'm not prosecuting and they are forcing me." They [Circuit Attorney] will go along with that even though she is being cooperative; they will still act as [if] they are forcing her so that she is safer from him. So I think that's a benefit that the Circuit Attorney and everybody is working towards keeping her safe, so that no-drop prosecution makes it a lot easier.

Similarly, Liz said:

We explain to the women on our domestic violence cases from the very get go is that the weird thing about the criminal justice system is that the victim is not the victim, the state of [State] is the victim, because the state's laws were broken. That seems unfair on one part but it also provides a safety net for the women, because it's the state going after this person. It's not a personal thing between me and my boyfriend. I'm not suing him, I'm not going after him in a civil case, it's the State of [State] that's going after him. So, in a way it gets me off the hook, and I can justifiably say to my partner, I'm not prosecuting you it's the State, I don't want charges to be pressed but there is nothing that I can do, it's out of my hands.

A majority of advocates in the justice system made statements similar to Liz, Teresa, and Kari— that the policy could empower victims who may otherwise drop prosecution because of threats, intimidation, or

coercion from their abuser. Thus, advocates believed in such circumstances that no-drop prosecution could reduce batterer-based revictimization. In addition, advocates also professed that systemic revictimization was reduced because the justice system was actually prosecuting cases that they would have dropped prior to the implementation of the policy. Again, like pro-arrest, some advocates related no-drop prosecution to feminist social change that would result in improved responses for battered women, consequently facilitating women's agency on a socio-structural level.

Charlotte, a feminist in the Faulds County justice system, applied a feminist interpretation to no-drop prosecution. Charlotte, a battered women's movement veteran that worked to get the policy, said:

If you go with the approaches, I mean there are many popular approaches, but if you go with the popular approach that says if the victims say they don't want to prosecute, then we shouldn't prosecute—this guy still committed a crime and should be held accountable for the crime, especially if it involves a serious assault. We used to always compare domestic violence with robbery victims. People don't ask to become robbery victims, most of the time they don't know the perpetrator who's robbed them, but we don't go in and say "okay, now would you like to prosecute this person?" We don't even ask that question of robbery victims. It is assumed that yes you are going to prosecute this person if that person is caught. So why do we change the rules for DV, when we shouldn't be?

I then asked, "Well, Why do you think we do?" Charlotte replied:

It all has to do with the relationship. I think the relationship dynamics are what change that and then of course, societal all of the societal history of men's dominance, male centered society that kind of thing. A lot of those things carry over even looking at our police force we have a lot of women on our police force, but there are still some real inherent beliefs about relationships and I think as a result of how we apply our frame of reference about

relationships that makes a difference in how we view crimes that involve domestic disputes.

While a majority of feminist advocates related survivor-defined “empowering women in society” social change perspectives to feminism, they simultaneously, related “what’s best for the individual” perspectives to feminism. Thus, feminist interpretations of no-drop prosecution took different forms.

For example, while a majority of feminist and non-feminist advocates (all but one) in both regions and organizational contexts described support for the policy, a majority of the advocates that supported the policy (all but two) also stated that the victim’s individual interests should be supported over the state/ social change interests. Basically, they were arguing for a pro-prosecution policy with discretion controlled by victims as opposed to mandatory prosecution. They supported survivor-defined approaches, respecting the agency of victims. While no-drop prosecution appears to be standardized with little room for survivor-defined approaches, prosecution was in fact dropped in some cases at the request of the victim. For example, Liz in the Faulds County justice system said:

I don’t fault women for not going through the system. You go through everything, you prosecute, only to see somebody get five years probation, and [she asks] “now he’s going to get out of jail and he’s going to be really pissed at me?” For a lot of women they feel like the system is not going to protect them. I personally believe that whatever a woman needs to do to protect herself is what she needs to do. If that’s not participating in the system, the criminal justice system, I will support her.

No-drop prosecution is not survivor-defined when victims do not have control of prosecution. Individual victims may have various reasons why they do not want to prosecute including fear of the abuser and financial dependence on the abuser. In situations where victims did not want to prosecute, advocates did not directly resist the policy, as the advocates described the policy as having more benefit than detriment. Instead, they worked with victims through their individual-level practices.

For example, one loophole that some advocates used to respond to no-drop prosecution in cases where the victim did not want to prosecute was spousal immunity; married victims were able to avoid testifying against their abuser. [State] law includes a Spousal Privilege Statute, in which a wife can choose not to testify against her abusive husband. [State] is one of four states that include this provision, and advocates used it in recommendations to victims as a way of relieving them from testifying in court if they did not want to. However, unmarried women were not able to use spousal immunity, and were consequently subpoenaed to testify against their abusers, even if they did not want to.

Survivor-Defined? The Disempowering Nature of No-Drop Policy

While some advocates described no-drop prosecution as empowering, because victims may otherwise be coerced or threatened by their *abusers* into *not* testifying, they simultaneously described no-drop prosecution as *disempowering*, because victims may otherwise be coerced or threatened by the *justice system* into testifying. Advocates stated that

no-drop prosecution sometimes resulted in both batterer-based and systemic revictimization, leaving advocates little room to provide survivor-defined advocacy because of its centralized control. So, while a majority of advocates supported the policy, in a direct contradiction, a majority also stated that victims should not be forced to testify because they can be revictimized in the courts by both judges and their abusers. First, I delineate advocates' descriptions of such revictimization, and then I describe how advocates responded to these challenges.

Eve indicated that forcing women to testify against their abusers could result in batterer-based revictimization. She described how the process had a negative effect on victims in the courts, which problematized advocates' ability to provide empowering advocacy. Four advocates indicated that when women are forced to testify, being in the same room with the abuser can be traumatic. For example, Eve said:

It happens all of the time. You know, a man that walks in with a Bible, he could have been telling her all along or her church have been telling her all along you are his servant, a good wife is going to do this, and a good wife is going to do that, and you're put here to serve and to obey, and you will conform to my way of doing.

Deb provided another example of how an abuser worked to intimidate one of the women she had been working with who was forced to testify:

I was at court one time and I had an abuser bring in a beautiful bouquet of red roses and laid it down. Of course, the bailiffs at our courthouse do immediately come over, but before they could come over of course she picked up the flowers and in the flowers tied up real pretty was a black cord that he strangled her with! So roses didn't look very good to her!

This experience is gendered because the victim was denied agency and choice, out of a “we know what’s best for her” ideology and was forced to testify, ultimately resulting in her revictimization within the courtroom.

Further, advocates in Glawe County said that one judge essentially revictimized abused women by not taking their cases seriously. Jasmine said that prosecution sometimes resulted in an informal reprimand to the abuser, which revictimized those victims who had agreed to prosecute and wanted recourse for their victimization:

For example, I can give you several, here is a common example: [The Judge said] “now the prosecution has proven that you were guilty, but I’m going to find you not guilty. And you need to work things out and leave her alone and dah dit da dit da.” But to say that in open court they have proven their case, but it means nothing. So that is devastating to witnesses and victims, and law enforcement, because what’s the point? Also to someone who’s had prior assault charge and had done probation for that, [Judge said] “So I see you’ve had prior assaults, okay I’m going to give you a \$50 fine and don’t do that anymore.” Okay, that’s not even legal, but that’s less than a speeding ticket, but [sarcastically] hey that’s alright. So those kinds of things, and it was very damaging. To tell a woman with an order of protection to tell someone who had been stabbed by some guy, “you two just need to get along”So these things I have seen with my own eyes, and so when I was sitting there and I was like, criminal court side of things is pretty odd here! I was like that’s kind of weird but didn’t say anything until like the second time, that I was seeing especially, “I’m going to find you not guilty even though they proved you guilty.” That was beyond my cannon! It was just crazy and you just— there is no winning when you have a judge like that. So eventually with the blessing of the prosecutor he started asking for a change of judge. So now that judge has no longer anything to do with [prosecution] except he still does orders of protection, unfortunately!

Such revictimization at the hand of one judge in Glawe County certainly disempowered victims, and is antithetical to the empowering practice of

the survivor-defined component of feminist advocacy. Prosecution rights were intended to be empowering to victims, it was the victim's right to have legal recourse. Yet, revictimizing practices in the courts have sometimes manifested, which are not empowering.

Moreover, when victims did not want to prosecute, and were subpoenaed, in rare cases women could be jailed for not testifying. For example, Vicki said:

I think it, there's some people like when we've had victims who don't show up for court and they're repeated victims. The prosecutor's office before has done body attachments. If they are not married [because they can't invoke spousal immunity] they go to jail until they are willing to testify. Some advocates are completely against that, [they say] "it's revictimizing," but, I guess I'm not. If you repeatedly are getting abused and then fail to do something and they can take a remedy that might help you, I guess I'm okay with that.

In both counties, supported by state law, if victims are served a subpoena and they fail to appear on that subpoena, then the prosecutor can go to the judge and issue what is called a body attachment to make sure victims appear in court. The body attachment gives judges the legal right to jail victims who do not appear, so the victims will be forced to appear at the rescheduled court date. Vicki said:

Then, they will serve that body attachment and they [victims] go sit in jail. It's never been for more than a day or two, but it's just kind of an eye opening that I think everyone takes domestic violence seriously, and even though you might not be, we're in fear for your safety and we need you to help us prosecute so that way this person is held responsible and doesn't do this again. You know at times it is just eye opening, that people are going to take it seriously; because for so long you didn't show up on a subpoena, "ehh no big deal!" You didn't worry that there was going to be a repercussion, or, if you didn't show up for court who cared? "I

have the right to choose if I'm going to prosecute or not," and that's the trend that we're trying to get away from. It doesn't happen a lot, it's very far and few between, but you know the serious felony cases where you're looking at domestic assault second, and they've had repeated things I think sometimes it is helpful. I think other advocates would strongly disagree.

Vicki does not appear to incorporate a feminist perspective recognizing the agency of battered women. In fact, her perspective is patriarchal in denying women agency with a "for your own good" mentality. Vicki further indicated that her goal was offender accountability, as well as victim accountability in prosecuting and did not relate it to social change or feminist perspectives. However, none of the other advocates in Glawe County, besides Vicki, supported the body attachment.

When I asked, "what if a victim doesn't want to testify?" Jasmine, a feminist, offered an alternative perspective to Vicki's:

They issue a body attachment. That's what they— something they can go and get them and make them sit in jail until the next court date. I think that's probably not good. I think that it's a more of a retaliation by the court system than it is to help anybody, because we don't know why she's not coming forward, or she's not showing up or even if she was able to show up, we don't know. And frequently they'll call or they'll come in and they want to drop charges, all understandable in the scheme of what that is...I don't think it's helpful. I think it's harmful. They would be less likely to call the police next time something happens.

Jasmine did indicate that enforcing this policy was rare. She said the courts had a right to, but did it infrequently— primarily in felony cases that were perceived as high risk. In total, twenty-four advocates (the majority) in this study did not support the practice of body attachments.

The two that did support it were non-feminists—one in Glawe County and one in Faulds County. Those advocates that did not support body attachments or forced testimony in court developed strategies to address them. In order to deal with the batterer-based and systemic revictimization involved in no-drop prosecution, advocates used social change practices.

Social change practices round two. Advocates in Faulds County worked toward system change to deal with the revictimization of battered women in the courts. Four advocates described extensive trainings with police officers with the aim of evidence based prosecution in cases where victims did not want to testify as an alternative to subpoenaing victims to testify. This worked to reproduce the feminist goal of the policy—social change and improved responses for battered women—but simultaneously worked to resist the patriarchal elements of the policy— the practice of revictimization in the courts, body attachments, and forced testimony. Charlotte said that the system has gone toward evidence-based prosecution, in which victims are not required to testify in order to prosecute. She described the social change activism around this practice, and trainings of officers towards system change:

There are some cases where we do what people call victimless prosecution, what we call evidence based prosecution. So... and the police have been trained on this. So that when they go in to investigate a case they are taking photographs, they are making specific documentation of a woman's injuries, they are getting excited utterances from the victim so that by the time we go to trial if she doesn't want to participate we can still put on the evidence to show that a crime occurred.

Similarly, Liz delineated system change resulting from a community based response team. She said:

In the spring of 2009, as a result of a collaborative domestic violence task force, we actually trained over 1,000 police officers. We did a full day where they had sexual harassment [training] in the morning, then they had an overview of advocate roles, the DVDU [Domestic Violence Detective Unit] role, and then they had four hours of specific training put on by the attorneys, both the domestic violence resource prosecutor from the [State] Office of Prosecution Services who designed the curriculum, with the assistance of our prosecutors in our unit. They all took turns because this lasted from March until June. It took that long to do all of the trainings for 1,000 officers.

Charlotte clarified the goal in such trainings:

We value training, extensively. I think that the value in it is that our goal was that we want the police officers to write more comprehensive police reports, collect better evidence so that when we go to prosecute—if by some chance, we don't have the cooperation from the victim—we have plenty of other evidence that we can put on. We also believe that by the police officers' first response and their dedication to collecting the evidence they show the victim how concerned they are about the victim's safety; and by advocates putting on a part of that training, the police officers got to hear the importance of connecting victims to resources, and why this can make a difference in making that kind of planting a seed, or interrupting that cycle of violence; because a lot of times the officers are just—they are burned out on going to the same house seven to ten times. They don't see any change happening. We wanted them to see how they could be a change agent. As an advocate I can tell you that in numerous times there's a lot of frustration that's experienced when law enforcement and our investigators and our attorneys can't find this victim, who they need for a hearing or for a trial, and bottom line it's the advocate that says "Yeah but she had to do this in order to stay safe, to survive. It's not because she's trying to be a pain in your butt, it's because she's trying to survive. You have to accept that she is trying to survive, and this is the step that she has chosen to take."

Thus advocates in the justice system in Faulds County believed that training officers related to evidence-based prosecution would alleviate

some of the latent consequences of systemic revictimization involved in no-drop prosecution, as well as provide means for prosecution that did not require the victim's participation.

While Jasmine, in the justice system in rural Glawe County, indicated that educating judges in domestic violence would be desirable, and her only feminist counterpart in Glawe County said it would be wonderful to have a Domestic Violence Court, neither advocate was able to create social change. This was a recurring pattern for the feminist advocates in Glawe County. Without the social support of a coalition, and without feminist understandings of social change within the local advocate community, their feminist ideologies did not result in social change. In fact, it was the prosecutor, with the input of one feminist advocate, who worked to no longer have cases heard by the problematic judge, not the advocates.

In sum, while no-drop policies may help some women, they can be harmful to others who may be revictimized by their batterers or through the practices of judges and prosecutors in the justice system. Victims can be subpoenaed to testify against their abuser, and can be held in contempt of court, and can even be jailed, if they do not. These findings are consistent with prior research, where prosecutors threatened victims with reports to child protective services and consequent custody loss of children as well as jail time if victims failed to testify against their abusers (Moe, 2007; Lyon et al, 2008, Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Social change

activism related to these policies was lacking in Glawe County, and largely limited to practice-level system changes in Faulds County. As Faulds County advocates' past social change activism resulted in the development and implementation of the policy in the first place, with the goal of societal change and recourse for battered women, they did not work to change the policy on a state-level.

Advocates thus reproduced both feminist and patriarchal gendered practices in their support of the policy, through their social change activism that resulted in no-drop prosecution, while simultaneously resisting patriarchal gendered practices, such as revictimization in the courts, through use of spousal immunity, trainings for officers on evidence-based prosecution, getting prosecutors to drop charges, and calling abusers to describe the [State] law to displace blame from the victim to the state.

Conclusion

In sum, a majority of advocates in rural and urban/suburban contexts—including both justice system and traditional advocates—supported the use of protective orders, pro-arrest, and no-drop prosecution while simultaneously recognizing the limitations and challenges of them that can foster the revictimization of battered women. Advocates developed strategies through feminist advocacy to avoid potential systemic and batterer-based revictimization resulting from these challenges.

In line with Acker, I found gendered practices (patriarchal and neutral) in the justice system that advocates countered using their own feminist gendered practices. Some of advocates' practices were reminiscent of early feminist advocacy, such as collaborative survivor-defined and social change models. My findings relate to Acker's theory of gendered organizations, as Acker called for recognition of policies and practices as gendered, not simple genderless mechanisms of organizations. Policies that are not survivor-defined, such as pro-arrest and no-drop prosecution, can result in further gendered inequalities. They are based on the assumption that abused women are not capable of making their own choices, and deny their agency; such policies can be interpreted to be patriarchal. Yet, at the same time, feminist advocates considered these policies to be feminist in their overall goal of social change, which is why they advocated for them in the first place and continued to support them while addressing the latent negative consequences. Advocates' practices were also gendered. Social change activism worked to correct gendered inequalities, as did survivor-defined practices countering patriarchal policies and practices.

Protective orders are discretionary and offer strategies to advocacy to prevent batterer-based revictimization *if the victim chooses*. Any challenges to protective orders were addressed through feminist advocacy. In the case of protective orders, there is much discretion in whether to file for one or not, so it is largely survivor defined, consistent with feminist

advocacy that assumes women's agency, rationality, and puts control of the decision making in the hands of the victim. The challenges with protective orders lie primarily with enforcement, barriers, and patriarchal practices of some judges and officers. Advocates resisted such practices through their survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. Protective orders, with feminist survivor-defined approaches, worked to alleviate gendered revictimization— they were a tool that advocates could use in their practices to facilitate agency of battered women. Agency and empowerment were central to the early feminist anti-domestic violence movement, and protective orders provided another way to provide agency and empowerment in advocates' survivor-defined approaches to advocacy.

The gendered practices associated with no-drop prosecution and pro-arrest were a bit more complex. Two competing feminist interpretations were exhibited by a majority of advocates. One feminist interpretation is that no-drop prosecution is itself not survivor-defined, as prosecution is determined by the state and not the individual. Another feminist interpretation is that no-drop prosecution facilitates social change where violence against women is not tolerated. Advocates simultaneously held both perspectives, and responded by supporting the policy and dealing with the latent consequences. In regard to pro-arrest, officers were not taking domestic violence cases seriously, and were not making arrests when victims wanted them to, so advocates worked to change this. The result was pro-arrest. In the case of no-drop prosecution, prior to its

implementation, prosecution of batterers was very low. The responses of advocates to both of these policies were at times contradictory. While generally supporting the policies, they opposed the negative consequences— such as dual arrest and body attachments. They worked around negative consequences through survivor-defined approaches, such as finding loopholes to drop prosecution. They also used social change activism, such as training for evidence-based prosecution and avoiding dual arrest.

In this chapter, I showed how advocates' intersectional, social change, and survivor-defined practices worked in community based responses to domestic violence. In chapter five, I describe how these practices worked in traditionally feminist organizations, which provide shelter and housing.

Chapter 5

Advocates' Practices in Shelter

In chapter four, I examined advocates' survivor-defined, intersectional and social change practices when collaborating with the justice system. Yet, how do such practices play out within traditionally feminist organizations? In chapter five, I investigate how gendered practices (feminist, patriarchal, and neutral) work in traditionally feminist organizations—shelters/transitional housing. Specifically, I focus on advocates' practices related to the shelter rules that have been most contentiously debated in the practitioner-based literature: accepting adolescent boys into shelters, confidentiality, curfew, mandatory classes, entrance requirements, and chores. I explore advocates' survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices— or absence of such practices in some instances. I found advocates both resisted and reproduced different forms of gendered practices. They were reproduced when patriarchal or neutral shelter rules facilitated revictimization of battered women; such policies guided similarly gendered practices. Yet they were simultaneously resisted through survivor-defined, social change, and intersectional feminist approaches.

Adolescent Boys

In this section, I focus on a shelter policy denying shelter to mothers who have teen sons accompanying them. The policy developed out of an expectation that boys would contribute to a lack of appropriate privacy and put women and girls at risk of sexual assault (Patterson, 2003). Teen boys were also seen as a source of potential violence because of perceptions that boys who witness domestic violence are more likely to be violent (Patterson, 2003; Nichols, 2011). Yet, boys who witness such violence are often not violent themselves, and standardized policy consequently discriminates against teen sons and their mothers (Nichols, 2011).

Further, the policy is not supported by the National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, or the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence. The policy is slowly being eradicated around the nation, and is now the exception to the rule ([State] CADV, personal communication). The national and state coalitions work to provide education and training on best shelter practices. In fact, there was a triple homicide in [State] three years ago (not in the regions I sampled in) because a woman returned to her abuser with her two children when the local shelter would not accept her teen son; upon returning, the abuser killed them all. Because of this incident, the state coalition made it a priority to educate shelters, aiming to eradicate any existing policies barring teen sons or to

provide similar resources ([State]CADV, personal communication).

However, despite this work, the shelter in Glawe County continues the policy and the alternate resources that are provided were described as problematic by advocates outside of the shelter.

I illustrate the challenge the policy presents to advocacy, how the policy is gendered in multifaceted ways, and the way advocates responded to this policy. I first focus primarily on Glawe County, as the only shelter in the county did not accept teen boys. In Faulds County, the shelters that participated had a policy of not accepting adolescent boys at one time, but changed the policy and currently accept adolescent boys. I discuss Faulds County at the end of this section in the context of social change practices, as social change activism is the reason the policy is no longer practiced.

The Challenges

In rural Glawe County, there was only one shelter, and this shelter had a policy of not accepting teen boys. This created a challenge for advocates working outside of the shelter in the justice system. All the advocates in the justice system in Glawe County described the policy as problematic to their advocacy in finding a safe place for victims to stay, and the policy commonly resulted in victims returning to their abusers. For example, Vicki explained how the policy barring adolescent sons from shelter can make finding a safe living space difficult and consequently contributes to women going back to their abusers:

I think the age is 11 or 12, after that they [adolescent boys] can't go into the shelter. So a lot of times people won't want to leave

[their abuser]. They're not going to leave their son behind or they don't have somewhere else to go. So that does create issues and transitional housing usually isn't an option to go right into.

The policy can thus result in systemic victimization, through being denied shelter by the system, as well as further batterer-based revictimization upon returning to the abuser. When asked how many women end up going back to their abusers because they have a teen son, Kari replied, "I really can't say a number but I can say that it is very common." She then said:

They may stay with a friend for a week or so, out-stay their welcome, and then it's time to go. And then they go back. Or they don't want to uproot their kids. A lot of them, especially for the older kids [women say] "they only have a year left in high school and I don't want to move them to a new high school now," and I understand that.

If women couldn't get into the local shelter because of the policy excluding teen boys from shelter, and they did not want to move to a new location where their kids would be displaced, they would return to abusers.

In Faulds County, there was at one time (not anymore) a policy barring teen boys from shelter. Jean described how, as an advocate, she experienced specific challenges in finding space that would accept victims with their teen sons. When I asked for an example, she said:

That's such a difficult situation for a mother...Some women really don't have any other options and what I've found is that women who cannot find another place for their 16 year old, they usually end up having to go to a homeless shelter. They have to go with their whole family, and they may have kids who range, the 16 year old boy may be the oldest and their youngest is a four year old. Most of our [homeless] shelters in this area are in unsafe

neighborhoods. The shelters themselves are often unsafe, a lot of stealing goes on. Of course, some have more problems with that, some less, but it's not a place where you want to go with your family. You have no privacy. It's extremely difficult to go to a homeless shelter with your whole family. Also if confidentiality is of any importance in your situation, you're certainly not in a confidential location if you're concerned about an abusive partner looking for you in [homeless] shelters.

She indicated that the alternative, the homeless shelter, was unsafe and undesirable for families, and it posed a safety risk because of lack of confidentiality. When I asked, "Have you ever had a case where a woman didn't go to a shelter because she couldn't take her teen sons with her?"

Jean replied:

Yeah, I had one woman that I was working with who was living in her car. She had her teenage son and her other children staying with family and she stayed in the car because she could be closer to her children that way. They didn't have a lot of room and the kids were all sleeping on the floor in the living room and it was a very tiny house. It was not a good situation. Certainly many women who have a 16 year old son and can't get into a shelter, well they may not have any other place to go. So they would be staying home with their abusive partner, and that does certainly happen. I've worked with several women who have done that.

In this case, the woman was perhaps at even greater risk staying in her car, which would be visible to her abuser should he find her. In addition, family members' homes are common place of refuge, and thus a likely place to be found. A car parked in front of a family member's house is certainly not a confidential or safe location. Thus, the policy barring teenage boys from staying at the shelter with their mothers can contribute to further batterer-based revictimization if the abuser finds the victim

because she is staying in a less safe place. In addition, in such situations, a woman may return to her abuser because of lack of alternatives.

Since women generally maintain primary care of children because of societal gender norms, and are not willing to leave their children alone with an abuser or move far from their area, they (and their teen sons) returned to abusive homes. Advocates responded to the challenges in different ways in rural Glawe County and in Metro Faulds County, and the varied responses also coincided with feminist identities and related practices. I delineate these responses below.

Survivor-defined and Intersectional Practices (or not) in Glawe County

Survivor-defined practices included working with women's individual cases and specific needs to facilitate meeting their goals. Intersectional approaches take survivor-defined advocacy a step further in recognizing how victim's individual identities and social backgrounds may impact their lives. Mothering is certainly one such identity.

I asked advocates in the Glawe County shelter, who were all non-feminist, about a policy where shelters might not accept boys over a certain age. Eve replied, "That's tough!...boys need to be with their moms and they need safety and security." Yet, she indicated that the shelter she worked in did not accept boys over age 12. She described issues with teen boys and girls staying in close quarters and privacy as the primary concern with accepting teen boys. She stated that there were other places to refer

women with children to that had a better structure for families. Her approach to this challenge was exclusively through referring these women elsewhere:

There are other shelters that take children, boys over the age of 13. They have a different setup than we do. There's a wonderful, wonderful shelter that is almost like a resort type area and they have cabins. So families don't live in one room together, they have their own little cabins. When you come to a shelter, space is tight. Families share a room so you know you've got an 11 year old girl, you have a 13 or 14 year old boy, you have to worry about modesty...Children have it hard enough living in a domestic violence shelter without having to worry about children going through puberty and sexuality, and everything else.

Eve also cited transitional housing as a better option for women with children:

Transitional housing is absolutely the most wonderful thing that they have ever come up with, and we work closely with our transitional housing program [in a neighboring county], that is the best of all worlds. If you want to know the truth, after a woman leaves and her immediate safety needs are met and you work with her and find out where she wants to go, and then to be able to go into a housing program where she can stay, but still have the support groups and the advocacy, I can't even talk good enough about it.

The other advocates in Glawe County also responded by referring victims to shelters in neighboring counties and states nearly an hour away. For example, Kari described this policy as a challenge, and strategized by making referrals to other shelters that did accept teen boys:

I do know that our shelter here cannot accept males over 12. So when I have a woman who does have a male over 12, I know the other shelters that do accept those kids, so I will tell her directly about those shelters.

When I asked how far away the other shelters were, Kari further described that distance and rural mentalities were additional barriers to accessing shelter for women with teen sons, even when such shelters accepted them:

The nearest one [shelter] would be like 45 minutes south of here. So you're talking pretty far out. There is a couple in the [Faulds] City or within that metro area that will do it but you know a lot of our women are used to Glawe County or a more rural experience, so they're afraid to go into Faulds City. So if that one shelter 45 minutes from here doesn't have... [space] they are a lot of times... "no I think I'm just going to try and stick it out [stay with the abuser] or stay with a friend."

The policy and coinciding practices excluding such women from the shelter are not survivor-defined. Advocates work around the policy, but they clearly recognize that the result is often returning to an abuser due to lack of alternatives. Further, one issue with both of the alternatives advocates mentioned—transitional housing and a cabin-style shelter in another county—is that they are located nearly an hour from Women's Safe Home. This may prove difficult for women whose employment, children's schools, and community resources are in the county, and those who are not willing to make the move. Additionally, in the transitional housing program, women generally cannot go directly into it; women need a shelter stay first before they transition over. Availability in the cabin-style shelter and with transitional housing is also an issue; such options are very limited. Thus, this policy and advocates' attempts to circumvent it do not necessarily consider individual cases, specifically family-related needs, which is key to survivor-defined advocacy. While they did consider women's individual cases in recommending shelters that *did* accept teen

boys, the policy itself did not consider women's needs, and had a negative impact on women's agency by potentially denying them shelter if they were not willing to leave their community, job, or otherwise—basically, it limited their women's choices compared to women without teen sons. The gender “neutral” policy, that ignored socio-cultural gender norms of mothering, guided the similarly gendered practice. At the same time, the policy is gendered in the perception of teen boys as a danger solely based on their gender as opposed to their individual qualities and histories. Teen boys may experience re-victimization as well under such policies. Thus, the policy is both gendered and gender “neutral” at the same time, depending on which individual experience the concept is applied to (the mother or the boy).

Second, intersectional practices were apparent to some extent—but only in the context of recognizing a mothering identity as a trigger to refer women with teen sons into shelters that accepted teen boys. Or like Kari above, advocates recognized women's rural identities and reluctance to go long distances to stay in a city shelter. Yet, simultaneously, intersectional practices were limited, as women's social backgrounds of mothering identities were ignored in developing and sustaining this policy. In other words, if advocates recognized that mothers were returning to their abusers because the shelter did not accept their teen sons, and the alternatives were problematic, the policy itself is not informed by intersectional or gendered ideologies. Since none of the shelter advocates

identified as feminist, and only one expressed gendered ideologies of domestic violence, they did not have intersectional perspectives or approaches.

The theory of gendered organizations maintains that organizations perpetuate the relegation of women to private spheres through gender “neutral” policies that both reinforce and ignore gender resulting in inequality. Acker (1992, p. 567) indicates that neutral gendered policies and practices contribute to a gendered understructure: “reproduction, the domain of female responsibility, is relatively invisible...” The above-described policy serves to perpetuate inequality by ignoring existing societal gender dynamics. Women are generally the primary caregivers of children, and comprise the vast majority experiencing intimate partner violence. Policies which bar abused women with teen sons from shelter can thus result in batterer-based revictimization. In addition, women can also be charged with failure to protect and child abuse when their intimate partner abuses the child (Nichols, 2011). This further complicates leaving a child with an abusive partner.

Social Change Activism

Social change activism relating to policies barring teenage boys from shelters was not practiced in Glawe County. The majority of advocates in Glawe County (all but one) saw it as a challenge but did not question the policy itself. Such advocates did not speak of changing the policy, as indicated in the quotes above. The advocates did not generally

express social change perspectives relating to this policy though they saw it as problematic. Social change activism is important to note here, as the rule of not accepting teen boys puts women and their sons at a safety risk, and advocates were not active in seeking change. This was the case for all non-feminist advocates, and was also the case for one feminist advocate in Glawe County. The other feminist advocate, Kari, stated, “I don’t really have control of the policy; I’ve complained— I have a really good relationship with the director so I can do that— but I don’t have the support of anyone else, so, no-go [the policy was not changed].” It should be noted that the only two feminist advocates in Glawe County worked outside of the shelter in the justice system, and likely had less control over the rules. Recall again that there is no strong local feminist coalition, which appeared to have a negative impact on social change activism.

In contrast, in Faulds County, none of the shelters or transitional housing programs that participated in my study had a policy against taking adolescent boys. When I asked about policies against accepting teen boys, Shelli stated that at one time, there was a restriction on accepting teen boys in the shelter she worked in, but they changed the restriction, and they did not experience any subsequent problems. This change occurred because of social change activism regarding this matter in the local feminist coalition:

So we’ve been taking boys as long as they are accompanying their mother and they’re still considered minors, we’ll take boys of any age. We’ve had boys who were 18 in here, we’ve had a couple of

boys who were older, 19, 20 because they were still living at home with mom...but there is no problem, we've really had no problem.

In Faulds County, advocates used survivor defined, intersectional and social change practices to resist the gendered practice of denying teen boys shelter with their abused mothers. They clearly recognized individual cases and needs in their advocacy, and specifically used intersectional approaches by recognizing mothering as an important factor in regard to this shelter rule. The policy was not present in Faulds County in the shelter/housing in my sample because of the activism in the area that worked to eradicate the policy. This is likely related to the majority of feminist identities/ ideologies among Faulds County advocates and the strong local feminist coalition.

Confidentiality

In this section, I outline the described benefits and challenges of having a confidentiality policy, delineate how the policy is gendered, and describe how the policy shapes advocates' survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. I then detail how advocates who see a challenge respond to gendered practices. I show how advocates who do not see a challenge to the policy reproduce gendered practices.

In the case of confidentiality, shelter residents cannot be dropped off by anyone, even a cab driver they do not know, within two to six blocks of the shelter (depending on the shelter). Residents also cannot tell anyone where they are staying, or give the phone number of the shelter to anyone not approved by the shelter director.

Benefits and Challenges of Confidentiality

Advocates had mixed responses about the confidentiality policy. Some advocates felt it was imperative to women's safety, to avoid further batterer-based revictimization and supported the policy in their practices by expelling women for violating confidentiality. Others thought it put women at more risk for both batterer-based and systemic revictimization, as women could be expelled from the shelter for violating confidentiality rules. The benefits of confidentiality generally were described as safety for the victim and other shelter residents, protection of privacy, and psychological benefits. The challenge was disconnecting from social supports, and getting expelled from the shelter for violating confidentiality. Interestingly, there were no regional or organizational distinctions regarding this practice. Whether confidentiality was seen as beneficial or problematic varied from advocate to advocate; there was no distinct pattern, thus the responses varied as well.

When asked about the benefits and challenges of confidential shelter location, Shelli responded:

It gives them a sense of peace, when you tell them [victims] that it is confidential, you can't tell anyone where you're going, and that's for safety reasons...At least for her emotionally, it brings a sense of peace, that when I'm in there, this is a safe place. No one knows where it is, it's not published...it's very, very helpful for her.

In addition to the psychological benefit of confidentiality, Shelli highlighted safety as the primary reason for a confidential location:

... I would say for the overwhelming majority of the women, he [the abuser] probably wouldn't find us because he's not going to go through all of that trouble to do that, so it does bring her safety. It literally keeps her safe. So we're going to make sure that it's not in her neighborhood before we take her, that kind of thing. So there's a real physical safety issue that it brings.

In contrast, when asked about confidentiality policy, Glenda illustrated the challenge of confidentiality, expulsion, to her advocacy as an advocate working outside of a shelter:

I can see the shelters' point-of-view, and I know why they do it—for the safety of the women and everybody in there. I also know that women have been put out of the shelter because they said where they were. It seems a little harsh especially if you want your children to know where you are or ... but, I guess what I found is that they really stick to it. There's no bending.

Ingrid found the rule about maintaining a confidential location through a drop-off point a safety risk, and described it as a challenge to advocacy:

I don't see how that makes any sense either because if an abuser is following her, and she gets dropped off at the drop off point, then she's walking back to the shelter, isn't he still going to see her? Yeah! I really don't understand it. It doesn't make any sense!

Confidentiality is supposed to keep a victim safe, yet when women are expelled for violating confidentiality rules, their safety then drops. The policy, or at least expulsion for violating the policy, appears to be counterproductive. So, while serving as a strategy to mitigate revictimization for some advocates, it provided challenges to others. I further discuss this within the context of survivor-defined, intersectional and social change practices.

Intersectional Practices

Ingrid illustrated intersectional approaches to advocacy when working to get women shelter. She described talking with women about their various identities to plan for safety and confidentiality in shelter. For example, she said sexual orientation was important:

I worked with a lesbian woman whose partner pretended to be abused so she could track her down at a confidential shelter. It wasn't anything I would have thought possible, but there it was. I always ask now, it's important to see how someone's background might impact their safety.

For another example of intersectional practices related to confidentiality, I asked Jean if confidentiality policy in shelters had ever been a challenge to her advocacy. She replied:

Another woman that I worked with, she also broke the confidentiality rule. What happened is she took a cab and she had them let her off too close to the shelter. There's usually a drop off location, and in this case, she's a disabled woman and has trouble walking. She can walk and has walked from that pickup spot to the shelter. But I think in this case she was tired, she was hurting and she had the cab driver drop her off in front or very close to the shelter. She was also asked to leave. Also went back to her abusive partner.

Jean's example indicates confidentiality as potentially problematic for disabled women, who may have more difficulty physically accessing the shelter in a confidential manner, and for women of limited English speaking ability, as they may face language barriers in understanding shelter rules:

Several people that I've worked with have had to leave a shelter because they had not followed the confidentiality policy. In one case it was [a] Chinese immigrant who didn't understand what they were telling her about when they explained the confidentiality rules. She didn't understand it. So, unfortunately she had to leave the shelter and she went back to her abusive partner. You know,

our goal is supposed to be to help keep people safe, to keep women safe. I feel like we don't do a very good job of it sometimes.

Jean, Ingrid, and the majority of advocates in Faulds County expressed that intersectional approaches were important to advocacy, in keeping victims safe and avoiding systemic victimization in shelters. When women were expelled from shelters because their individual social backgrounds were not identified, it resulted in safety risks by increasing the likelihood of further batterer-based revictimization as well. Importantly, such ideologies and resulting intersectional practices were not expressed by non-feminist advocates in both Faulds and Glawe Counties. I found feminist identities in both regions related to intersectional approaches in regard to shelter practices with the exception of one feminist director in Faulds County.

Survivor-defined Practices... (or not)?

Anais specified that women who went to the shelter were making a choice to leave their abuser, thus confidentiality served to reinforce that break. She related survivor-defined advocacy to confidentiality:

We believe in providing a safe place for the victim and a lot of times that means separating her from the abuser—we don't make that decision, the woman has to make that decision...

The victim makes the decision to enter, yet she does not really make the decision to keep her location confidential— she has to accept confidentiality as a condition of receiving shelter. Thus, it is not entirely survivor-defined. I asked Anais if the confidentiality posed any problems for advocacy, and she said, “So two years of living in a confidentially

located setting is really hard. It's very hard." I asked, "How does that work with friends and family members?" and Anais replied:

They can't come on site, they can't be here. They have to go elsewhere. The women live here with all of the freedom they need to go elsewhere. The idea is for them to have a safe space to have refuge and we have to—that's problematic. It's just hard to do. So it's a constant struggle. It's a constant struggle...

Confidentiality is thus complex. It can provide safety, psychological benefits, protect privacy, and reinforce broken ties with abusers. Yet, it can also isolate women. This is consistent with prior research. Haaken and Yragui (2003) note that confidentiality policies of shelters separate abused women from their communities, and cut them off from social support networks instrumental in helping them leave their abusers. In addition, this policy puts some women at risk of systemic and batterer-based revictimization, discussed above. It was clear that it was a struggle for advocates, too.

Advocates used survivor-defined practices to determine whether a confidential location was the best option for the women they worked with. The practice of confidentiality is to some extent patriarchal because it assumes that women may be in need of protection, and it is the standardized shelter rule that determines confidentiality, not the woman. Thus, the practice is not really survivor-defined either, as it is a standardized response. Therefore, advocates who preserve confidential location in their practices are reproducing patriarchal gendered responses as well as the feminist gendered responses that focused on empowerment

through safety and confidentiality. Generally, it is the advocates who determined the policy, with the director who made the final decision. Regardless, expulsion is not survivor- defined and puts women at risk. Advocates who did not support confidentiality because of the safety risk of expulsion responded through social change practices.

Social Change

Eve described attending state coalition meetings, where she was exposed to a variety of different shelter rules. She discussed some of these rules when I asked what was problematic about shelters that were confidential: “First of all, a victim- what kind of jeopardy are you putting her in if you drop her off five blocks from her safe place and she’s got children and you know he’s out there looking for her!” Eve stated that Women’s Safe Home in Glawe County was once a confidential location, but adapted to become semi-confidential over time. Eve illustrated:

Okay, here at our shelter we are the new term “openly hidden” we are not an undisclosed location [but] we don’t put a sign out. I feel that there are no cons to that at all. We are more visible. The police department, sheriff’s department they know where we are, the community knows where we are...We are more accessible to the very victims that need us, and one of the things that it did, it made us re-examine our safety policies. So we got cameras. We have alarms.

She indicated that the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence educating toward social change was instrumental in the changes at her shelter. In addition to loosening confidentiality rules, she also indicated that the shelter adopted a flexible curfew policy, and did not have mandatory classes per the influence of the state coalition. This is

interesting, because the state coalition also suggests accepting teen boys, so social change at this shelter was somewhat contradictory as this shelter did not accept teen boys.

In Faulds County, the advocates had very mixed perspectives on confidentiality. The advocates that did not support it because of challenges to their advocacy responded by working with directors to advocate for change and for the woman they were working with, and were all feminists. The results were mixed—the policy was not changed, but at times individual women were allowed back into the shelter. However, in other cases women were not allowed back in the shelter, or did not want to go back because they were embarrassed or upset about being asked to leave. Such advocates also described bringing up the issue in their local coalition community meetings in the context of what Gillian described as “hotly contested policy debates.”

Curfew

In this section, I review the benefits and challenges of curfew policies, how they are gendered (feminist and/or patriarchal), and how advocates dealt with it through various approaches. Curfew policies generally include a time shelter residents are required to return to the shelter for the night. Women may also be required to sign in and sign out of the shelter, disclose where they are going, when they plan on returning, and leave a contact number. In this section, I describe the benefits and challenges of curfew, how a curfew policy is gendered, and how

advocates' practices were shaped by the policy. Advocates expressed mixed responses about curfew policies. Some advocates saw curfew as an available strategy to reduce the likelihood of batterer-based revictimization: the benefit was perceived safety. In addition, some advocates indicated that curfew was necessary for group living, so other residents would not be disturbed by comings and goings at night. In Glawe County, curfew was survivor-defined and flexible. In Faulds County, it varied. One of the organizations that participated was a shelter that had standardized curfew with few exceptions and rules surrounding the exceptions. The other was a transitional housing program that did not have curfew requirements for residents. I detail advocates' survivor-defined (or not) and social change approaches to curfew.

Survivor-Defined Practices

In Glawe County, the practices surrounding curfew were survivor-defined and flexible. They did have a curfew; Eve illustrated complex realities of curfew and safety:

Our shelter here only has one staff working in the evening into a midnight shift. Staff need to know who's coming and who's going...Safety reasons, plus it's not safe for her to be out at night and he's looking for her and we can't get to her.

Yet when I asked Deb, who worked at the same shelter, about the curfew policy, she replied that while they did have a curfew, there was some flexibility in the policy that did address individual women's needs and allowed women to decide:

We suggest at 10 pm, but there is ways... truly if a woman is someplace visiting her parents or her sister and she's safer to spend the night, I would prefer for her to spend the night and come back in the morning. If she has a job where she gets off of work at like 10:30 pm, it's not...a big deal.

So, even though Women's Safe Home had a curfew, it was flexible and survivor-defined. In addition, women were not generally expelled for violating curfew, unless they were gone for several days without communicating with an advocate. Eve also described taking issue with shelters expelling women for curfew violations, and why survivor-defined flexible approaches were better than standardized responses:

You know maybe the bus is late, maybe there is an accident and she doesn't get back to the shelter in time, she's passed curfew so she's kicked out! Okay, the very system that said that they would help her is now working against her! Again, it's more power and control!

Such systemic revictimization can also result in batterer-based revictimization, as policies may interfere with a victim's ability to retain shelter and leave an abuser.

In one shelter in Faulds County, Shelli, like Eve, described curfew policy as a benefit to women's safety:

If there is no curfew, we don't know if something happened to her...If we know that everybody is supposed to be back by ten and so-and-so's not back by ten, we go into action; but if there is no curfew we might not know that something happened till ten o'clock the next morning, because there's no curfew.

She also indicated that there was some flexibility in the policy, but women would be expelled for violating curfew rules after the third violation.

Shelli described curfew as imperative to safety. However, other advocates described curfew as representing a patriarchal policy, resulting in systemic revictimization. For example, Jean described working with clients staying at shelters that had flexible curfews for women with jobs. However, other requirements surrounding curfew and the workplace posed some challenges:

The only problems, [ways] that curfew has really limited some of my clients are, I could say a couple. One is if they have a job. They are going to get in maybe 11:30 or 12:00 and they're required to have a note from their employer [confirming] that they're working until such and such a time, then...if a person [victim] asks for this [note] what do you say to your boss, "I need a note to work late." To show who? Well, now you're telling them that you're staying at a shelter? That you have domestic violence problems? This isn't stuff that you necessarily want to share at your workplace.

So while shelter curfew may be seemingly flexible, in this case considering women's work schedules, requiring a note to verify their whereabouts is patriarchal because it assumes women are lying otherwise to extend curfew, and violates personal confidentiality because they will likely have to disclose to the boss that they are in a shelter and victims of domestic violence. This is certainly not survivor-defined practice, and contrasts with the practices of early feminist advocates.

Shelli described having mixed feelings about the policy herself, and tried different techniques with problematic results:

When we had it at different times, or did not have a curfew, it became very disruptive to the women who still wanted structure and the routine. Because the woman who didn't want that and would come back at all hours of the night would wake other people up. Because all of the sudden she's in the bathroom, she's in the kitchen, she's talking on the phone.... and the other person in the

bedroom, “I didn’t sleep, she woke me up at three o’clock in the morning.” So it’s not fair for those who want the structure.

Her example indicates the complex realities of group living. In addition, she said:

We firmly believe that with structure, when you’re coming from trauma and chaos, you absolutely need structure to bring tranquility! It’s a fact! You have your habit. Kids especially need structure. They need to know what is expected: that this is when you go to school, this is when dinner is, this is when bath time is, it gives them a sense of security and peace.

This practice appears to be a patriarchal practice, in that the shelter director is determining such matters as opposed to the mother. Many families not experiencing domestic violence do not have regular bath and dinner times; however, the shelter has determined that this is the best family structure, thus denying women’s agency. This is contrary to survivor-defined feminist models. This indicates that shelter rules are grounded in the realities of group living—having multiple children needing baths with no schedule over bathtub use is problematic. In addition, no curfew can be disruptive to the other women and children’s sleeping patterns. This complicates feminist advocacy. On the one hand, survivor-defined advocacy works to empower women on an individual level, but what about when an individual negatively affects other women in shelter? Then *those* women’s experiences are not survivor-defined. Thus, survivor-defined advocacy becomes complex, and this is likely why advocates themselves were so mixed in their perceptions of this policy.

All but one feminist thought the policy should be flexible and survivor-defined. In a contrasting view to Shelli, Jean stated:

Curfew is based on a patronizing attitude treating adult women like children. It's really all about control stuff. Needing control and projecting how they feel comfortable onto others rather than a feminist cooperative woman-defined model and method of dealing with problems.

Another advocate also offered a perspective from an organization that provided housing and had no curfew. Anais stated, "We don't have a curfew policy. The women and children are pretty free to come and go." I then asked, "And you haven't had any problems with that?" and she replied, "well, we don't... not really." The setting of Safe Harbor is in separate apartments, so curfew did not pose an issue with disturbing other residents the way it did in shelters with group living. Thus, survivor-defined models can be tempered by complex realities of group living as well as patriarchal attitudes.

Social Change

Flexible curfews were part of the "best practices" model advanced through training by the [State] Coalition. Shelli explained how the coalition facilitated system change in her shelter. She also described experimenting with curfew policy, doing away with it, and then bringing it back for practical reasons:

So it's worked out for us, there's a time period there where we were like, I think it was, we went six months where we had this no curfew experiment, it was a statewide thing that all of the shelters were doing. It was total disaster for us. Total disaster for the residents who were actually serious in working on their goals, the

women who were just using us had a ball! But not the ones who needed the assistance. We will stick with curfew.

Shelli noted that the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence was important in shifting curfew rules to a more flexible and survivor-defined approach. Yet, she stated that this approach did not work in her shelter. She seemed to have the perception that if women were not “working the program” they were problematic. It is likely that curfew did not have successful social change surrounding it in Faulds County because advocates themselves were somewhat divided. In Glawe County, it was not a problem because it was a much smaller group and they all agreed. This suggests that the [State] coalition, as well as the local coalition community, was an agent of social change in efforts to change the policies on a broader level. However, advocates must convince others that changes are warranted (and that they work) for those changes to occur.

Mandatory Classes

In this section, I address advocates’ gendered (feminist or patriarchal) approaches involving classes for victims in shelter/ housing. The rural Glawe County Shelter had many classes and programs available to women, but they were not mandatory. In Faulds County, one of the shelters did have mandatory classes, and the transitional housing program had multiple classes available, but they were not mandatory. Classes generally consisted of individual and group therapy, and parenting, budgeting, and job skills classes.

Survivor-Defined?

When discussing mandatory classes, anything that is mandated could be perceived as patriarchal in nature, because it denies women's agency and assumes she needs the classes regardless of her own needs or wants. Thus, under this definition, mandatory classes would also not be survivor-defined, because they are a standardized practice that does not consider specific needs. Yet, when asked about mandatory classes, Glenda, a feminist in Faulds County working in a traditionally feminist organization described their benefit:

Well the thing is everybody has to want it, or it's not going to help....But I guess a part of it is you want to give people whatever skills they can acquire to be able to maintain a good life... so I guess like they need some skills, otherwise they are not going to make it...So, that's the value that I see within a shelter with support groups, it gives them a sense that they are not alone in this issue, there are other people who have these same issues, and they have these same problems with their kids. You can make it! I see value in it. It's hard for me not to see that it shouldn't be mandatory.

However, Glenda assumed that all women who have experienced abuse "need skills." She related these skills to empowerment, but simultaneously assumed that women were not able to determine which classes they need and which they do not need. This response was expressed by most advocates who were not feminist but only two (out of 18) who were feminist. This suggests that feminist identity is related to feminist practices in this context.

In contrast, when asked about mandated services, Anais, who identified as a feminist, said:

There are no mandated services here! Periodically, we will mandate a housing meeting, where we've got to get information to them and you have to come. If you don't come, then you have to make arrangements to meet with somebody; but that's not participating in services... But as far as her individual sessions, her group stuff, engaging with the legal process, she does not have to do any of that. We inform her all of the time, "here are your options." We may go as far as to say, "this is why I think it's a good idea," but it is her decision.

In Safe Harbor, a transitional housing program, survivor-defined approaches were used to determine whether to recommend a particular service, and women's agency was respected as they had control over what classes they chose or did not choose.

Eve also described flexibility in the policy regarding class attendance at the shelter in Glawe County, illustrating survivor-defined advocacy:

We individualize every family here. So we work a program that suits their needs....The benefit to that is we have people that are more comfortable being here, we're not forcing them to lie. We are not controlling their lives, we're giving them options and they are more successful. We have more resources because we are zeroing in on what they need and they're not having to conform with what we think they need.

Eve described the benefits of updated training and education through the [State] Coalition as facilitating the survivor-defined model of advocacy. While Eve did not self-identify as feminist, she expressed feminist ideologies (see chapter 3) and maintained best practices recommended by the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence. I asked how she thought it would look if advocates did not have background or training in domestic violence, and she replied:

It would be horrendous! It would be absolutely horrendous! One of the things that nobody really wants to talk about— but it is out there now, and we are addressing it— is power and control in a shelter setting. The coalition has come up with a wonderful power and control training for us and we will refer to that. You know, people do it, it's just like anything. You get job burnout. You get cynical. You become judgmental, and as an advocate you can't! So I don't care if you have heard one story or you have heard fifty stories today she demands the respect, time and attention, but working in a shelter where you're working 24/7 it gets hard, and you do get tired, but everybody is held accountable. You have to remember why you are here.

The [State] Coalition is apparently facilitating the survivor-defined component of feminist advocacy through their extensive education and training programs of all their member organizations, including suggesting such approaches to classes and services.

When asked about mandatory classes or support groups, Jean, a “traditional” feminist in Faulds County, described working with shelters that did have mandatory classes as problematic for her advocacy:

Almost every woman that I've worked with who has, for instance stayed at a shelter, has appreciated the shelter that it has been a place to stay while she's making a plan to start her new life, or whatever, [but] has also been mandated to attend parenting classes....And if she doesn't attend the parenting classes or whatever that the shelter wants her to, there are repercussions. Well, she's not going to ~~meetings, meetings~~; she's not showing up, there's something wrong here. She's much less likely to get into long-term housing from that shelter. The more she cooperates, the more that she does what they want her to do, even if it's parenting classes, or whatever, the more likely she is to get the help that she needs.

Jean described further challenges with mandatory classes, in addition to not being survivor-defined; they sometimes were not even relevant to individual cases:

The other thing is, one woman that I was working with was single and I was trying to make plans to meet with her and she said, “I can’t because I have to go to this parenting class.” And I said, “You don’t have any children do you?” She said, “No I don’t!” And I said, “Well why are you going to a parenting class?” and she said “Well, it’s one of the things that I’m supposed to do while I’m here at the shelter.”

Mandatory parenting classes are thus not survivor-defined. The policy guides advocates’ practices inside and outside of the shelters. Attending mandatory classes may prevent women from meeting with their advocate outside a shelter, or from following a plan in looking for a job or otherwise because they have to meet the mandatory requirements as a condition of receiving shelter.

Five advocates, all feminist, indicated that classes interfered with job searches and finding housing. For example, Gillian said:

She might have two weeks to three months, you know, to find a job, to get a place to stay, to move her kids to a new school, and so much other stuff— and they throw these classes on top of it? I mean, I see the benefit, but sometimes it isn’t realistic and she’s better off using that time to do what she needs to do in that limited time she’s got at the shelter.

The challenge most advocates expressed with the classes were not the classes themselves, but that the classes were not survivor-defined, depending on the shelter. Jean said:

I think what’s so bad about it is just that...it’s one thing to offer them, that’s fine. To encourage someone or to indicate that if they’re a good parent, or want to be a good parent they will go to these classes, because they really need to—well it indicates that you think that the mother is not a good parent. Women feel that, and I think that’s doing them a disservice.

Jean further described that some shelters treated women like children through rigid rules:

...In a shelter, women often feel that they are treated as children. They are told when to wake up, when they have to be in, when to go to bed, what programs they need to attend, what classes they need to go to, et cetera et cetera. If they don't they are in trouble. I do think that there is sexism. I think that women are often treated in a patriarchal way, we're patronizing women. They are the victims. We have to take care of them; they don't know how to keep themselves safe so we need to tell them how to stay safe. So I think that is very patronizing toward women. I see it in domestic violence agencies and so I think that is sexism coming through.

In addition, women can be expelled from shelter for not attending the mandatory classes because they are perceived as uncooperative and "loafing." Vicki, a non-feminist, described women getting expelled from a shelter for "not trying hard enough." She said this could occur when there was evidence of:

Them not [being] willing to work the program, kind of just wanting to use it as a loafing in between kind of thing, not ambitious to find a job, not always there for their groups and different things like that.

Non-feminists were significantly more likely to have this perception.

There was only one feminist in the sample who believed women who did not "work the program" did not take their situation seriously.

Further, some of what might be perceived as "loafing around" may actually be indicative of deeper psychological/emotional troubles. For example, Ingrid said:

There is a failure to recognize depression, especially in women who aren't working the program, are sleeping too much, and missing meetings. The tendency is to label them as lazy, not serious, and not worthy of advocacy, housing, and other issues.

Prior research finds that depression and PTSD often accompany domestic violence (Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Consequently, it is possible that Ingrid's perception of symptoms of depression interfering with mandatory classes is correct. Since women may be expelled for not taking their classes, this practice of expulsion is not survivor-defined.

Jean had another perspective on the consequences of "loafing" when a client of hers was expelled from a shelter for missing classes:

You know, in terms of leaving a shelter and going back to an abusive partner, I also worked with another woman who was told to leave the shelter because...well, she had slept late and missed a few classes that she was supposed to attend. Anyway, she was asked to leave. She was told the third time that she slept late and missed her class she...she would probably be asked to leave. Well, she missed that third time and she was asked to leave and they do try to sit down and plan with them for a safe place where they will go. So, they asked her where she would go and she said she was going to go home to her mother, but she wasn't going home to her mother. She was too embarrassed to tell them that she had no place to go, that it was either the streets or her abusive partner. So, they took her to the train station so she could go back to her mother. As soon as they left, she didn't even have a train ticket; of course, she left the train depot and was walking the streets with her little daughter, who was four years old at the time, until she ended up at [a Mall parking lot].

Jean further discussed how advocates worked hard in shelters to keep women safe, but this perception of safety was sometimes implemented in counterproductive ways through patriarchal practices. For example, she said:

The thing is that I know it's hard at shelters, and they try to do things and I know they are trying to keep women safe. So, what goes wrong when a woman decides she's going to leave the shelter and go back to her abusive partner? Women have told me that they feel that the shelter is like their abusive partner, because they are

controlling them, they are telling them what they have to do all of the time. Making a lot of demands on them. Sometimes they will get so frustrated they leave and figure I'm better off just going back and being with him.

Intersectional Approaches to Finding Shelter and Mandated Services

Advocates used intersectional feminist practices related to referring women to shelters or housing that had mandated services. Gillian described the limitation of shelter space, and how waiting lists were often problematic for women in leaving their abusers. For an example of intersectional approaches related to mandated services, Gillian said another option in the community was a faith-based boarding house. In order to get shelter at the boarding house, it was mandatory for women to receive services—women had to attend three hour-long sermons a day.

Another advocate, Jean, said:

I know that there was a faith based shelter nearby and one of the requirements of shelter was that the women had to attend several sermons a day even if it interfered with some of the things they needed to do with job search and things like that.

Gillian said she used intersectional approaches in order to learn whether this boarding house might be a good option for some women. Although she did not frame it herself as an intersectional approach, it worked to recognize intersecting identities of gender and faith and advocate to those individual identities. Gillian said:

God love him, but he's upfront about it. It's good to know because I'm talking to women who that may be an option for and I'll say, are you a church person or not a church person? Because here's the deal, this is what he expects of people who are there. If you're on board with that, great! But Minister Kline is a private guy doing his thing. He can create whatever kind of model that he wants, I'm

okay with that. To me it's different when you are operating a Domestic Violence Shelter specifically to serve woman who you know are escaping from a relationship at the core of which is power and control. So I would want those programs to not engage in practices that really are kind of about power and control. What Minister Kline does to me, it's like I don't need this to be for battered women advocates... I have never met the guy, I know people who have stayed there and thought it was lovely. I know people who stayed there and you know, couldn't get the heck out of there fast enough. Because it's not everybody's cup of tea. But that's true for any of the residential services that we use. Whether they are other boarding houses, whether any of the domestic violence shelters, it's just not everybody's cup of tea.

She again explained how it was important to advocate to women's individual cases and needs. In some cases, women might not mind or even want mandatory classes or sermons, and in other cases they might be seen as offensive and undesirable.

Substance Abuse

I address substance abuse policies and advocates' practices surrounding them in this section. Policies regarding substance abuse are not uncommon; many shelters have policies restricting access to those who have substance abuse problems (Moe, 2007; Lyon et al, 2008; Goodman & Epstein, 2008). Macy and colleagues (2010) also note that many shelters "require women to be substance free as a condition for shelter admission." However, some abused women may use substances as a way of coping with their abuse (Osthoff, 2001). Yet, abused women who have substance abuse issues, many of whom have co-occurring PTSD as a result of their abuse, can be denied access to services that would provide valuable resources for leaving their abusive situation.

Substance abuse was not indicated as a barrier to accessing shelter in Glawe County, but in Faulds County it was, depending on the shelter. Different policies resulted in different practices. When I asked about substance abuse, Vicki said they had a substance abuse program as a part of their coordinated community response in Glawe County, and the shelter could refer women with substance abuse issues to get help from this community resource. This is progressive, as national research indicates that substance abuse is a barrier for some women in accessing shelter, and the majority of shelters nationwide do not address it (Lyon et al, 2008, DeJong & Burgess-Proctor, 2006). Nonetheless, women may still be expelled from the shelter for actively using drugs or alcohol; Kari and Vicki both recalled having clients who were asked to leave for that reason in Glawe County. Vicki also noted that women would be denied shelter if they were high or drunk and caused problems for others in the shelter.

In contrast, at one shelter in Faulds County, they had very strict rules related to substance abuse, as it had been a problem in the past. As a result, the policy was standardized as opposed to survivor-defined and caused some problems for shelter residents and their advocates who worked to keep them in a safe place. Part of the standardized policy related to substance abuse was that all medications had to be turned in to the shelter staff upon admittance, and could be requested when needed. Gillian, in a traditionally feminist organization that was not a shelter, said:

I think the shelters have some rules which are not good in trying to protect people, and I mean I have an example of a woman who

would not go to a shelter because of what she had to do. She had to give up all of her medications, when she went into a shelter. One of her medications was an inhaler. She said, “why would I give up my inhaler? I’m going to leave because I’m afraid I’m going to die there, and I don’t have my inhaler when I need it, I will die. I can’t wait for somebody to bring me my inhaler.”

Consequently, Gillian had to work to find a different safe place for her client that would allow her to keep her inhaler. As shelter space is limited, Gillian found this policy to be challenging to her advocacy.

Further, Jean, who worked with Gillian, indicated how such a standardized admissions policy related to substance abuse impacted her advocacy:

When I am working with a woman who needs to get into a DV shelter, before she does the admission interview with them over the telephone, I tell them what to expect, what kind of questions they will ask, so they won’t be offended because they often ask if they have mental health problems, if they’ve had alcohol or drugs in the last few days to two weeks depending on the shelter. One shelter does drug screens on admission. But women aren’t expecting that, and are offended. Sometimes they just want help and they feel like they are being treated like there is something wrong with them, like they are criminals.

Ingrid, who also worked with Jean and Gillian, described how a more feminist collaborative approach to advocacy, one that is survivor defined, worked to produce better outcomes for the women receiving advocacy:

It seems like mental health or substance abuse issues are something that could be dealt with after admission if needed, or at least in person with the attitude of assisting as needed with issues.

In this manner, women who needed help with substance abuse would get it instead of being denied shelter, and women who did not need the help

would not feel demeaned or otherwise controlled (patriarchal practice), as was the case when Gillian's client was not allowed to have her inhaler.

Advocates countered substance abuse policies by calling the directors of shelters that had rigid policies and working with them to get better outcomes for victims. In one case, Jean described contacting a director and getting a client back into the shelter. Three advocates also indicated bringing up policy debates in community meetings, which sometimes resulted in change. Importantly, Gillian said that she knew of two programs that were working on getting funding to address substance abuse, thus, it appeared that changes were in progress in Faulds County related to substance abuse. However, such changes had not manifested yet at the time of this study.

Other House Rules

In this section, I review other various shelter/housing rules, describe how they are gendered, and how advocates responded to them. Amy described shelter rules as challenging to some of her clients, while simultaneously recognizing the complex realities of group living and safety:

I've had some [clients who] have been in shelter before and don't want to go back, or are in one right now and are not enjoying the rules. The rules are ...leaving a controlling situation, sometimes they find themselves being told what to do and they have a curfew and they have to clean their room, and they have to come down for dinner and what not. I completely understand there has to be shelter rules, there's got to be curfews because if you're gone until three in the morning, we're worried about your safety, but I also see that being difficult for victims who are trying to leave and want some freedom and are being told that they need to do chores and

they need to be home at this time, and check in with people. So I've had several victims I've talked to who are like "I've done shelter before and I do not want to go back. I did not like it."

In my interviews, I found that a "cup story" had become somewhat notorious in the community. Gillian said, "Are you interviewing Jean? If you talk to Jean, ask her about the cup." So, when I did interview Jean, of course I asked about the cup. I said, "What about chore policies? I heard that you had a story about a cup. Do you want to tell that story?" and she responded:

At one shelter a woman that I was working with, she was supposed to... that [story] was about people were cleaning up the kitchen after dinner, and then, for this woman that I was working with she got in late after her job. She would finish her job, then she would pick up her child, who was staying at, I believe, at a daycare or a family member[']s], she would pick up her child, she came back. She was in the kitchen and poured some chocolate milk for her daughter. She had something for herself, they were having like a little late supper or snack together; and she left the rest of the milk sitting out on the table and the cups. She was asked to leave. I was told that the reason that she was asked to leave was because they have a pest problem in the kitchen and people were being too messy and not cleaning up after themselves. So they told everybody, "if you don't clean up after yourself, you're out!" So, she was. When I talked to the director [she said] "this is something that we found we have to do because otherwise they have problems with roaches and other pests." I mean you are talking about the safety of this woman versus pest control!

I then asked, "where did she go when she was asked to leave?" and Jean said, "Well, she went back to her abusive partner. Where else would she go?" The policy and corresponding practice of expulsion could be labeled as patriarchal, while recognizing realities of group living.

When asked what the problem was with advocacy that was not survivor-defined, Belinda replied:

I don't like that because that takes her personal power away from her, that says your way is not good enough, you have to make it our way, and she has been told she's not good enough for so darn long. You have to comply. We all have to live within some rules and laws so that we can avoid chaos, but I think there are some times where systems get in the way of woman centered service delivery. Systems like you have to fill out this form before you can do this. You have to talk to this person before you can see a counselor. You have to go through an assessment before we will let you into therapy. Garbage! Garbage! Am I not good enough to take? What is going to make me so much better? What's going to make me so much more eligible for your services if I jump through your hoops? It's diminishing, it's demeaning, it's offensive. I don't like it!

When asked for a specific example, Belinda illustrated:

Well you know I was appalled. Once I was at a meeting and it was some rural shelter. They were talking, do you know what their system does? The woman has to report to the police department in order to be transported to the shelter. She's been arrested sometimes because there were outstanding warrants for her. What if she's being abused by one of the sheriffs in that rural county? I was just appalled! Now, there is a system that makes her jump through that hoop that does not honor her need... Now tell me how you are empowering somebody, I don't care if you have the most beautiful shelter in the world, if you're doing that sort of thing I wouldn't want to be a part of that system.

These examples provide additional illustrations of patriarchal policies that deny battered women agency. Advocates seemed to have a good sense of the feminist collaborative shelters and the ones that were more hierarchal and controlling. In cases where they had a client they perceived as potentially having problems with such a structure, they worked to get her into a less structured setting. In turn, for women they worked with that would appreciate and benefit from the structure, advocates worked to place them in the structured setting. Community meetings were continuously mentioned as forums for contentious debates

regarding rigid shelter rules. Thus, advocates worked together to resolve problems, but the outcomes appeared to be the result of sometimes heated debate.

Conclusion

In sum, my findings suggested that shelters and housing had different curfew, confidentiality, entrance and class requirements, and policies both within and between counties. In general, the policies in Women's Safe Home in Glawe County were created and altered following the guidelines of the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence with the exception of allowing teen boys. Since the state coalition is feminist, it resulted in policies that were flexible, collaborative, and survivor-defined. The non-feminist director (who did have gendered ideologies of domestic violence and of societal gender inequalities) of the shelter incorporated survivor-defined policies, and attributed it to the State Coalition education and trainings. However, the policy on teenaged boys was not changed despite the trainings. One feminist advocate in the Glawe County justice system (of only two) did advocate for change, but she did not have the support of the other advocates. In Glawe County, social change perspectives were largely absent. Yet, they were more progressive than at least one shelter in Faulds County in their policies, as their policies were largely informed by the [State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence, which promotes a survivor-defined approach.

In Faulds County, the transitional housing program also had flexible, collaborative, and survivor defined policies and coinciding practices with the exception of confidentiality. The director was a vocal feminist, and described feminist programming in her housing program. The other shelter that participated in Faulds County had a mix of gendered policies; they mandated classes and had rigid confidentiality, however they did allow teenaged boys and had some flexibility around curfew. This presented somewhat of a contradiction, as the shelter was aimed at empowerment, but simultaneously maintained some rigid “house” rules. However, the feminist director had the perspective that such rules were developed for “the greater good” of those living in shelter. The director’s perspective was tempered by her experiences and her ideas of what was best for the majority of women staying in her shelter. Women could be negatively affected in some cases without such rules, when other women disturbed their shelter experience—such as when women came in noisily at 3am. In Faulds County, the majority of feminist advocates maintained all the components of feminist advocacy: survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. Non-feminist advocates did not express intersectional approaches, but the majority did express survivor-defined practices in the context of shelter/housing.

Findings indicate the problem with “neutral” advocacy is that it is standardized advocacy, and consequently ignores what women want and need in their specific situations—such as women who are limited in

shelter access because of their teen boys, those that may or may not want classes or services, or who do not need a curfew or confidentiality. Patriarchal advocacy can also systemically revictimize women through unwanted mandated classes, curfews which require employer notes, confidentiality that results in expulsion and inattention to dynamics specific to disabled and limited English speaking women. Consequently those women who are expelled from shelters for violating shelter rules are susceptible to further batterer-based revictimization. In contrast, feminist advocacy relies on supporting women's agency, choices in services offered, and working collaboratively to address the needs and goals of battered women.

My findings were consistent with prior research finding shelter rules simultaneously problematic and beneficial. Confidentiality, curfew, and mandated classes were seen by some advocates as strategies to avoid further batterer-based revictimization, and to meet the greater needs of the group. However, others saw them as patriarchal, resulting in both systemic and batterer-based revictimization.

The findings support research calling for survivor defined advocacy recognizing individual cases and needs, supporting women's agency, and allowing women choice in services offered, and giving them control. Access to shelter certainly provides empowerment to women leaving an abusive partner, but when this strategy is blocked due to entrance requirements or expulsion for not following rules, such systemic

revictimization can result in batterer-based revictimization in addition to undermining women's safety and denying them agency. In some shelters, safety, though seen as a primary mission, becomes secondary when feminist policies and practices are not followed and patriarchal attitudes and practices dominate. This is not the case in shelters and housing that stick to the components of feminist advocacy— survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. Feminist practices facilitate agency and empowerment, whereas patriarchal or neutral practices deny agency and empowerment perpetuating gender inequality and the subordinate status of battered women.

Second, survivor-defined advocacy in group settings is complex. In order to best meet the needs of the women in shelter, some advocates felt rules needed to be supported. For example, while one woman was expelled because of pest control issues, the other women did not have to deal with the pests. While survivor-defined curfew facilitates agency for individual women, if one woman causes problems for the other residents, she negatively impacts the other women. In other words, sometimes survivor-defined advocacy for one woman may conflict with another's survivor-defined advocacy. Thus, while rigid curfew policies appear patriarchal, they occur within complex living situations that affect multiple women.

Chapter 6

Implications for Theory and Practice

The research described in the preceding chapters is generally a study of feminist advocacy in anti-domestic violence organizations. More specifically, it is a study of feminist identities, ideologies, and practices as components of organizations that both resist and reproduce various facets of gender. The gendered organizations theoretical framework draws attention to different aspects of gender in organizations. In my research, feminist identity, ideology, and practices were the theoretical components under investigation. The criminal justice interventions and shelter rules that I examined were not genderless mechanisms of organizations; rather, they were gendered in complex and competing ways. Consequently, advocates' practices responding to such policies and practices in shelters and the justice system were also multifaceted, sometimes in conflicting ways. In fact, I found that advocates' interrelated identities, ideologies and practices were gendered and were both influenced by and influenced other actors in their organizations. In chapter 6, I draw from my research findings to highlight theoretical and policy implications.

Theoretical Implications

In this section, I investigate potential theoretical developments based on my research findings. First, I describe contextual differences between regions and the importance of such distinctions for gendered organizations theory. Second, I draw contextual comparisons between advocacy in traditionally feminist organizations and advocacy in masculine (or “gender-neutral”) organizations. Third, I suggest an extension of the gendered organizations framework by exploring actors’ practices countering gendered processes. Last, I describe the intersectional focus and its contribution to theoretical development.

Context

Regional distinctions. Regional distinctions were related to gendered identities and ideologies. I found rural advocates were much less likely to be feminist, and so this may be a product of their environment; they lived and worked in areas where being feminist was not always accepted and there was no local feminist coalition as well as fewer opportunities for feminist education. As feminist practices were guided by feminist identities/ideologies, rural advocates were much less likely to practice intersectional and social change advocacy. The opposite was the case for advocates in metropolitan contexts. This suggests the regional context may impact gendered processes. Some regions, such as metropolitan regions, may facilitate feminism more easily than rural regions.

This finding does not suggest that patriarchal and neutral processes are not present in metropolitan areas, as I found both patriarchal and neutral processes in both rural and metro areas. However, it is the feminist responses resisting these processes that were much less common in rural contexts. So what does this mean for a gendered organizations theory? Simply, contextual differences may account for differing research results in different regions. Prior research lends some support to this argument—that rural advocates are less likely to incorporate feminist social movement philosophies (Lehrner & Allen, 2009; Macy et al, 2010).

Comparing advocates in feminist and masculine

organizations. My research is also somewhat distinct in the realm of gendered organizations research because it involves advocates working in traditionally feminist organizations, and also offers comparisons to advocates working in the largely masculine justice system¹⁹ (see Haney, 2010; Britton, 2011). The bulk of gendered organizations research takes place in organizations that are traditionally masculine in their structure, workforce, and hierarchy/ leadership (Martin, 1980); Jurik, 1985, 1986; Britton, 1997, 2000, 2003; Chesney-Lind & Pollack, 1995; Williams et al, 1999; Dellinger & Williams, 2002; Williams, 2006; Webber & Williams, 2008; Williams & Connell, 2010; Kruttschnitt & Gartner, 2004; Price, 2008). In contrast, I examined gendered processes within

¹⁹ Justice system organizations are labeled masculine because the workforce, hierarchy, and corresponding gender attributes are usually male-dominated and masculine.

feminist organizations whose leadership, clientele, hierarchy, and workforce were female-dominated and compared advocacy in such organizations to advocacy in the justice system. In addition, I explored co-optation—the idea that one organizations’ goals, identity, and ideology is lost or reduced when collaborating with another—in feminist advocates’ collaboration with individuals, policies, and practices in masculine or “neutral” organizations.

First, I found inconsistencies in gendered policies and practices both within and between traditionally feminist organizations. I found feminist policies and practices within some traditionally feminist organizations, and a mix of gendered processes within others. The findings suggest that “neutral,” feminist and patriarchal policies and practices can be present in traditionally feminist organizations as well as in traditionally masculine organizations.

Yet what does it mean when feminist organizations have “neutral” or even patriarchal practices within their own feminist organizations but are dominated by women, directed by women, have exclusively women workers, and largely serve women? Feminist organizations do not exist in a vacuum; they are part of a gendered world and interact with masculine actors and masculine organizations. Advocates are exposed to gendered assumptions from society, and abused women to some extent may reflect “the other;” they are the women that need to be protected- even against

their will. While a minority of advocates maintained this perspective, it did translate into practice in at least one shelter: the shelter with mandated classes and rigid rules.

Second, what happens when those from feminist organizations interact and collaborate with those from masculine organizations? The advocates I spoke with both resisted and reproduced gendered (feminist, neutral, and patriarchal) practices, identities, and ideological assumptions. It is important to note that there is not an exclusive binary system of feminists in feminist organizations or non-feminists in masculine organizations. I found a vast majority of feminist advocates working in the justice system who retained their feminist identity, ideology, and practices. In fact, advocates working within the justice system were *more* likely to identify as feminist than advocates in feminist organizations.

At the same time, in concerted efforts to present themselves as “neutral”, advocates reported toning down or hiding various representations of feminist identity and ideology within the justice system (see chapter 3). However, their outward presentation of “neutrality” did not impact their practices with individual women or with their social change activism, which remained fully committed to their feminist ideology. For example, when officers’ practices interfered with victim safety, or implemented controlling practices, these advocates were not co-opted at all; rather, they

became social activists within their organizations but they did it using “neutral” language. So, to some degree they worked within the confines of the existing system, but it didn’t change their feminist practices or ideologies. Thus, in some contexts advocates reproduce the gender dynamics of the masculine organizations they collaborate with, and in other cases they specifically resist them. Ultimately, feminist identity, whether in the justice system or in traditionally feminist organizations, was a better indicator of feminist advocacy than the organizational type. This generally counters organizational/co-optation concerns, and suggests the importance of feminist background/ education, related training, and strong local feminist coalitions.

In addition, my research is unique in that, to some extent, it examines co-optation working “the other way around.” I.e., are masculine organizations ever co-opted? In my research, co-optation of the masculine justice system by the feminist advocacy organizations was mixed. Advocates were able to make some dramatic policy changes in the justice system generally over the last few decades, and in Faulds County, the masculine organizations were not exactly co-opted, but changes did occur as a result of training, using hierarchal channels, developing the Court Watch program, and communicating with individual officers. But in Glawe County, there really was no evidence of co-optation, save

changes in state law that were advocate-driven (but not by Glawe County advocates). Thus my research offers a distinct contribution in examining how feminist organizations my impact masculine organizations through coalition-sponsored social change efforts as well as interactional-level social change practices.

Resistance

Advocates not only were impacted by gendered practices, but they also responded to them. Interaction includes not just action, but reaction. How these reactions both resist and reproduce gender is an important theoretical extension in the area of gendered organizations. First, advocates resisted both co-optation and gendered processes while they were simultaneously impacted by them. In chapter four, I concluded that “the institutional setting may be less important than the feminist background, education, and experience of the individuals in the organization.” Individuals are not passive recipients of social conditioning present in organizations. Rather, individuals possess unique social backgrounds and perspectives, causing them to react differently to environmental stimuli. To some extent both non-feminist and feminist advocates reproduced patriarchal or neutral-gendered practices, although only feminist advocates resisted them. The end-goal of system change was important to feminists—in order for their presentations, education, training, and system change

approaches to be acceptable to officers, advocates used different language to accomplish it. Thus, advocates reproduced “neutrality” in education, trainings, and interactions in order to resist and accomplish feminist/gendered system change. A feminist identity was important in identifying gendered practices, particularly identification and resistance to gendered practices through feminist social change activism.

Many researchers have identified gendered practices within organizations, but there has been less systematic focus on how actors react to or counter gendered practices, especially when said actors recognize them as gendered practices. In other words, we know to some extent how gendered processes are reproduced, but less about how they are resisted. My research suggests specifically how advocates resist gendered practices through survivor-defined, intersectional, and social change practices. My findings indicate generally, how actors can *resist* gendered practices *through* gendered practices. Actors can resist patriarchal and neutral practices through feminist practices. A feminist identity, corresponding ideologies, and practices that coincide can be central to resistance. This seems a fruitful avenue in extending gendered organizations theory.

Intersectional practices and resistance. Further, intersectional practices can resist patriarchal or “neutral” practices.

First, my findings suggest that practices are simultaneously gendered, raced, classed, sexed, and based on disability and limited-English speaking ability. Intersectional perspectives can be combined with a gendered organizations perspective to provide a more nuanced theory. Acker briefly mentions race, sexuality and class in her original treatise (1990), but it is not often incorporated in gendered organizations research, limiting development of the overall theory in *how* intersecting identities work in organizations (but see Britton, 2003, 2011).

Within my own research, I found some evidence of intersectional ideologies and practices in advocacy related to shelters and in the criminal justice system. Feminist perspectives can lead to intersectional perspectives, which can lead to resistance of simultaneously gendered, raced, classed, and other practices. For example, when feminist advocates identified biases toward limited English speaking clients, they worked to change it. A majority of advocates with feminist perspectives identified how intersecting identities impacted practices. Similarly, a further extension of gendered organizations theory could be a focus on how intersectional feminist perspectives can direct targeted organizational change.

Implications for Practice

The ways gendered practices may contribute to revictimization are of central importance because they impact advocacy. For example, Martin (2005, p. 152) found that rape victims experienced revictimization through organizations that “prioritize the organization’s interests over victims’ interests” through policies and job requirements. This takes Acker’s conceptualization of practices— that practices in organizations can be gendered and lead to inequality— a step further. Similar to Martin (2005), I explored how gendered practices can lead to the revictimization of battered women in domestic violence stakeholder organizations and how advocates handled it.

Uncovering gendered processes of police, judges, the courts, shelters, and advocacy that may revictimize battered women through patriarchal or “neutral” practices is an important focal point, as these processes affect advocacy and victims. This is why a gendered organizations lens is important. Since findings indicated the revictimization of battered women was rooted in gendered processes, such identification leads toward directed organizational change (Britton & Logan, 2008). Thus, based on these findings I outline a number of recommendations for advocates and the anti-domestic violence stakeholders they work with.

Eliminating Practices/ Policies Constraining Women in Shelter

Entrance requirements in shelter/housing. Policies that may serve as a barrier to entering a shelter, such as policies excluding women with substance abuse issues or shelter policies preventing adolescent boys to stay with their mothers should be revisited. First, shelters could offer assistance with substance abuse while offering women shelter (Lyon et al., 2008). This is the policy in the Glawe County shelter and of some of the shelters/housing in Faulds County, but is not the policy of at least one shelter in Faulds County. In a comprehensive review of domestic violence literature and Coalition guidelines, recommendations for best shelter practices included offering substance abuse services to women utilizing shelter services (Macy et al., 2010). Based on her evaluation of 215 shelters, Lyon (2002) also recommended that service provision related to substance abuse is needed in shelters. Other researchers have noted the co-occurrence of PTSD and substance abuse and thus recommend trauma-informed substance abuse treatments, as abused women may have substance abuse problems as a way of coping with their abuse (see Macy et al., 2010).

My findings support the extant literature and suggest that substance abuse can be a barrier to advocacy. Advocates report that women may feel as if they are being treated as criminals when applying to shelters. They may have to take drug tests, and may have to answer multiple questions about drug use. Second, women that do have these problems cannot access much-needed shelter. Third, such policies can

develop into very rigid policies that are counterproductive— for example, at least one advocate had difficulty finding shelter for a victim who would not turn in her inhaler to shelter staff.

These issues related to substance abuse are all gendered practices— denying entrance to those that do have substance abuse issues is gender “neutral” because it ignores the gender dynamics of domestic violence and the association between substance abuse and victimization. Removing substance abuse from the context of domestic violence is problematic for that reason. In a domestic violence shelter setting, Glawe County shelter’s practices serve as a model. Women are not denied entry for substance abuse problems, and receive treatment if they want it upon entry.

Second, the shelter/housing in Faulds County did accept teen boys, but in Glawe County, the only shelter will not accept any teen boys, regardless of their histories. Not accepting a teen boy is also a gendered practice (see chapter five). First, the boy’s masculinity is associated with violence and fear of sexual violence in the Glawe County shelter, hence the continuation of the policy. The policy is thus based on gendered assumptions removed from the boy’s individual characteristics and personal history. Second, the policy is gender “neutral” because it ignores the gender dynamics of mothering and that those women with teen sons experiencing domestic violence need a safe place to stay but may not leave

their mothering roles to do so. If a teen boy has no history of problematic behavior, he should be able to find safety with his mother in a shelter.

The National Coalition Against Domestic Violence, as well as the [State] Coalition, and Macy et al.'s (2009) comprehensive review of the research literature, recommend accepting adolescent boys. Many shelters offer services for children. In cases where there is no history of violent behavior, then there is no issue and in cases where there is a violence history, services for children could expand to address such boys' needs. In addition, transitional housing may be an option for women with adolescent sons as well. Although this would call for a lot more of this type of facility, this is an alternative to shelter that has proven successful on many other fronts (Nichols, 2011).

Curfew and confidentiality. Third, confidentiality policies that limit women's access to community resources and social support networks should also be revisited. The Glawe County shelter adopted a flexible approach to shelter rules, in which the director worked with each individual woman to find a set of rules that worked for her. If she needed confidentiality, any phone calls to her at the shelter would be screened for her, and she would not tell anyone where she was. Because of the loose confidentiality, they got better locks, security cameras, and developed a collaborative relationship with local police in case an abuser did appear. The Glawe County Shelter also implemented a flexible curfew and worked

with women on their individual work and social schedules, so they knew she was safe if she chose to stay out past the recommended curfew.

Strict confidentiality and curfew policies perpetuate notions that abused women cannot determine what is safe in their situation. They do not get to choose; it is not survivor-defined. The patriarchal policies assume women are in need of protection and deny women's agency. Confidentiality and curfew policies that inhibit a woman's ability to work, seek education, or otherwise limit her freedom should be reconsidered to allow for discretion in the practiced enforcement of the curfew policies.

Increasing Training and Cross-Training Among Stakeholders in Survivor-Defined Practices

My research findings also support the recommendation of educating justice system stakeholders about domestic violence. Advocates in both sites reported that working with detectives, police, prosecutors and judges who were educated in domestic violence was better than working with untrained officers or judges. Further, advocates reported a distinct difference in outcomes depending on the judges or officers with whom they worked. Such individuals who were uneducated in domestic violence problematized advocacy through their patriarchal or neutral practices.

Consequently, this suggests extending education and training to the additional stakeholders who are involved in efforts to combat domestic violence. According to Acker, ideology can inform policy and practices. Some researchers suggest cross-training, educating providers in one

another's areas, as a means of improving service provision in community based approaches (Macy et al., 2010). Zweig and Burt (2006) provided one such example of successful cross-training. They found that when law enforcement worked with domestic violence victim advocates, the result was increased arrest of batterers, better evidence collection, and more convictions. In contrast, without collaborative settings, victims were more likely arrested themselves and felt like they had less control. Weisz (1999) also found reduced reoffending when officers used protocols developed collaboratively with victim advocates. I detail several specific education and training recommendations below.

Judges' patriarchal or neutral practices. One of the biggest challenges indicated by advocates in the project was collaboration with judges. This was, in part, due to subjective interpretations of judges, victim-blaming practices, and strong evidentiary requirements. These issues derive from a lack of understanding about the gender dynamics involved in domestic violence. Advocates indicated that judges who did understand domestic violence were wonderful to work with, and they went out of their way to work with these judges to benefit victims. Cross-training and collaboration between judges and advocates could provide common understandings about the problem of domestic violence and how to address it— from protective orders to prosecution. For example, advocates can influence the court through Amicus (friend of the court) briefs, filed by professionals with expertise, credentials, or experience in a

particular area, such as domestic violence (Rutkow, Vernick, Webster, & Lennig, 2009). Amicus Briefs can be used by advocates when victims are being manipulated or threatened to drop orders or prosecution (Rutkow et al., 2009). Advocates can provide gender-based information to inform court decisions in domestic violence cases and can thus negotiate a potentially negative impact on battered women.

No-drop prosecution. The issue of body attachments associated with no-drop prosecution was clearly a patriarchal gendered practice. This practice punishes victims for not cooperating in cases where the judge wants to move forward once prosecution has begun and the victim no longer wishes to prosecute. The judge or prosecutor determines prosecution, and further victimizes the victims by putting them in jail. Such practices should be revisited because they are counterproductive, particularly when abusers are sentenced to probation, community service, or limited jail time. Having a victim arrested for any period, much less a longer period than her abuser, is revictimizing.

As an alternative, training of officers in Faulds County was an effort made by advocates seeking social change related to no-drop prosecution. Evidence based prosecution removes the trauma of testifying away from a victim, as they do not have to see their abuser in the courts. Police can provide better evidence to prosecutors, through more detailed reports, witness testimony, and statements of the victim at the time of the

incident. Based on this, I would recommend such training as a “best practice” of police practices.

Evidence-based prosecution allows the continuation of advocates’ feminist social change agenda while dealing with latent consequences, and is a recommended alternative to forced testimony. Another alternative, informed by an individualistic feminist perspective, would include addressing the issue at the arrest stage by collaborating with a victim in order to make any arrest and consequential prosecution survivor-defined. This could be accomplished through officer trainings where officers could collaborate with victims and advocates to determine the best course. The policy in [State] is already somewhat discretionary, and such a practice would not be difficult to incorporate. The practice would however, not coincide with the ideologies of those with social-change feminist ideologies.

Pro-arrest. Police have some discretion in arrest under the [State] pro-arrest law. Increased or decreased retaliatory violence from arrest varies according to individuals; thus, practices should be informed by individual needs (Dugan et al., 2003; Goodman & Epstein, 2008). In addition, with pro-arrest, avoiding dual arrest is imperative to avoid revictimization. Officers also should not ask victims if they want an arrest in the presence of the abuser. Training of officers should thus address survivor-defined practices and education in dynamics of domestic violence to avoid dual arrest when possible.

Training toward social change practices. The advocates I interviewed suggested that a strong local coalition rooted in the feminist anti-domestic violence movement is important for social change approaches. In Glawe County, feminist advocates who did try to implement change did not accomplish change because there was no institutional or coalition support. In Faulds County, even non-feminist advocates by association with the local coalition became involved in social change efforts, like Court Watch. Based on this, the development of a local feminist coalition seems as though it would be important and is recommended. If this is not possible due to rural or other cultural norms, I would suggest [State] Coalitions Against Domestic Violence provide trainings for advocates and workers in all counties including social change activism, the history of the battered women's movement, and intersectional perspectives/practices—perhaps in the same manner the coalition trained advocates for survivor-defined approaches, as my research suggests this was successfully accomplished.

I found employment of individuals educated in woman-centered advocacy, the dynamics of domestic violence, and the battered women's movement in general had an impact in facilitating feminist identity and social change approaches, and such education either before hiring or through training is recommended. Prior research supports this recommendation, and so does the [State] and National Coalition Against Domestic Violence. In my research, advocates performed mandatory

training and orientation for new employees in which they were educated about the battered women's movement, the societal gender dynamics of violence against women, and survivor-defined advocacy in Faulds County. This training was provided by the local coalition.

Social change activism was important in directing system change in the justice system. Non-feminist advocates did not see social change as a part of their advocacy. This was particularly the case in Glawe County, where there was no feminist majority or local coalition. Social change efforts did not work because of this, and that is why local feminist coalitions are important. There should be continued efforts by advocates within the domestic violence movement to change justice system responses and shelter practices that are patriarchal or "neutral" and cause problems for battered women. Lack of social change practices results in a system that supports revictimization. Focusing on the immediate as opposed to social change activism is a band-aid for the larger problem, and by ignoring it, advocates can contribute to the continued cycle of revictimization of battered women. Targeted organizational changes, therefore, should work to include social change elements in training, education, practices and policies that support battered women.

Training in intersectional practices. Identifying the way gender combines with race, class, sexual orientation, and similar social contexts should be a focal point of advocacy in order to better advocate for victims. When intersecting identities are not explored, advocacy does not address

the different ways victims may experience shelter or the justice system. For example, a lesbian partner may find her way into a confidential shelter in order to continue her abuse. A disabled woman may have increased difficulty maintaining confidentiality requirements if she has trouble walking two or more blocks to the shelter. The focus of the extant intersectional research is on the biases advocates themselves hold toward victims (Bent-Goodley, 2004; Donnelly et al, 2005; Hill-Collins, 2000; Potter, 2008). My findings suggest that when advocates do identify sources of bias specific to intersecting identities, they appear better able to advocate for a victim's needs. Feminist advocates used intersectional approaches to identify and better advocate for women based on their unique identities. However, non-feminist advocates did not recognize such biases or describe them in their approach to advocacy. Practices should consequently include, and training should facilitate, intersectional practices.

Conclusion

In conclusion, policies and practices that lead to revictimization of battered women should be altered to become as survivor-defined and flexible as possible, while simultaneously facilitating environments where women have structural recourse for their victimization and violence against women is not accepted. This includes both shelter rules and criminal justice interventions. Advocates should also receive education and training in intersectional approaches and social change activism as

well as survivor-defined advocacy. Social change and intersectional practices were techniques that feminist advocates used successfully to counter practices that were not survivor-defined. If non-feminist advocates had education and training in this area, they may incorporate them in their advocacy. I also recommend extending education and training in gender dynamics of domestic violence and survivor-defined advocacy to other anti-domestic violence stakeholders, such as judges and officers, to better meet the needs of advocates and the victims they advocate for.

My work is limited to the perspective of advocates; thus I strongly encourage similar research involving the perspectives of judges, police, victims, and prosecutors. Such research would complement my own, regardless of whether the findings were similar or dissimilar. Examining both rural and organizational distinctions in different regions would also add to the contextual research. My research also suggests that further examination of intersectional perspectives and approaches within a gendered organizations framework is also warranted—particularly among judges, officers, prosecutors and victims.

My findings may be unique to this specific organizational context—organizations that began as a feminist grassroots movement, and then later collaborated with the largely masculine criminal justice system. However, further research is also needed to know whether other feminist organizations with a similar grassroots history, such as Planned Parenthood, look similar. Thus,

I suggest comparative research between similarly situated organizations to further examine contextual similarities and differences to expand understandings of gendered organizations.

Lastly, I recognize that advocates, police, prosecutors and judges are dealing with a complex problem tempered by complex realities. Group living can be a difficult thing. Women with substance abuse issues can be harder to work with—and can impact other shelter residents as well. Judges and police may not like seeing victims return to their abusers and continue to ask for the help they later decline. The point of this research is not to condemn the work of anti-domestic stakeholders, rather, the point is to use the research—advocates' own policies, practices, identities, and ideologies to inform the work advocates do. This research provides an opportunity for advocates to learn from one another in their various regions and organizational contexts to impact their work and the victims they advocate for.

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Appendix A: Consent Form



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Informed Consent for Participation in Research

Activities

The Community Based Response to Domestic Violence: An Examination of Collaborative Networks

Participant _____
 Approval Number _____

HSC

Principal Investigator: Andrea Nichols
 Number 314-482-0916

PI's Phone

Why am I being asked to participate?

You are invited to participate in a research study about the community based response to domestic violence services conducted by Andrea Nichols at the University of Missouri-St. Louis. You have been asked to participate in the research because you are a domestic violence victim advocate. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to take part in the research. Your participation in this research is voluntary. Your decision whether to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the University or your organization. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting that relationship.

What is the purpose of this research?

The purpose of this research is to get your perspective, experiences, and suggestions regarding collaborative domestic violence services.

What should I expect?

If you agree to participate in this research, you can expect:

- To take part in a conversation with me about your experiences as an advocate working with your own and other organizations involved in domestic violence

services. I expect it will take an hour to an hour and a half of your time. I will also ask to tape record our conversation, so I can better reflect on what we've discussed. You may decline if you do not want to be tape recorded.

Are there any benefits to taking part in the research?

There are no direct benefits to you.

Are there any risks?

There are no known risks involved in this research; I want to assure you that anything you say will be held in the strictest confidence. Your participation and responses will be completely confidential, and no identifying information will be associated with your interview. There are no costs for participating in this research, but you will not receive payment for participating in this research.

What about privacy and confidentiality?

The only person who will know that you are a research subject is me. No identifying information about you, or provided by you during the research, will be disclosed to others. Pseudonyms will be used to mask your identity, the identity of your organization, and the identity of anyone you may discuss to maintain confidentiality. When the results of the research are published or discussed in conferences, no information will be included that would reveal your identity or the identity of your organization. Audio-recorded interviews will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in my office. I will be the only person with access to the recordings, and the tapes will not include your name or any other identifying information. This study will not involve Public Health Information.

Can I withdraw or be removed from the study?

You can choose whether to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You also may refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so. If you decide to end your participation in the study, please complete the withdrawal letter found at <http://www.umsl.edu/services/ora/assets/WithdrawalLetter.doc>, or you may request that the Investigator send you a copy of the letter.

Who should I contact if I have questions?

The researcher conducting this study is Andrea Nichols. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact her at 314-644-9654. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, you may call the Chairperson of the Institutional Review Board at (314) 516-5897. You will be given a copy of this form for your information and to keep for your records.

What if I am a UMSL student or Employee?

If you are a student, you may choose not to participate, or to stop your participation in this research, at any time. This decision will not affect your class standing or grades at UMSL. The investigator also may end your participation in the research. If this happens, your class standing will not be affected. You will not be offered or receive any special consideration if you participate in this research. If you are an employee; your participation in this research is, in no way,

part of your university duties, and your refusal to participate will not in any way affect your employment with the university or the benefits, privileges, or opportunities associated with your employment at UMSL. You will not be offered or receive any special consideration if you participate in this research.

I have read the above statement and have been able to express my concerns, to which the investigator has responded satisfactorily. I believe I understand the purpose of the study, as well as the potential benefits and risks that are involved. I give my permission to participate in the research described above.

Participant's Signature	Date	Participant's
Printed Name		

Researcher's Signature	Date
------------------------	------

Appendix B: Interview Guide

1. Tell me about what you do; what is your role as an advocate? What is your approach to advocacy?

You may or may not work with all of the groups I'm going to ask you about. We'll skip the questions that don't apply.

2. Do you ever work with police? If so:
 - a. In what context do you work with police? Tell me about your experiences.
 - b. Do you see any benefits to working with police for your advocacy, and for your clients? How would you describe your interactions with police?
 - c. What challenges do you experience in working with police? Tell me about your experiences. Do you have any suggestions for improvement?
 - d. Do you have any informal relationships with police officers? What is the nature of those relationships?
 - e. Do you see a shared goal among DV victim advocates and police? Can you describe ways in which the goal/s may be similar or different?
 - f. In what ways do you think pro-arrest policies have affected battered women? What are the benefits and challenges? How do pro-arrest policies affect your work with police? How do pro-arrest policies affect your work with victims?
 - g. In what ways do you think no-drop prosecution policies have affected battered women? What are the benefits and challenges? How does no-drop prosecution affect your work with police? How do no-drop prosecution policies affect your work with victims?
 - h. In what ways do you think orders of protection have affected battered women? What are the benefits and challenges to protective orders? How do protective orders affect your work with police? How do protective orders affect your work with victims?
3. Do you ever work with child protective services? If so:
 - a. In what context do you work with child protective services? Tell me about your experiences.
 - b. Do you see any benefits to working with CPS workers for your advocacy, and for your clients? How would you describe your interactions with CPS workers?

- c. What challenges do you experience in working with CPS? Tell me about your experiences. Do you have any suggestions for improvement?
 - d. Do you have any informal relationships with CPS workers? What is the nature of those relationships?
 - e. Do you see a shared goal among DV victim advocates and family services? Can you describe ways in which the goal/s may be similar or different?
 - f. Do you ever experience challenges with mandated reporting of child abuse? Can you give me an example?
4. Do you work with judges, or within the court system? If so:
 - a. In what context do you work with judges or others within the court system? Tell me about your experiences?
 - b. What are the benefits of working with judges, or within the court system for your advocacy, and for your clients? How would you describe your interactions with judges?
 - c. What challenges or difficulties do you face with the court system or with judges? Tell me about your experiences. Do you have any suggestions for improvement?
 - d. Do you feel that you share the same goal with judges in regards to intimate partner violence? Can you describe ways in which the goal/s may be similar or different?
 - e. Do you have any informal relationships with judges or court staff? What is the nature of those relationships?
 5. Do you ever work with batterer's intervention programs? If so:
 - a. In what context do you work with BIP's? Tell me about your experiences.
 - b. Do you see any benefits to working with BIP workers for your advocacy, and for your clients? How would you describe your interactions with BIP workers?
 - c. Do you have any informal relationships with BIP workers? What is the nature of those relationships?
 - d. Do you feel that you share the same goal with BIP workers in regards to intimate partner violence?

- e. What challenges do you experience in working with batterer intervention programs? Do you have any suggestions for improvements?
6. Do you ever work with other advocates, (shelter advocates, legal advocates, referral agency advocates, advocates in the healthcare system, transitional housing)? If so:
 - a. In what context do you work with other advocates? What type of advocacy agencies are you collaborating with, (shelter advocates, legal advocates, referral agency advocates, advocates in the healthcare system, transitional housing)? Tell me about your experiences.
 - b. Do you see any benefits to working with other advocates for your advocacy, and for your clients? How would you describe your interactions with other advocates?
 - c. Do you have any informal relationships with other advocates from your own agency and from other agencies? What is the nature of those relationships?
 - d. Do you feel that you share the same goal other advocates in regards to intimate partner violence?
 - e. What challenges do you experience in working with other advocates, both for your advocacy and your clients? Do you have any suggestions for improvements?
7. Tell me about any other groups, agencies, or individuals you work with, such as prosecutors, managers, directors, funders, coalition board members, or other.
 - a. Please describe any significant benefits- programs, protocols, policies, practices, etc. that you think work particularly well.
 - b. Please describe any challenges that you think may be problematic.
 - c. Do you see a shared goal, or any disparities in goals among any of these groups?
8. Do you have any suggestions for change, i.e., if you were in complete control of community based domestic violence services, what would you change and how would you change it?
9. I would like to ask a bit more about you personally.

- a. How did you get into victim advocacy?
 - b. How long have you worked as a victim advocate?
 - c. Would you describe yourself as a feminist? If so, what does that mean to you? Is feminism a part of your advocacy? If so, tell me about that.
 - d. What about the other groups you work with, would you describe any of the groups as feminist? Why would you say that? Does this at all impact how you interact with them? Does this have an effect on victims that work with them?
 - e. What about the groups that you wouldn't describe as feminist. Does this impact how you interact with them? Does this have an effect on victims that work with them? Tell me about that.
10. Is there anything that you wish I would have asked you that I haven't asked you yet?

Appendix C: Definition of Terms

1. In this dissertation, I define **revictimization** generally as further destructive or injurious action directed towards a woman experiencing domestic violence. I further differentiate between batterer-based revictimization and systemic revictimization. I define batterer-based revictimization as further violence or threat of violence directed by a batterer towards a victim. I define systemic revictimization as destructive or injurious action by some power dynamic, situation, organizational policies or practices facilitated by organizations or by authority figures within organizations. I define gendered revictimization as punishing or discriminating against disproportionately, selectively, or unfairly based on gender. Batterer-based revictimization is thus a form of gendered revictimization, as the vast majority of batterers are men and their violence is directed toward their female partner in a display of gendered power. Systemic revictimization can also be gendered, through policies and practices that disproportionately negatively affect battered women through gender “neutral” or patriarchal practices by organizations.
2. I use the term “**Domestic violence**” to refer to violence directed by an abuser toward a victim in intimate or previously intimate partner relationships. This is largely because “domestic violence” is the terminology used to describe anti-domestic violence organizations, such as the National coalition Against Domestic Violence, and the

[State] Coalition Against Domestic Violence. Wife battering is another term often used to describe this dynamic. I choose not to use this term because victims are not all wives- for example, they may be ex-wives, girlfriends, ex-girlfriends, gay or lesbian partners.

3. I use the terms **abuser** and **batterer** interchangeably to refer to a partner who has perpetrated violence or threat of violence to their current or former partner. While I initially left room to describe an abuser/victim as male or female, the data almost exclusively refer to a male perpetrator and a female victim, reflecting the gender dynamics of domestic violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Ferraro, 2001; Goodman & Epstein, 2008; Britton, 2011). Thus, the term “abuser” in this dissertation refers to a male partner or former partner, and “victim” refers to a female partner or former partner unless specifically stated otherwise.
4. I also use the terms **victim** and **survivor** interchangeably, referring to the recipient of such violence or threat of violence. These terms are highly debated, and various “camps” in the research propose either term for different reasons. The “survivor” camp claims that use of this term is empowering, well deserved, and shows what the individual has gone through and worked hard to survive. They claim that the use of the term “victim” is disempowering and ignores women’s agency. In turn, the “victim” camp claims that the lasting effects of abuse are ignored by use of the term “survivor,” and minimizes the violence

they have experienced. Many women continue to be stalked, harassed, physically and psychologically victimized by their abusers, regardless of whether they stay or leave their relationships. Since I believe both of these arguments have merit, I choose to use both terms.

5. Other theoretical terms from Acker's theory, such as gendered processes of **identity**, **ideology**, and **practices** are defined in Chapter 1. Similarly, key terms such as **feminist gender-based**, **patriarchal gender-based**, or **gender "neutral"** are defined in Chapter 1.