AN ORAL HISTORY OF DOMESTIC ABUSE IN SCOTLAND 1945-1992

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ABSTRACT

This thesis investigates domestic abuse in the changing socio-economic and political context of post-war Scotland. Assault on wives was a common yet under-reported crime and contemporary surveys failed to capture its true extent. Knowledge about domestic abuse comes mainly from women's aid sources dating from the 1970s. As most abused women did not contact WA services, this thesis gives voice to women who did not seek outside help over the longer post-war period and provides new insights into their reasons for this.

Twenty-six oral history narratives describing domestic abuse and criminal justice and social welfare agency responses between *circa* 1945 and 1992 were analysed using a newly-designed feminist theoretical framework. Continuity and change are evident in women's experiences and in agency responses. Extensive life histories reveal the resilience of patriarchal discourses and practices throughout the period with domestic abuse retaining its longstanding function of reinforcing traditional gender roles. By the 1980s, there is evidence of a shift *towards* public patriarchy with new legislation advancing women's social equality, improved career prospects and higher earnings. However, there is less evidence of a parallel shift *away* from private patriarchy as deeper, constitutive gender rules remained resistant to change. In the new socio-economic environment of the 1980s, domestic abuse retained its core function whilst evolving into new non-violent, coercive forms which extended control into women's public lives. Criminal justice and social welfare agencies remained working patriarchies, often unwilling to intervene in marital relations and hostile to abused women. This thesis highlights the close interplay of personal and contextual factors influencing women's experiences and reporting decisions and shows that domestic abuse contributed to a *patriarchal equilibrium* in Scotland into the 1990s. This thesis thus makes a distinctive contribution to our understanding of the reasons for the persistence and adaptability of domestic abuse in late-twentieth-century Scotland.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Preventing domestic abuse became a national policy priority for the newly devolved Scottish Executive in Scotland in 1999 (Donaldson, McCarry et al. 2018, Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse November 2000). The policy recognised domestic abuse to be gender-based with incidence and lifetime prevalence among the Scottish female population estimated to be high and non-disclosure common (Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse November 2000). It was also recognised that women faced significant personal, social and legal barriers to seeking help and accessing justice (Morley and Mullender 1994, Coy M. 2009, Scottish Government 2017). Since then there has been a significant outpouring of political energy focussed on domestic abuse research, policy, practice and service developments. The time of writing in the second decade of the twenty-first century is an important historical moment in Scotland's changing attitudes and responses to domestic abuse and all forms of gender-based violence. In *Equally Safe* the Scottish Government outlined its long-term strategic aim of preventing and eventually eliminating all forms of violence against women, articulated their strong links to women's structural inequality and provided an implementation plan for achieving its aim (Scottish Government 2016, Scottish Government 2017). The Domestic Abuse (Scotland) Act 2018[1] recognises that domestic abuse is a form of gendered violence and criminalises coercive and controlling behaviour in intimate relationships. Coercive control is defined as a course of abusive behaviour used by one partner against another, which is likely to cause the latter physical or psychological harm. This marks a significant shift in legal and criminal justice discourse and practice and is a response to research which shows that domestic abuse is not constituted by physical violence alone (Johnson 2008). The Scottish Government has also committed substantial resources to prevent all forms of violence against women through primary, secondary and tertiary prevention measures undertaken across the Scottish public and third sectors. A great deal of this activity has been informed by feminist research, women's activism and their influence on civic and political life in Scotland particularly since devolution (Breitenbach and Mackay 2001, Hearn and McKie 2008, Mackay 2010). In Scotland, these developments have been characterised by the growing participation of survivors of domestic abuse who have contributed to service evaluations, consultations, cultural productions, campaigns, academic research and have helped inform professional practice responses (Humphreys, Hester et al. 2000, Fitzpatrick, Lynch et al. 2003, Humphreys, Houghton et al. 2008, Houghton 2015).

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[1] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2018/5/section/1/enacted

Domestic Abuse in Scotland

Domestic abuse is however an issue with a long history in the lives of Scottish women which has exercised politicians, policy makers and campaigners for generations. Women's rights campaigners first began making the links between the abuse of women by their husbands and women's social and economic inequality in the 19th century (Dobash 1992, Hammerton 2002). Since the 1960s, feminist research has contested how domestic abuse is defined and measured and led to recognition by the twenty first century that domestic abuse perpetration and victimisation are gender asymmetrical and that their roots lie in women's historical and structural inequality (Garcia-Moreno, Heise et al. 2005). During the 1960s and 1970s the civil rights, trades unions and women's liberation movements in the UK drew attention to women's historic domestic, social and economic inequality. While legislation was introduced in the UK in the 1970s to promote equal pay for women and to outlaw sex discrimination and sexual harassment, feminist researchers also highlighted the role of violence against women, including domestic abuse, as an essentially gendered phenomenon, in maintaining women's wider inequality (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Hanmer and Maynard 1987, Pahl 2016). During the 1970s, the issue gained an increasingly public and political profile as a result of the Women's Liberation and Women's Aid Movements culminating in the work and recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Marriage in 1975. During the 1970s and 1980s a network of publicly funded women's aid refuges was established across Scotland (Scottish Women's Aid 2018). During the 1980s, the newly elected Conservative Government's approach to social policy advocated a return to bourgeois patriarchal 'family' values with a strong emphasis on individual self-help, home ownership and consumerism, a rolling back of the state, changes to the social welfare system and the introduction of the poll tax. Domestic abuse has been a feature of Scottish marriages for centuries. Since the 1970s, historical and social science debates about the nature and extent of domestic abuse have been dominated by criminal justice discourses of crime and crime prevention and by feminist discourses contextualising domestic abuse in women's structural inequality within patriarchal society, marriage and the family. While population-based crime and victimisation surveys set out to measure the extent of the problem, feminist research focussed on qualitative studies exploring its nature and impact on women's lives. Both approaches highlighted two key questions: why was domestic abuse so widely under-reported and to what extent were perpetration and victimisation gender symmetrical? Historical scholarship on domestic abuse during this period reflected these developments, new methodological approaches to these key questions emerged and a historiography on the Scottish context began to emerge. However, this study outlines and addresses gaps in knowledge about what it was like living with domestic abuse and its impact and the reasons why it was estimated to be widely under-reported during the second half of the twentieth century. The

study's participants shared their personal experiences of living with domestic abuse or of working with those affected during the second half of the twentieth century in Scotland – a time of significant social and economic change in the country. Their personal accounts reveal the impact of this shared socio-economic context on personal and professional lives affected by domestic abuse during this period.

Post-war Scotland

By the end of the twentieth century, commentators noted that Scotland was still struggling to cast off a deeply patriarchal legacy still evident across public and private life and in women's daily lives (Hills 1994 in Breitenbach, Brown et al. 1998:45). Feminist theorists of patriarchy advocate close scrutiny of the operations of the patriarchal system and historicising patriarchy to illuminate the interaction of women and their contemporary context in order to explain women's persistent low social status and their experiences of male violence and abuse (Walby 1998; Bennett 2006; Ogle and Batton 2009; Crittenden and Wright 2013). This study concentrated on women's experiences of domestic abuse and professional responses to those affected in the Scottish post-war context for three reasons. Firstly, this was an important period of economic, social and cultural change in Scotland and it is important to understand how these changes affected women's lives and, in particular, their experiences of domestic abuse. Secondly, it is important to explore the nature of domestic abuse and its impact on women's lives through their present day recollections of their lives during the period being studied. Finally, historicising women's lived experience of domestic abuse in the post-war context can provide a benchmark for the present day and perhaps contribute to our understanding of the extent to which things have changed. As Chapter Two illustrates, there are significant gaps in our knowledge about domestic abuse in Scotland during this period. There are also a number of factors in the Scottish post-war legal and socio-economic context which reflect key features of a patriarchal system and which differentiate Scotland sufficiently to merit a study focussed on that context. Specifically, these relate to the Scottish legal and education systems, employment and social policy.

The Scottish legal system is distinct from that in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Until devolution in 1999, all legislation applicable to Scotland derived from the UK Parliament through The Scottish Office and the Office of The Scottish Secretary of State, established in London in the late nineteenth century (Devine 1999: 307). However, throughout the twentieth century there was a substantial growth in the number of new Scottish statutes related to both public and private law with a significant increase in the latter which concerns the relationship between citizens (Reid 2008). Scotland's distinctive public education system emerged in the century following the Scottish Reformation with a network of parish schools available to all children for a small fee. The Scottish Education Act of 1872 made elementary schooling compulsory for all children aged 5-13 years. Under

the control of the Scottish Education Department (SED), Scottish schools effectively became 'agents of state welfare and social policy' with Scotland becoming 'one of the most centrally organised educational systems in the world by 1918' (Devine 1999:398-399). SED continued to influence Scotland education policy after World War Two (Devine 1999; McPherson 1992:81). Discipline in Scotland's highly patriarchal schools was maintained by the sanctioned use of violence against children using the leather strap known as the 'Lochgelly'; use of the 'belt' as it was also known in Scottish schools was banned in 1986.

The Social Work Scotland Act of 1968 which dramatically re-organised social work services in Scotland was influenced by a progressive 'vision of radical social change' (Scottish Office 1971, Brodie, Nottingham et al. 2008:702) in ways which differentiated policy and practice from that of the rest of the UK. The new organisational structures enhanced the political status of Scottish social work services and gave social work in Scotland a strong local and national political voice. Post-war Scotland experienced severe challenges in relation to homelessness, housing shortages, overcrowding and poor housing stock. With over two thirds of Scots becoming concentrated in towns of over 5,000 inhabitants by mid-century, with pressures building on local housing stock, housing became post-war Scotland's 'greatest priority for social action…and…one of the most important indicators of change to the lives of the Scottish people' (Brown 2010: 35). Rehousing women seeking to leave violent husbands became a key campaigning priority for the new Women's Aid movement across the UK in the 1970s. Scottish women in that situation faced particular difficulties in that context.

Features of the overall socio-economic context of post-war Scotland differed from that in the rest of the UK. Changes to Scotland's economy from the 1960s resulted in a shift from manufacturing towards a more service-based economy and from manual towards non-manual occupations (Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004, Peden 2012). Scotland was particularly badly affected by the severe economic recession of the 1970s and 1980s. Scotland's manufacturing sector suffered a more profound decline than the rest of the UK losing one 11% of all output and one fifth of all jobs in the two years between 1979 and 1981, losing over 30% of its manufacturing capacity between 1976 and 1987 (McIvor 1999). During the 1950s and 1960s, Scotland's overall unemployment rate was twice that of the UK as a whole with 25% of the population classified as 'long term unemployed' in 1961 (Knox 1999). By the 1980s, the Conservative government's economic and industrial policies accelerated Scotland's already declining industrial economy at a rate faster than in England (Breitenbach 1989, Dickson 1992, Devine and Finlay 1996, Knox 1999). This led to dramatic rises in male unemployment (Devine 1999, Knox 1999, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004, Macdonald 2009), particularly among low-skilled male workers (Gregg, Macmillan et al. 2012), and changes to patterns of female employment.

Since the nineteenth century, Scotland had been characterised as a low wage economy vis a vis the rest of the UK with Scottish women's work further typified as being 'synonymous with low pay' (Gordon and Breitenbach 1990, Knox 1999:91).   This characterisation continued into the post-war period. There was a shift from skilled to unskilled and manual to non-manual work for women in the decades after the war with wider gender pay differentials than in England. An increase in part-time working continued into the 1980s and the persistence of male breadwinner/female homemaker discourses, occupational segregation and sex discrimination continued to disadvantage Scottish women in both the private and public spheres (Breitenbach 1978, Breitenbach 1989, Breitenbach 1990, McIvor 1996, Simonton 1998, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004). These features of the Scottish post-war context provide the backdrop for this study's examination of domestic abuse and are explored in more detail in the analyses provided in Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight.

Thesis outline

By examining domestic abuse, contextualised within contemporary patriarchal discourses and practices of gender, gender relations, and women's social and structural inequality, this thesis makes two distinctive contributions to existing knowledge.   Firstly, the thesis contributes to the historicisation of domestic abuse with reference to the Scottish context.   Secondly, the thesis contributes fresh insights into the reasons for the persistence and adaptability of domestic abuse in an enduring context of patriarchy by building on recent developments in feminist theories of patriarchy.

Chapter Two, *Domestic Abuse - A Historiography*, explores the social science, feminist and historical literatures on domestic abuse in some detail and identifies four research questions which remain unanswered for post-war Scotland. These are: what was it like living with domestic abuse during this period; what impact did it have on those affected; what factors influenced decisions to disclose, seek help or leave an abusive relationship and how did professionals in social welfare and criminal justice agencies respond to those experiencing domestic abuse?   The chapter begins by outlining the methodological and conceptual limitations of late twentieth century crime and victimisation surveys for our understanding of the contemporary nature, extent and impact of domestic abuse and the reasons for non-reporting or disclosure. The chapter goes on to outline the international developments in feminist scholarship, activism and historiography which have broadened our understanding of women's lives in the Scottish past. However, despite the twist and turns of social, economic and cultural change over the last two centuries, domestic abuse was and remains a common and dangerous feature of many Scottish women's lives. Post-war Scotland was a period of substantial social, economic and cultural change. By examining the issue in Scotland in that

historical context, from *circa* 1945 to *circa* 1992, this study builds on existing scholarship by contributing new knowledge about domestic abuse in everyday life and sheds light on the impact of those wider contextual factors on women's experiences. Further, the chapter demonstrates that the investigation into domestic abuse in Scotland during this period would benefit from recent theoretical and methodological developments in feminist and gender studies.

Secondly, the chapter argues that there are no historical studies for this period examining the lived experience of domestic abuse, its impact and the issue of non-disclosure, which include the voices of those who kept their experiences private and did not approach public services for help and of professionals working in those services. Thirdly, the chapter identifies the limits of current knowledge of the lifetime experiences of domestic abuse among women of different social classes from beyond the urban central belt of Scotland. Finally, the chapter outlines a rationale for studying domestic abuse over the longer period from *circa* 1945 to *circa* 1992. The chapter argues that by addressing these lacunae the thesis contributes fresh perspectives to the historicisation of domestic abuse with reference to Scotland in the relatively recent past.

Historical studies of violence and abuse in marriage, divorce, gender property and class relations in Scotland in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries provide valuable insights into Scottish private life and marital violence across the classes (Clark 1995, Leneman 1997, Barclay 2013, Thomson 2014). Studies focused on working class marital relations in the 20th century inter-war period on Clydeside and on domestic abuse experienced by women in religious communities in late twentieth century Scotland (Orr 1997, Hughes 2004) have contributed valuable insights to our understanding of domestic abuse among specific groups and during particular periods of the twentieth century. These feminist, oral and gender studies based on first-hand accounts explored the important role of the wider social and historical context of women's private and public inequality, class, property relations, patriarchal gender roles and identities in the domestic abuse they and their children experienced. However, this study contributes to this growing historiography by applying these approaches to the post-war and later twentieth century period.

A key contemporary study carried out in the 1970s examined women's experiences of domestic abuse and professional responses using a *context-specific* approach which included the narratives of women who lived in refuges in Glasgow and Edinburgh (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Existing knowledge of the issue during this period is also closely associated with publications documenting the history and achievements of the Scottish Women's Aid, Scottish Rape Crisis and Scottish Women's Liberation Movements from their origins in the 1970s to the present. Based on the recollections of those involved in those movements as campaigners, and as paid and unpaid workers,

these include the recently completed 'Speaking Out' publication which (Scottish Women's Aid 2007, Maitland 2009, Breitenbach 2012, Browne 2016, Scottish Women's Aid 2018). There are therefore few historical studies examining and contextualising domestic abuse in the longer period from *circa* 1945 to *circa* 1990 which include the first-hand accounts of women of different social classes from beyond the urban central belt who experienced domestic abuse and of professionals unconnected to Women's Aid.

A growing field of Scottish oral history and gender studies is also contributing to our knowledge of modern Scottish political, social, economic and everyday life, gender identities and personal relationships (McIvor and Johnston 2004, Young 2007, Abrams and Brown 2010). However to date none of these have directly addressed the everyday lived experience of domestic abuse, its nature and impact and the influence of wider contextual discourses and practices on women's experiences and their reporting and disclosure decisions. The chapter argues that an historical study based on first-hand accounts from living memory which addresses these gaps contributes new knowledge and provides fresh perspectives on what we know about domestic abuse in women's lives in the changing social, political and economic context of the times. The chapter concludes that this study's feminist historiographical approach to oral history builds on recent developments in gender and patriarchal theory and oral history practice. In doing so this thesis therefore contributes new knowledge about the role of interconnecting personal and wider contextual factors on individual experiences of domestic abuse and professional responses to the issue during this period.

Chapter Three – *Researching Domestic Abuse: Sources and Methods* - outlines how the study's feminist approach to oral history identified and addressed the challenges of recruiting participants and creating a safe and ethical research environment in order to explore an intensely private and highly sensitive study. The study's research design incorporated trauma-informed good practice models from related disciplines. These included feminist oral history practice, psychology, violence against women research and person-centred counselling, in the recruitment, participation and care of twenty-six participants (twenty-one women and five men), many with deeply personal and potentially difficult stories to tell (Klempner 2000, Ellsberg, Heise et al. 2001, Rogers and Leydesdorff 2002, Herman 2015). The research design also utilised learning from feminist oral history practices which acknowledged researcher reflexivity and the inter-subjective and relational nature of the oral history interview setting. A newly created *aide memoir* was used alongside Anderson and Jack's interview guidance to structure and conduct the interviews (Anderson and Jack 1991).

The importance of taking a *context-specific* approach has been recognised as vital to historicising domestic abuse within patriarchal society (Dobash and Dobash 1983, Leneman 1997). in

Chapter Four – *Theorising Domestic Abuse*, describes how the narratives were analysed in contextual relationship to each other, to contemporary archival material and secondary texts using the study's feminist theoretical framework. This provided a basis for the study's grounded and feminist standpoint analytical approach. The theoretical framework incorporated recent developments in how feminist theories of patriarchy are currently being operationalised and historicised. These demonstrate the value of patriarchal theory as an analytical tool in empirical research on domestic abuse. This proved to be the case in this study. This theoretical approach contributes to the historicisation of domestic abuse and of patriarchy by providing a means of identifying both continuity and change in women's experiences in the past across a broader timeframe. Thus, according to Bennett, 'we will find more new histories to be written, histories that trace changes in women's lives without resort to narratives of transformation, histories that seek to problematize continuity, and histories that grapple with the challenge of understanding patriarchy' (Bennett 2006:79). The approach also incorporated ecological systems and trauma theories in new ways (Walby 1989, Heise 1998, Ogle and Batton 2009, Crittenden and Wright 2013, Herman 2015). The chapter goes on to outline how increasingly sophisticated conceptualisations of domestic abuse emerged from a growing epistemic community with contributions from the fields of feminist research, history, social sciences and social activism in the late twentieth century. Building on these developments, the study's theoretical framework also permitted the exploration of a key question in the development of patriarchal theory. In her development of the concept of separate spheres, Walby argued that since World War II, the patriarchal system (consisting of paid work, housework, sexuality, violence, culture and state) which has sustained women's long-standing structural inequality since the 19th century, has been undergoing a substantial shift from private to public forms (Walby 1989, Walby 1990). Walby argued that the increasing emergence of women into public life, following the extension of the full franchise to women in 1928, their increased involvement in paid employment and legal changes advancing women's equality in the post-war period, had shifted the locus of control of women's lives from private to public patriarchy. The chapter concludes by arguing that the study's theoretical framework provided a means of identifying the extent to which the trends identified by Walby were present in patriarchal private and public discourses and practices in late twentieth century Scotland and the role of violence against women and domestic abuse, key elements in the patriarchal system, within those trends.

The study's findings are presented in four chapters: 'Girls growing up in Scotland 1945-1985; Living with domestic abuse in Scotland *circa* 1960 to *circa* 1992 – Women's Experiences; The impact of domestic abuse and leaving an abusive relationship – *circa* 1970 to *circa* 1992; Agency responses to domestic abuse 1970-1992 – professionals' experiences in context. The study's original focus was the

period 1979-1992, between the publication of *Violence Against Wives – A Case Against the Patriarchy*, which provided contemporary evidence of the nature and impact of domestic abuse in Scotland in the 1970s, and the launch of Scotland's first public anti-domestic abuse campaign by Zero Tolerance in 1992 (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Cosgrove 1996). This period also coincided with the election of successive Conservative Governments whose political programmes marked a change from the progressive policies of previous decades. However, the participants provided a longer time frame for the study. Born between 1943 and 1966 the participants framed their narratives in their own way, and some participants provided family biographies and childhood experiences stretching back, in some cases, two previous generations. This provided a unique opportunity to examine the inter-generational transmission of attitudes and behaviours from a gender perspective and to seek trends, continuities and change in relation to the questions being addressed across the longer post-war and late twentieth century period.

Chapter Five – *Girls growing up in Scotland 1945-1985* – provides a unique examination of participants' post-war Scottish childhoods through a gender lens. Nine of the sixteen women participants lived with domestic abuse as children and offered new insights into children's experiences of domestic abuse from the 1940s to the 1970s. The chapter argues firstly that Scottish society from the 1940s to the 1970s continued to be characterised by closely interlinked patriarchal practices in the home and in wider post-war Scottish society. While not all of the participants experienced domestic abuse as children, the chapter goes on to argue secondly that evidence of patriarchal indicators in all of the women's families, in their wider communities, in culture and society strongly influenced their childhood socialisation, particularly their developing gender identities. Finally, the chapter concludes that highly gendered features of their socialisation held particular lessons for girls about women's place in the hierarchies of intimate relationships, marriage and the family, in educational and workplace settings and in wider society. The chapter's conclusions provided a foundation for exploring domestic abuse in adulthood.

Chapter Six – *Living with domestic abuse in Scotland circa 1960 to circa 1992 - Women's Experiences -* focusses on the first of the study's four questions: what was it like living with domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland? The rich, complex and multi-layered narratives of experience, interpretation, meaning and temporality created analytical challenges. The chapter contextualises the narratives using archival material, secondary sources and contemporary research which developed its own arc during the period to become part of a growing, substantial, international and multi-disciplinary body of work on domestic abuse. The chapter argues that long-standing constitutive patriarchal gender rules and norms remained influential as individual gender identities continued to evolve during the formation of adult relationships. It goes on to outline in some detail

what it was like living with domestic abuse during the period under examination. Secondly, the chapter argues that physical, emotional, psychological, sexual and financial abuse played a key role in maintaining the patriarchal form of the women's intimate relationships. This reinforced the links between women's identities and the performative aspect of their gender roles in patriarchal marriage and intimate relationships. Thirdly, the chapter argues that while regulative gender norms and practices responded to the changing social and economic context of women's lives, domestic abuse proved resilient despite these changes. The chapter concludes by arguing that there is evidence of an apparent shift *towards* public patriarchy in late twentieth century Scotland in relation to paid work, legislative changes to women's social status and growing social acceptance of alternatives to patriarchal marriage and traditional gender roles. However, the narratives suggest that for some women this was not accompanied by a move *away* from private patriarchy as the boundaries between the two spheres remained fluid. The chapter provides evidence that the nature of domestic abuse changed as women became more engaged in paid work and activities outside the home. By utilising technology such as cars and telephones, increased surveillance, appearance monitoring and interrogation, there is evidence that some abusive husbands adopted less physically violent but more emotionally coercive methods to control their wives' and partners' movements and behaviour outside of the home. Evidence from these narratives suggest that domestic abuse thus remained a key measure on a continuum of patriarchal control over women's lives even as they engaged more fully in paid work and across social space whilst retaining all their domestic and childcare responsibilities. Domestic abuse in private gender relations continued to be both hidden and largely accepted. As the methods of domestic abuse changed over time they continued however to reflect wider private and public discourses of control over women's lives and behaviour.

Chapter Seven - *The impact of domestic abuse and leaving an abusive relationship circa 1970 to circa 1992 - women's experiences* - addresses the study's second and third questions: what was the impact of domestic abuse and what factors influenced women's decisions to disclose and/or report the abuse to others. Firstly, the chapter examines the impact of domestic abuse on the women's physical and mental health, self-esteem and confidence and the extent to which these were linked to non-disclosure. Secondly, the chapter's conceptual framework for examining the processes involved in making disclosure or separation decisions is outlined. This framework combines Prochaska and DiClemente's stages of change model and the first two stages of Kasturirangan's model of women's empowerment (Prochaska and DiClemente 1982, Kasturirangan 2008). Thirdly, using these frameworks, the chapter argues that the women's main reasons for non-disclosure were closely linked to the impact of domestic abuse and argues that leaving their abusive relationships involved a non-linear process of change. These included long periods of non-disclosure followed by often prolonged

and careful consideration and decision-making prior to disclosure. The women mainly internalised blame for the abuse which they attributed to their own personal shortcomings and mental ill health. The abuse and its impact had compound negative effects on their physical and mental health and wellbeing. For some of the women, the internalisation kept them in the pre-contemplation stage and prevented them from considering external problem-focussed solutions to end the violence. Instead, they chose emotion-focussed help seeking in confidential settings such as speaking to their GP about their mental health symptoms or by confiding in friends. The chapter provides evidence that, with two exceptions, the women did not consider their own situations to be comparable to those of women needing refuge accommodation or connect their personal situations to contemporary criminal justice and women's aid discourses of 'battered wives'. This chapter also examines the extent to which wider cultural and hegemonic discourses influenced the ways in which women conceptualised their situations, their disclosure decisions and the leaving process itself. The chapter concludes that the process of change for the women was one of gradual personal empowerment closely linked to changing public discourses of gender and women's gender identity, to women's personal challenges to the patriarchal status quo in their marriages and to the changing socio-economic context of women's lives in Scotland during the period. For the women in this study, their determination to negotiate successful separation and safer lives involved a prolonged process of creative problem solving, the help of a small circle of trusted family and/or friends and with little or no constructive public agency involvement.

Chapter Eight – *Agency Responses to domestic abuse circa 1970 to circa 1992, – professionals' experiences in context* – addresses the study's final question: how did professionals in social welfare and criminal justice agencies respond to those experiencing domestic abuse? The chapter argues that agencies' practices were saturated with patriarchal discourses of class, marriage, traditional gender roles, men's right to use violence against their wives, and non- or minimal intervention in family privacy. The findings show the strong and close intersections between these patriarchal discourses and their influence on individual behaviour in social settings, workplaces and in wider culture created a hostile environment which was largely unsympathetic to abused women's situation. The chapter concludes that these wider cultures and practices negatively influenced and constrained women's decisions to disclose and helps explain why they were reluctant to seek help from the public agencies ostensibly charged with ensuring their safety.

The chapter concludes that, by the final decades of the twentieth century in Scotland, there is evidence that some women's lives continued to be heavily influenced by patriarchal discourses and practices which infused an intersecting matrix of individual, micro- and macro-system factors in

contemporary Scottish society. These factors continued to exert significant control over many of the women's private and public lives at a time when laws were introduced to advance their social and economic equality. The study's evidence casts doubt on the clear separation of the private and public spheres of patriarchy and suggests a more fluid relationship between the two. Further, by analysing the interviews in their contemporary socio-economic context there is some evidence to suggest that the move from private to public patriarchy in post-war Britain, as suggested by Walby (Walby 1989, Walby 1990) was not wholesale in Scotland in the post-war and late twentieth century period. The narratives provide evidence of an apparent shift *towards* public patriarchy in late twentieth century Scotland in relation to women's paid work, legislative changes to women's social status and the growing social acceptance of serial non-cohabiting and cohabiting intimate heterosexual relationships as alternatives to patriarchal marriage. However, this thesis found evidence that for some women this was not always accompanied by a move *away* from private patriarchy. The women described in this study remained largely responsible for domestic work and child-care, and, where domestic abuse including rape and sexual abuse was present, the boundaries between the two spheres remained fluid. These findings provide evidence that where domestic abuse in all its forms was a feature of intimate relationships, it continued to be a key element in the continuum of male dominance and control over women stretching across the private and public domains. This occurred in an enduring context of patriarchy in Scotland in ways which continued to reproduce women's structural inequality into the late twentieth century.

CHAPTER TWO

DOMESTIC ABUSE - A HISTORIOGRAPHY

Introduction

Historical and social science debates about the nature and extent of domestic abuse have been characterised by criminal justice discourses of class, crime and crime prevention, family violence and by feminist discourses of women's lives in the context of women's structural inequality, patriarchal marriage and the family. In 2000, Scotland adopted a national definition of domestic abuse recognising it as a gendered phenomenon largely affecting women, which encompassed physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and financial abuse perpetrated by intimate partners or ex-partners (Henderson 2000, Scottish Partnership on Domestic Abuse November 2000). However, domestic abuse described in the past by terms including 'wife assault', 'wife beating', 'wife battering' and 'domestic violence', has been a feature of Scottish marriages for centuries and a historiography on the Scottish context is growing. While the literature about domestic abuse in the Scottish context reflects these two key trends, gaps remain in our knowledge for the post-war period in Scotland which this thesis will address. The chapter begins by identifying the methodological and conceptual limitations of the crime and victimisation surveys to our understanding of the true extent of domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland, a social phenomenon which has long been characterised as widely under-reported. Secondly, the chapter argues that there are few historical studies about domestic abuse in Scotland in the second half of the twentieth century which incorporate recent theoretical and methodological developments in feminist and gender scholarship and in patriarchal theory. Thirdly, the chapter demonstrates that a distinctive contribution will be made to the historicisation of domestic abuse in Scotland: firstly, examining the experiences of domestic abuse of both working class and middle class women from beyond the urban central belt of Scotland, including those who did not approach public services for help; by exploring the impact of domestic abuse and the issue of non-disclosure; by investigating the perspectives of professionals working in those services in the post-war period. Finally, the chapter concludes that studying domestic abuse over the longer period from *circa* 1945 to *circa 1992* using a feminist historiographical approach will contribute significantly to knowledge about the nature and impact of domestic abuse and the private and contextual reasons for under-reporting and non-disclosure during this particular period in the Scottish past.

Crime and victimisation surveys

National crime surveys introduced first in the US in the 1960s and in Britain in 1982 measured the extent of crime and recorded individual perceptions and experiences of crime not reported to the police or prosecuted through the courts (Kinsey 1992, Walby 1994). It became widely acknowledged that because many people did not report their experiences of violent crime, particularly when the perpetrator was known to them, survey results were likely to provide a more accurate picture of victimisation than police statistics (Walby, Towers et al. 2014). In the US in the 1970s, the extent of violence in the family, including 'wife beating' as it was then known there, was considered 'so common as to be universal' (Straus 1973:105). In the US it was found that neither police nor social service agencies recorded data on reported cases of violence against wives and it was acknowledged that while there was some evidence to suggest wife beating was common, national trends were difficult to identify without empirical data (Straus 1979, Straus and Gelles 1986). Violence against wives was also being identified as a serious public issue during this period by the women's liberation movement (WLM) in the UK and North America with increasing press and media coverage of individual cases. Police departments in the city of Edinburgh and in one area of Glasgow in 1974 showed that a quarter of all violent offences dealt with by police were wife assaults (Dobash and Dobash 1979:247). In 1975, the UK Parliamentary Select Committee on Violence in Marriage reported that

> Little indeed is known about how much violence in marriage there is, and whether or not it is increasing. What is clear is that the number of battered wives is large, much larger than may be thought – and that the demand for places in the refuges…reflects the pent up need. Despite our efforts, we are unable to give any estimates of what the likely numbers are; several witnesses talked in terms of the tip of the iceberg and this seems to us to be correct (UK Select Committee on Violence in Marriage 1975:vi-vii).

The focus on physical assault and the growing awareness of a common yet hidden problem drove a need to develop appropriate survey methodologies to gather data on domestic abuse in the 1970s and 1980s (F.R.A. 2014) with work in the UK reflecting developments elsewhere. However, a number of limitations to survey methodologies were identified.

The first British Crime Survey was carried out in England, Wales and Scotland in 1982. Subsequent UK studies reflected practice in other international studies which began to focus on violent crimes against women.   The 1988 British Crime Survey (Scotland) included an analysis of reported violent crimes against women (Kinsey 1992) and reflected the increasing focus of developments on violence affecting women particularly in the home.   Carried out with a representative sample of over 5000 people, the survey's aims were '…straightforward: to map the

extent and nature of crime in Scotland and its impact on people's everyday lives... and to record information on crimes not known to the police' (Kinsey 1992:1). The survey included data on violence against women and identified three key findings common to such surveys: domestic abuse was common, gendered and under-reporting was likely to be common. The 1988 Scottish survey found that women were the victims in a third of all incidents involving violence or threats of violence and in 80% of those incidents the offender was male; a quarter of such incidents against women occurred in the home compared to 4% of violent incidents against men - a gender asymmetry noted by the report authors. Women were more frequently the victim of a single offender and in 40% of incidents the offender was either their husband, ex-husband or current or former boyfriend, a male relative or other male member of the household (Kinsey 1992:50). However, the report author and others observed that crime survey participants may also under-report their experiences of domestic abuse due to a lack of privacy where the survey took place or possible reluctance to disclose sensitive details to an unknown researcher (Andrews 1988). The report concluded by stressing that 'it is difficult to estimate from survey findings the full extent of violence against women, especially domestic violence.' (Kinsey 1992:51). The Scottish survey results reflected those of other contemporary UK studies.

In their examination of police records of assaults against wives in one area of Glasgow and all of Edinburgh in the 1970s the Dobashes found that wife assaults comprised 25.1% of all violent offences (Dobash and Dobash 1979:247). A survey of 694 single parents in Northern Ireland published in 1981 provided the first data on the extent of the problem there. The survey found that 40% of respondents were separated or divorced and that more than half of those had been 'battered wives'. The author concluded that 'The total extent of battering will not be known until a large scale survey of married women is conducted' and that 'until evidence arises to the contrary… violence is a fairly common feature of husband/wife relationships here' (Evason 1981:17). In 1983 an estimated 1% of all marriages – 128,000 - in England and Wales were violent (Pahl 1985:76). However, the complexities of estimating the extent of violence against wives using crime and victimisation surveys highlighted a number of methodological and conceptual limitations.

Population surveys examining domestic abuse carried out in the US in 1975 (Straus and Gelles 1986) followed by Canada in 1981 (Smith 1987), the Netherlands in 1987 (Romkens 1987), England and Wales and Scotland in 1988 used contemporary definitions linked to crimes and offences and focussed on physical violence in the family context. The North American surveys aimed to estimate local and national crime victimisation rates of violence in the family. The early US and Canadian surveys used the standardised Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS) developed in the early 1970s (Straus 1979). The CTS measured motivation, physical and verbal aggression, the incidence of individual acts of violence and their severity. In the first US study examining violence in the family in 1975, 28% of a

sample of 2,143 couples recorded that violent incidents had taken place during the course of their marriage with one third of those being described as serious (Straus and Gelles 1986, Romkens 1987) . The study also found violence against children to be common with 40% of children in the sample families reported to have been severely assaulted (Straus and Gelles 1986). In reviews of the 1980s US and Canada surveys, incidence rates of between 10.1% and 14.4% were found with lifetime prevalence rates for women varying between 25% and 35%. The 1985 US National Family Violence Survey estimated that over six million women a year were assaulted by their husbands (Romkens 1987:101, see also Brush 1990, Johnson 1995). However, following these early studies, the methodological challenges of obtaining comparable national incidence and prevalence survey data began to emerge and the value of their measures for the accurate identification of national trends as well as individual experience was questioned (Walby and Myhill 2001). Feminist and other critiques of the CTS and its basis in the 'family violence' tradition emerged in the 1980s. These highlighted its limitations in relation to how the issue was conceptualised, defined and contextualised, its gender asymmetrical features, how this influenced sampling and what was being measured.

The extent to which incident-focussed CTS-based surveys were able to identify the complex gendered nature of violence and other forms of abuse in intimate relationships has been challenged (Dobash and Dobash 1979, McFeely, Whiting et al. 2013, Myhill 2015).   Other criticisms of CTS focussed on the value of measures which took little account of the wider socio-economic context of women's lives, tended to focus on married couples and offered no scope for exploring causation, meaning and the impact of the violence for victims (Romkens 1987, Walby 1994, Walby, Towers et al. 2014, MacQueen 2016). Romkens argued that the use of CTS with only currently married couples, the research design, survey data collection methods and the concentration on violent incidents limited the value of these survey measures for accurately estimating the true extent of domestic abuse (Romkens 1987, Andrews B. 1988). The focus on individuals' reasoning, verbal and physical aggression and incidence of violence reflected the genesis of CTS in crime and victimisation surveys. Whilst these were some of the earliest studies to deploy standardised measures of the extent and severity of violence in the family and individual reasons for its use, critiques of the limitations of the original CTS measures and their subsequent adaptations continued.

Some argued that the use of CTS as the basis for population-based surveys conceptualised in the context of family dysfunction failed to account for the influence of socio- cultural and contextual factors influencing the gender and power differentials in families and intimate relationships and that the measures 'confound acts with outcomes and lump together settings and persons' (Brush 1990:57). Critics maintained that the CTS with its focus on individual acts did not measure patterns and fluctuations in frequency or severity of violence over time or account for the relational and

gendered power dynamics of domestic abuse (Romkens 1987, Brush 1990, Walby and Myhill 2001, Walby, Towers et al. 2016). There was also growing recognition that more nuanced typologies of abuse in intimate relationships which involved non-violent coercive control tactics were emerging which were not measured in CTS-based surveys (Stark 1994, Johnson 1995). Romkens made a case for combining quantitative and qualitative methods in his study in the Netherlands using interviews to draw out contextual factors and to probe areas where there was a tendency to under-report violent incidents, their severity, frequency and impact - this was also later acknowledged as valid by Straus (Straus and Gelles 1987). The limitations of CTS for capturing the power differentials in intimate and family relationships led to revisions of the scope and range of the scale for use in later crime victimisation studies (see for example Tjaden and Thoennes 1998). Critics continued to argue however that CTS, due to its conceptual basis in family dysfunction, had a limited capacity to capture the nuances and complexity of abuse in intimate relationships, to measure the true extent of the problem, including repeat victimisations affecting one victim, or to identify upward or downward trends (Egley 1991, Walby and Myhill 2001, Myhill 2015, Walby, Towers et al. 2016). While the development of crime survey research into domestic abuse continued to evolve, the issue of under-reporting and the reasons for non-disclosure of what was emerging as a widespread problem continued to challenge crime survey researchers.

Since the 1970s, therefore there has been a parallel and consistent claim that the issue was and continued to be largely unreported and that knowledge about its nature, extent, impact and causation could not be derived from a single source such as crime statistics or victimisation surveys. These reflect similar debates among historians about the relative value of crime and court data for measuring trends in the incidence of violence against wives in 19th and early 20th century England and wider debates on whether longer-term trends in individuals' use of violence were increasing or reducing. Elias and Jephcott (Elias and Jephcott 1978) and Pinker (Pinker 2011) argued that there has been an overall decline in the use of violence down the centuries in most human societies. Pinker argued that this was a result of evolutionary psychology: as human beings became increasingly responsive to wider environmental and social factors this motivated them to exercise self-control over their use of violence. Similarly, Elias argued that a 'civilising' process developed in parallel with the growth of the modern nation state which increasingly monopolised and legitimised the use of violence through the political process, the law, the criminal justice and penal systems (Elias and Jephcott 1978, Foucault 1991). However, these debates, focussed on evolutionary psychology, individual autonomy and the nation state, did not account for the gender dimension of human life. In particular, it was argued, the evidence that self-control was limiting inter-personal violence took insufficient account of the highly gendered nature of violence in the domestic setting and the contextual and methodological

factors preventing reporting and disclosure (Pratt, Turanovic et al. 2014, Walby, Towers et al. 2016). Further, it was argued that debates about the reduction in rates of inter-personal violence left 'the centre stage of our social order to be practised in backstage spaces such as prisons or hidden torture rooms' (Landini and Dépelteau 2017:4). The abuse of women in the private domain was effectively a 'backstage place' where the sexual conflict at the heart of intimate relations was played out (Buss and Duntley 2011). Sexual conflict expressed by the use of violence in the context of unequal gender property relations and male property rights over women's sexuality, labour and resources could therefore continue in private space where support for women's resistance in public space was limited (Wilson and Daly 1993). Thus, the overall prevalence of male violence against wives and partners may therefore be hidden in a context where both the impact of the violence and the repercussions of its public disclosure were understood by the women to carry considerable dangers.

> …unlike threats or assaults directed at strangers, the coercive use of violence by husbands has often had a legitimacy that enhances the coercive power of the threats (Buss and Duntley 2011:281).

The links between the impact of domestic abuse and reasons for its non-disclosure in British private and public life display elements of continuity from the 19th into the 20th twentieth century. Studies examining trends in wife assault in the context of the wider reduction in crimes of violence in England in the nineteenth century and early twentieth centuries reflected these debates and focussed on the relationship between reported crime, victimisation and reasons for non-disclosure. Hammerton argued that the drop in convictions for wife assault in 19th century London was related more to the reduction in reporting than to a decline in incidence. Ross (Ross 1982) and Hammerton (Hammerton 2002) both questioned whether an undeniable decline in official convictions, while consistent with the more general decline in violent crime evident in the 19th century, reflected a genuine reduction in prevalence and both claimed that this would remain an unanswerable question. Tomes noted that in London, in mid-19th century, working class families, domestic assaults declined as wives traded new found security for relative loss of power in the family (Tomes 1978). This increased their isolation and the need to conform to changing standards of working class respectability. However, this may account more for the further stigmatisation of abused women in the context of discourses of respectability, which inhibited public disclosure than for an actual decrease in incidence. With domestic abuse potentially retreating behind the front doors of respectability, Hammerton concluded that, 'such possibilities raise serious questions about the relationship between recorded and actual domestic assaults' (Hammerton 1997:39).

The limitations of measuring the true extent of domestic abuse from twentieth century UK crime figures and victimisation surveys, including those carried out in Scotland, and of historical studies of English criminal justice records have been outlined. The need for more nuanced methodological approaches to this frequently hidden issue, particularly in their contemporary historical context led to studies based on sources containing personal accounts of a more qualitative nature. For example, in her oral history of gender relations on Clydeside in the interwar period, Hughes provided evidence from personal narratives about the high incidence of domestic violence in working class communities on Clydeside (Hughes 2004, Hughes 2007, Hughes 2010).

Private lives – domestic abuse, marriage and the family

Historical research into violence against wives in the late 19th and early 20th centuries using working and middle class women's first-hand accounts found in court and social welfare agency records provided rich contextual detail about the interconnection between personal experiences of violence and abuse, its impact and the personal, social and cultural reasons for non-disclosure. Social stigma, homelessness, the shame of surveillance, unwanted interference by social care agencies, the failure of the civil and criminal justice system to deter violent husbands, the threat to remove children, fear of repercussions or retaliation from publicly exposed husbands all conspired to keep many women silent about their experiences (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Pleck 1987, Gordon 1988, Hammerton 1992). An anonymous questionnaire-based survey of members of the Women's Cooperative Guild (WCG) undertaken prior to World War One suggests similar reasons for a high hidden prevalence. Many of the women, married to skilled workers and tradesmen, acknowledged that they had never and would never disclose their experiences to anyone. However the anonymity guaranteed by the survey methodology encouraged them to be open about their lives (Burnett 2000). The methodological and historical value of the WCG study, by providing a safe and confidential medium for women to describe their lives in their own words, demonstrated the contribution women's accounts could make to an organisation actively concerned with the welfare of its members. As well as the valuable insights provided into marriage and gender relations and their interaction with the wider socio-economic context, the women's accounts provided insight into why they felt unable to disclose to others and the range of interacting factors which prevented them from doing so.

In the post-World War Two period, findings from a small-scale oral history study illuminated women's experience of domestic violence in England between 1945 and 1970 and found a 'widespread and enduring silence about domestic abuse in the post-war period' (Hague and Wilson 1996:157). The ground-breaking study by the Dobashes on violence against wives in the UK offered insights into the lived experience of women refuge residents including women from Glasgow in the

1970s. Their analysis offered broad explanations of causation which provided more nuanced descriptions of the types of violence and abuse women experienced in their relationships, demonstrated their impact and outlined a number of personal, social and economic barriers to disclosure and to leaving the relationship (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Evason too provided evidence of the socio-structural barriers to disclosure and to leaving an abusive relationship in her study of women in Northern Ireland in 1981: 'the problem is not simply that women are assaulted but that our culture encourages assaults, limits the opportunities of escape for victims and perpetuates violence by an ambivalence to assaults when they do occur' (Evason 1981:15). These echoed the reasons for non-disclosure given by the women in the WCG sample nearly seventy years earlier. The British Crime Survey (Scotland) 1988 found that 46% of women who experienced violence by husband/ex-husband or boyfriend/ex-boyfriend did not report the domestic incidents to the police due to fear of reprisals by the offender (Kinsey 1992:43). In addition to fear, other reasons for non-disclosure given by women residents of an English refuge in the 1980s included feelings of shame at what others might perceive as a failed marriage and uncertainty that they would receive a sympathetic response (Pahl 1985). These barriers to reporting existed at the interface between public and private spheres, where private violence confronted public responses and bore the weight of history and of long-standing public and private gender discourses. These glimpses of the extent and nature of domestic abuse and reasons for under-reporting and non-disclosure show common themes in Scotland and elsewhere from the late 19th century to the 1980s.

The problem of domestic abuse for women across previous generations therefore was not only abuse in the home but wider structural and cultural forces which stigmatised disclosure, sustained women's social inequality and created barriers to personal and financial independence. As has been shown, the findings of crime surveys carried out in the 1980s provide a useful but partial picture of women's experiences of male violence and abuse in the home in post-war Scotland and their reasons for non-disclosure. While the value of exploring women's experiences in their contemporary private and public context has been recognised, gaps remain in our knowledge of domestic abuse at the interface between women's private lives and the public sphere in post-war Scotland. More nuanced approaches to researching women's personal experiences of male violence and abuse in both the private and public contexts in which they lived their lives have emerged. During the 1970s and 1980s, the development of feminist theory and research practice offered new approaches to the study of women's lives, gender relations, marriage and the family in the past.

During this period, feminist writers and historians re-examined Marxist political and economic theory from a feminist perspective (Firestone 1971, Rowbotham 1977). Despite finding Marxist

discussions of gender insufficiently developed, they found a helpful assessment of women's role in property relations.   For Marx, women's 'value' derived from their double relationship to the means of capitalist production: they gave birth to new life in the natural sense of reproduction and were also workers selling their labour. For Engels, the development of the monogamous family arose as a result of the family's economic resources accruing to the male head of the family and included the appropriation and 'ownership' of women by their husbands.   With women's bodies regarded as 'private' property, their subordination through the enforcement firstly of chastity and then of monogamous marriage was designed to ensure the undisputed paternity of any children, assured lines of inheritance and that the children themselves became their father's property.   Engels argued that the power/property dynamic at the heart of monogamous gender relations in the home was contested:

> The first division of labour is that between man and woman for the propagation of children… The first class opposition that occurs in history coincides with the development of antagonism between man and women in monogamous marriage, and the first class oppression coincides with that of the female sex by the male.   Monogamous marriage...is the cellular form of civilized society in which the nature of the oppositions and contradictions fully active in that society can already be studied (Engels 2010:96).

The gender property relations at the heart of patriarchal marriage whereby on marriage a husband acquired ownership of all of his wife's property were codified in the principle of *jus mariti* in Scots law (Walton 1893) and the English law of *couverture* (Hammerton 1992). These rights were abolished by the Married Women's Property (Scotland) Act 1881, and by the Married Women's Property Act 1882 in England.   Engels thus regarded the monogamous family as 'a microcosm of the contradictions and oppositions of society as a whole' (Rowbotham 1973:41).

Thus, gendered property relations evolved into monogamous marriage and its enforcement created the foundations of the patriarchal family. According to Hegel, property both defined the individual and released them from the private sphere – the individual in this case was Enlightenment 'man' – 'the body defines the self which requires personal property in order to objectify itself' (Davidoff and Hall 2002:xxvi). This situated women, as 'owned' individuals, in a subordinate position relative to men who become the 'owners' and established an inherent gender power imbalance within a hierarchical relationship.   In their detailed study of the changing values and roles in the family lives of the emerging middle classes in late eighteenth and early nineteen century, Davidoff and Hall asserted a *truism* that however, whenever and wherever gender roles are constructed, for women and men,

…as physically sexed beings they must come together to reproduce; half the children they create will be the opposite sex. In many societies men and women share….'bed and board'. It is from this core that familial and kinship structures are built. No other category of class, race, religion or nationality is organised in this way. On the contrary with each of these categories, men and women together usually socialise their children into a group identity (Davidoff L. & Hall C. 2002:xxxii).

The *private* domain of 'bed and board' formed the founding, historical 'core' of marriages and families and created the conditions for the formation and maintenance of relationships between its members. For Davidoff and Hall, gender relations like all human relations, are 'a going concern' whereby 'practices generate structures, and structures practices' (Davidoff & Hall 2002: xxxii). In this way, the meaning of gender and gender roles in society at any given time is established and historicised. As these responded to wider public discourses, they were incorporated in the social behaviour which children learned in the private domain of the family. The dynamic relationship between normative gender and family roles and behaviours is closely linked to the way particular societies regard the degrees of separation between the public and private spheres and may be responsive to any socio-economic or legal changes affecting gender relations in wider society. The degree of social and cultural acceptance of domestic abuse as a key aspect of the gender power dynamics within marriage and the family in the private sphere, legally codified in Britain and Scotland until the later 19th century, could therefore act as a substantial barrier to public reporting or disclosure.

The home and family setting, defined as the 'private' domain of women and children, was separate from the public and essentially masculine world – *polis* - of politics, commerce, the military and culture. The exclusion of women from the public sphere is a practice dating back to ancient Greece and is derived from Aristotelian ideas and the origins of the democratic state (Beard 2017). The separate spheres of 'public' and 'private' first became theorised as gendered concepts and a focus for empirical research in the 1960s. In her work on the historic development of social policy on the family in the US, Pleck observed that the long-standing ideology of the *family ideal*, contained within the private sphere, with its individual components of family privacy, conjugal and parental rights and the preservation of the family has remained remarkably intact since the earliest times (Pleck 2004:7). The association of men with the public sphere and women with the private respectively, served as key features of male and female gender roles down the centuries. As the foundations of a patriarchal system of family governance, they rested on the authority and dominance of the father, as the head of the household, over his wife, children and extended family, any servants or apprentices. Fathers had the right to direct worship, command obedience, demand sexual and domestic services, and to

correct or physically chastise misdemeanours or delegate that authority over children or servants to others such as their wives.

> From the historiographer's perspective, 'separate spheres' was at least in part a strategy that enabled historians to move the history of women out of the realm of the trivial and anecdotal and into the realm of analytic social history. (Kerber 1988:37).

Beyond functioning as valuable theoretical concepts in a gendered analysis of history, the meaning of separate spheres in public discourse in the past (and continuing to the present day), and in private gender relations was intrinsic to the development of gender identity in children. The two spheres play an important ideological role in establishing women's and men's relationship to society, to their respective roles and functions in private and public life, and provide interlocking contexts for establishing or negotiating women's subordinate status in public and in private life. The long-standing right of husbands to control and chastise their wives in the private sphere of the home provided a historical rationale for domestic abuse. However, Kerber stressed the limitations of the separate spheres model in women's history, 'to continue to use the language of separate spheres is to deny the reciprocity between gender and society, and to impose a static model on dynamic relationships' (Kerber 1988:38). However, this does not preclude the possibility that the internal dynamic within unequal gender relations at the heart of the model may be resilient to social and economic changes taking place in any given era.

Ross' research into working class marriage in some of London's poorest communities in the later 19th century revealed the property relations at the heart of working class marriages and the violence within them. Although working class married couples were often both economically active and financially interdependent, they too lived their lives in a modified version of separate spheres where the division between public and private was necessarily more fluid between the 'quite separate material worlds organised around a fairly rigid sexual division of labour' (Ross 1982:578). This was not regarded as a contradiction within working class marriage however. It was openly acknowledged in London's working class communities that 'being a husband was synonymous with providing support' by handing over a portion of his pay to his wife. A wife was responsible for three key contested areas at the heart of the family: domestic labour, managing the finances and childcare; failure to do so, whatever the circumstances, was considered 'a major breach of their marital claims' and a common cause of wife beating. According to Ross, the working class marriage contract in these communities 'did not enjoin romantic love or emotional intimacy…although some couples may have sustained these and a minority had had 'romantic' courtships'. Ross's conclusions about the working class families in her study reflected those of Engels. Both argued that the basis of monogamous marriage was

economic and that the gender relations at its heart a form of 'class antagonism'. Most of the women in Ross's study, '…did not focus on the marital relationship but rather defined wages, children and kin as more central to their happiness' (Ross 1982:578).

Some pioneering historical studies on women's lives and on domestic abuse emerged in the 1970s and 1980s. Based on women's accounts in court records and in oral history interviews (Tomes 1978, Ross 1982, Roberts 1984) these studies were part of the contemporary women's history movement.   This work incorporated accounts of women's lives in traditional histories of industrialisation, urbanisation and the development of political movements. Much of the historical and social science research on domestic abuse at the time reflected contemporary theoretical and empirical concerns in relation to the issue and initially concentrated on violence as an issue of crime and class, primarily within working class marriages. Their research explored what was regarded in the 19th century as a substantial problem of family violence and public order originating in the behaviour of the British urban working classes in the 19th century. These studies highlighted the links between wife beating and poverty, alcohol and a brutalised working class dominated by inter-personal violence (Tomes 1978, Ross 1982). Whilst acknowledging that the opposition between men and women as distinct classes of people was the first form of class antagonism, Marxist and left-wing feminist historians subsequently concentrated mainly on the public aspects of the wider political class struggle and sought to restore women's place in the historiography of working class political movements. Their approach subsumed the private 'antagonism' or violence experienced by individual women at the hands of individual males within their analysis of this wider struggle and did not contextualise these forms of violence as part of a distinct, gendered historical struggle (Edwards 1987).   This concentration on working class marital violence and the attribution of incidence and causation to family dysfunction in the context of poverty and class by historians writing in the 1970s and early 1980s began to change as gender emerged as a category of historical and sociological analysis from the late 1970s (Rowbotham 1977, Scott 1986).

Confining historical analysis of the position of women in society to their emergence from the private into the public sphere, as women's history aimed to do, neglected the wider historical and structural influence of patriarchy and gender norms on women's private subordination. This was recognised by Clarke who argued for the importance of gender, gender property relations and marital violence across private and public spheres in conceptualising the formation of the working class (Clark 1995). Her work drew on a wide range of public and private sources in literature, popular culture and print media to explore contemporary discourses of gender. The challenges of historicising domestic abuse for historians were similar to those facing social scientists seeking to find data and sources to shed light on the private issue. Seeking evidence of a common yet under-reported phenomenon in

the modern era required methodological innovation. As has been shown, historians seeking to illuminate women's lives used sources which would provide accounts of living with marital violence to enhance knowledge of its extent, nature and impact in the past. Their approaches reflected prevailing historiographical trends, including feminist research which emphasised the importance of incorporating women's own accounts and perspectives on lived experience. In late twentieth century Britain, an emerging epistemic community began to reconceptualise women's lives in the context of gender property relations and structural inequality and to problematize and historicise the family and domestic abuse in new ways. This community was investigating a problem which remained extensive and under-reported, affected women of all classes and required the removal of barriers for individual women seeking to leave abusive marriages.

Research into middle class and working class married life in the 19th and the inter-war years of the 20th centuries revealed the intersection of gender, class, property relations and marital conflict during these periods (Hammerton 1992, Leneman 1997, Burnett 2000, Hughes 2004, Hughes 2007, Barclay 2011). These studies provided examples of the inherently antagonistic nature of gender relations in patriarchal marriage and family life in all classes. Historians' increasing use of primary sources facilitated more detailed examinations of the minutiae of married life, including gender and domestic abuse in their contemporary contexts. These trends in the historiography of domestic abuse reflected those of the wider epistemic community. Gender historians also began to examine the shifts in nineteenth century and early twentieth discourses of masculinity (Hammerton 1992, Clark 2000, Davidoff L. & Hall C. 2002, Hughes 2004, Hughes 2007) and its impact on married life and marital conflict. Their work, developed from earlier restorative women's history, located personal accounts of family life and gender relations in public and private sources including court records, letters, diaries, popular culture and the press. These revealed that women experienced more than physical violence alone at the hands of their husbands. Women's experiences in these accounts shared common features with the broader range of violence and abuse women and children of all classes experienced in later periods.

The study of violence in the family also benefited from developments in theorising patriarchy and from taking a 'context specific' approach. Pleck and Gordon researched the archives of US social care and criminal justice agencies to bring the voices of women and children into the historical narrative. Their accounts of the lives of mainly working class women and children and the responses from their wider communities as they endeavoured to ameliorate their situation were analysed within the dominant discourses of the family, marital violence and child abuse (Pleck 1987, Gordon 1988). Gordon utilises the concept of 'patriarchy' for her study of violence in the family in late 19th and early 20th century Boston (Gordon 1988). For Gordon, patriarchy did not describe a simple gender

asymmetry of male perpetrator and adult and/or child victim within an undifferentiated family hierarchy of male power and subordination. Instead, she used the term to refer to a form of dominance, based on traditional constructions of the role of fathers where they controlled families within domestic regimes of personal, social and economic power. This conception did not preclude the occurrence of female abuse of children, their husbands or other adult males, or the absence of violence.

Like Pleck, Gordon regards violence in the family context, irrespective of the class or gender of perpetrator or victim, as contextualised within wider contemporary hierarchical patterns of patriarchal family dynamics predicated on parental domination over their children. The dominant role of the father as the head of the household has been a historically gendered function of the male role within wider patriarchal society since the earliest times. The exercise or abuse of power using dominant or threatening behaviours and the use of violence by mothers can be understood as an assumption or expropriation of power (delegated or otherwise) from the head of the household exercised over other family members, including the father or other adults. For Gordon, '…the abuse done by women as much as that done by men was also a product of the sex/gender order of society' (Gordon 1988:vii). Gordon challenged traditional historical approaches to the family which treated it as a homogenous, static and isolated unit:

> [This] only masks intra-family conflicts of interests, and particularly the interests of women and children, but it stands in the way of good understanding of family change and relations between family and the larger society. The topic of family violence 'provides a case in point for the necessity of seeing families as conflictual as well as harmonious (Gordon 1988:v).

This echoed family violence theorists in the twentieth century who similarly recognised the limitations of views of the family as inherently harmonious (Straus, Gelles et al. 1980). However, Gordon departed from family violence theorists by stressing that an understanding of family violence required examination of the politics of the family in its wider historical context. Similarly, Pleck asserts that the long-standing ideology of the *family ideal* was 'the single most consistent barrier' to reforming public policy in relation to domestic violence (Pleck 2004:7). By the 1980s, it was observed that a prevailing 'ideology of privacy' continued to underpin legal approaches to the family, marriage and the abuse of wives in Britain: firstly through freedom from external intrusion and, secondly, through privacy of information and the right to decide if, what and how information about private matters was shared with others. A long-standing principle of family law as 'pathological' remained with external service or legal interventions required only when things went wrong (Dobash and Dobash 1979:7, Pahl 1985:16 & 97).

Recent historical approaches to violence in the family have challenged the dominant focus on working class family life which ignored both the incidence of violence and abuse in middle class families and changing public discourses around its acceptability. Hammerton's research into conflict in middle class and working class marriage in nineteenth century England advanced much of this pioneering work (Hammerton 1992) and used the personal accounts in divorce and separation petitions following divorce law reform in England. These reveal the contradictions in Victorian public discourse and the similarities between women's experiences of abuse across classes. Victorian commentators regarded marital conflict in class terms: 'the stigma of domestic assault associated almost exclusively with the degraded lives of the very poor, assuming smugly that middle classes subjected each other to more genteel forms of mental torture' (Hammerton 1992:1-3). This research revealed the behaviour of many middle class men to be quite contrary to the popular image of restrained, rational and responsible bourgeois manhood.

The submissions provided by the Women's Cooperative Guild to the Royal Commission on Divorce and Matrimonial Causes 1909-1912 provided contemporary insights into the reality of domestic abuse in the lives of working class women Guild members. Detailed individual and collective submissions uncovered the similarities between their experiences with those of women in poorer and richer communities in different eras and exposed the cruelties disturbing the 'inner life' of Guild members (Burnett 2000:141). The anonymous WCG accounts were among the first to disclose to a public forum the physical, sexual, verbal, psychological and economic abuse which the women experienced (Hammerton 1992, Burnett 2000). By naming the different forms of violence WCG members experienced from their husbands, the comparison with the experiences of the wives of men of similar social status (butchers, carpenters, shipmasters, slaters, surgeons and farmers) to those in Leneman's study a century earlier is striking. These developments in historical scholarship, influenced by feminist theory, practice and activism were part of the wider WLM which focussed much of its attention on the long standing issue of domestic abuse, aimed to prise it from the shadows, explore its history and work for its prevention.

Leneman acknowledged the influence of contemporary social science and feminist research on her work on violence against wives in eighteenth and early nineteenth century Scotland. Her analysis was based on personal testimonies recorded in the divorce and separation petitions lodged in the Edinburgh commissary court records during that period (Leneman 1997). Leneman developed Hammerton's approach and utilised contemporary feminist standpoint epistemology by concentrating on the personal accounts of lived experience provided by women (Harding 1986) which offered valuable insights into the realities of gender relations and conflict. Leneman deployed twentieth century definitions of domestic abuse drawn from the work of Dobash and Dobash (Dobash

and Dobash 1979), based her work on women's first-hand accounts and was the first historian to examine patterns of male marital violence in Scotland in this way. Leneman's research illuminated past and present continuities across time and class in women's lived experience of violence in marriage, its impact and contemporary social and judicial responses. Her study also revealed the commonalities of working class and middle class women's experience of abuse. However while Leneman acknowledged the similarities between the patterns of violence used by husbands in the eighteenth and early twentieth centuries, she maintained that 'to look only at the continuum and to ignore the era and culture provides an overly simplistic view' (Leneman 1997: 51). This emphasised the importance of acknowledging the interaction between individual lives and their contemporary social context for identifying continuity and changes in prevailing gender discourses and practices. Bennett problematized the principles of continuity and change in the historical analysis of women lives with reference to the concept of 'patriarchal equilibrium' whereby 'changes which undermined the forces of patriarchy in one sector were subtly countered by responses in other sectors' (Bennett 2006:77).   Bennett argued that historicising the workings of patriarchal systems in this way provided a means of examining the interaction between women and their particular contemporary context in the creation of histories which explain women's persistent low status in some contexts despite improvements or advancements in others. A key feature of women's and children's lives in patriarchal societies has been and remains male violence in the home.

Domestic abuse – gendered histories in context

The growth of academic research in the UK and US on domestic abuse during the 1980s and 1990s in parallel with the development of feminist research methodologies based on first-hand accounts of survivors began to further influence and expand debates about how domestic abuse was defined, conceptualised, historicised and measured.   The activities of the WLM and the expansion of specialist services and refuge accommodation for abused women in Europe and North America provided opportunities for more detailed research involving those directly affected. Data gathered about the qualitative aspects of living with abuse and which explored causation would address the methodological limitations and identified shortcomings of the early crime victimisation surveys, including reasons for non-disclosure. Research involving abused women, particularly refuge residents, began in the 1970s and an evidence base grew during the 1980s, a period which saw the emergence of a new *epistemic community* focussed on domestic abuse (Walby, Towers et al. 2014) defined by Haas as:

A network of professionals with recognized expertise and competence in a particular domain….What bonds members of an epistemic community is their shared belief or faith in

the verity and the applicability of particular forms of knowledge or specific truth (Haas 1992:3).

Domestic abuse has been a key campaigning issue for feminists and social reformers in the UK and the US since the 19th century (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Hammerton 2002) and reappeared in the 1960s and 1970s as a result of the work of the UK WLM (Mooney 2000, Barnish 2004, Greenan 2004). The issue provided feminist activists with a 'practical focus for their politics' (Cuthbert and Irving 2001:55) and an opportunity to build an evidence base to inform campaigning efforts. As a serious contemporary social issue across the UK and North America 'solutions had to be sought' (Stark and Flitcraft 1996, Dobash, Dobash et al. 2000:187, Breitenbach and Mackay 2001). By the 1980s the issue had 'made a reappearance on the political agenda…domestic violence may be regarded as a "new" issue, but it is an old problem' (Stedward 1987:216). Academic and political activity in Scotland was part of this wider movement renewing public attention on women's lives, on women's lives in Scottish history and on domestic abuse.

When it was established in 1976, Scottish Women's Aid (SWA) announced that one of its key aims was 'to encourage research into domestic violence and the means of its prevention' (Stedward 1987:220). From the 1970s until 1992 when the first Zero Tolerance anti-domestic abuse campaign was launched in Edinburgh, women's organisations and SWA campaigned to improve legal, policy and service responses (Cosgrove 1996, Mackay 2010).   Also from the 1970s, academic research began to grow in parallel with the movement. Research carried out with groups of women living in British, including Scottish, refuges (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Pahl 1985, Stanko 1985) reported women's experiences of a range of different abuses in their private relationships and families including physical, emotional and sexual abuse, incest and child sexual abuse. Findings from feminist research differentiated domestic abuse and sexual violence as gendered and distinct from other forms of inter-personal violence because they were aimed specifically at women because they were women (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Pahl 1985, Stanko 1985, Kelly 1987, Nelson 1987). The range, severity, frequency and duration of violent and abusive behaviours was found to have severe, cumulative and often prolonged and adverse emotional, physical and social effects on individuals (Morley and Mullender 1994, Stark and Flitcraft 1996). Studies carried out in North America and in the UK argued that the roots of these forms of violence against women lay in women's historically subordinate status in those societies and in the patriarchal control of women in public and private life (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Pahl 1985, Walby 1989, Stark 1994),

There were numerous legal, political, economic and ideological supports for a husband's authority over his wife which included the approval of his use of physical force against her (Dobash and Dobash 1979: ix).

The National Women's Aid Federation of England in 1975 stated that 'the battering [sic] of women…is a result of the general position of women in our society ' (Stedward 1987:218). This further highlighted the limitations of crime surveys and quantitative research methods for investigating the wider social and historical context and the meaning of domestic abuse for those affected (Brush 1990). Differences between mainstream, mainly quantitative, methodologies and those which adopted a *context-specific*, gendered approach began to emerge. Further, failure to account for the relational nature of domestic abuse would, it was argued, render the gendered relationship invisible in such surveys (Walby, Towers et al. 2014).

The work of the Dobashes in the US, England and Scotland in the 1970s focused initially on empirical studies examining the behaviours of abusive men from the perspectives of abused women living in refuges in Edinburgh and Glasgow and explored the nature, extent and causes of violence against wives. They recommended taking a context specific approach to the study of interpersonal violence which included physical and sexual violence, emotional abuse, threats and intimidation (Dobash and Dobash 1979). They argued that investigating domestic abuse in its wider social, political and historical context was essential to demonstrate that the issue was not solely one of individual pathology or family dysfunction but had deeper historical and structural roots in women's social inequality (for summary see Evason 1981, Dobash, Dobash et al. 2000). Since then this contextualisation has become more widely accepted in national and international policy addressing domestic abuse and violence against women generally (Walby 2005, Garcia-Moreno, Jansen et al. 2006, McFeely, Whiting et al. 2013, Heise and Kotsadam 2015). However, gaps in our knowledge of the issue in post-war Scotland arise in the historiographical and evidential space between these developments in feminist and gender history, the history of women's activism in Scotland, and the writing of Scottish history itself.

The development of knowledge about domestic abuse in Scotland has been closely associated with the history and achievements of the Scottish WLM and WA movements over the last forty years (Cosgrove 1996, Cuthbert and Irving 2001, Scottish Women's Aid 2007, Breitenbach 2012, Browne 2014, Scottish Women's Aid 2018). Archival and commemorative oral history projects and publications by the Rape Crisis and WA movements have emerged (Scottish Women's Aid 2007, Maitland 2009, Scottish Women's Aid 2018). A key figure in the Scottish WLM herself, Breitenbach's analysis of oral testimonies of participants in the 1970s WLM in Scotland includes accounts of WA activism which became a core concern of grassroots members (Breitenbach 2012). While the close

connection between the WLM, WA and the issue of domestic abuse is being explored in a growing literature about these movements in Scotland, gaps remain in our knowledge about domestic abuse itself in the wider social and historical context of the post-war period which arise from this particular conjunction. Firstly, the activities of Scottish WA's founders had a clear political purpose and the archival and commemorative literature continues, in the present, to promote the SWA's original aims in a society where domestic abuse remains common. Secondly, while this literature provides an important resource and focuses on the continued need for funding, resources and social change, it has its historiographical limitations. In her review of a volume celebrating the centenary of the Women's Cooperative Movement, Scott recommended caution,

> There is a difficulty with historical work produced to mark an important anniversary of a particular body. The need for celebration tends to create a form of organizational hagiography while the relationship (both personal and contractual) between the author(s) and the subject(s) of the book militate against critical analysis (Scott 1985:38).

This literature of celebration and recovery, by recording and preserving the activities of WA campaigners and workers, and the personal experiences and transformed lives of former refuge residents makes a vital contribution to the public record of Scottish women's lives, activism and achievements. Women's accounts of their experiences were used effectively in campaigns and reports to highlight women's inequality and the impact of deficits in housing, criminal justice and social welfare services, policies and practices. The fundamental aim of women's activism against domestic abuse and its place in historiography echoes similar debates about approaches to the history of the twentieth century WLM. In their discussion of historicising the WLM, Bruley and Forster argued that the notion of recovering the history of feminist movements can be problematic. They suggest that scholarship should not only recover and celebrate the achievements of the feminist past but should move towards historicising a more 'usable past' from which a feminist future can be constructed (Bruley and Forster 2016). Scottish WA's historical perspective thus provides an important but partial account of the wider history of domestic abuse in Scotland. The close association between recovering and celebrating the history and achievements of the Scottish WA movement with the issue of domestic abuse itself therefore creates a further historiographical gap in knowledge about the lifetime experiences of working class and middle class women from beyond the urban central belt who were unconnected to women's aid or other formal agencies. These can be addressed by taking a broader, context specific approach in a study which incorporates perspectives and sources from those within and outwith the SWA sphere but which also builds on recent theoretical and methodological developments, as this thesis does. This would fill the gap in studies exploring the issue over the longer time-frame of post-war Scotland, distinct from its role as a campaigning issue for Scottish women's

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activism. A detailed examination of the nature and impact of private experiences of domestic abuse on women including non-WA refuge residents and workers unconnected to the WA sector has facilitated an exploration of the influence of the wider public context on women's disclosure decisions, including those who did not disclose to WA. The emergence of WLM and SWA came at a time when gaps in knowledge about women's lives more generally in Scottish history began to be addressed by an expanding field of feminist and gender studies. Scottish women's lives were being studied in response to historiographical developments taking place elsewhere which influenced the topics, authorship and practice of historical scholarship in and about Scotland.

During the 1980s and 1990s the challenges of undertaking historical studies focussed more generally on Scottish women's lives in history and the social sciences were outlined (Brown, Myers et al. 1994, Breitenbach, Brown et al. 1998, Breitenbach 2003). Scottish women's lives past and present began to be documented in work initiated by an emergent Scottish feminist epistemic community of women's organisations, academics, local history, community and pressure groups in the 1980s and 1990s. *Uncharted Lives*, a collection of articles published by the Glasgow Women's Studies Group in 1983 claimed to be the first 'to focus entirely on the lives of women in Scotland' (Glasgow Women's Studies Group 1983: cover). The articles in the collection covered the period 1850-1982 and sources included archival material and contemporary oral testimony. This was followed in 1990 by *Grit and Diamonds* written in part as a response to the impact of Conservative Government policies on the lives of Scottish women and as a means of recording 'what women have been doing in Scotland in the 1980s…to improve their own and other women's lives' (Henderson and Mackay 1990:vii). Both collections were the result of women activists challenging both the methodology, authorship and themes of traditional historiography. They aimed to expose the realities and common themes of women's lives over time through their personal narratives, in order to 'recover our past and substantiate our present' (Glasgow Women's Studies Group 1983), and both had an overtly political purpose. The close relationships between historical analysis, women's political activism and feminism were forged during this period and are especially visible in the campaigns against domestic abuse and violence against women previously discussed.

Until the 1950s and 1960s Scottish history was 'the province of (mainly) men who if not upper class in background were upper class in outlook' (Donnachie and Whatley 1992:3). Scottish historiography began to undergo significant changes in the 1970s and 1980s, influenced by the work of economic, social and Marxist historians. Their analyses illuminated Scottish history through the lens of social class, capitalist economics and imperialism (Hunter 1976, Richards 1982) and reflected the concerns of the times in which they were 'manufactured' (Donnachie and Whatley 1992). However, little of this work explored the 'secret, private world of Scottish women' (Hendry 1992:129).

By the 1990s, there was a renewed interest in Scottish history and historiography and, particularly in the years preceding the establishment of the first modern Scottish parliament in 1999, with social and economic history in particular receiving much attention (Harvie and Wormald 1981, Dickson 1992, Devine and Finlay 1996, Knox 1999). However, by the 1990s it was observed that women had 'largely been excluded from history precisely by the nature of the Scottish national identity which has been conceived as a masculine construct' (McDermid 1999:36) despite a growing body of work focussing on Scottish women's lives (Breitenbach 1992, Hendry 1992).

By the 1990s, the 'gendering' of Scottish history had begun to echo historiographical developments elsewhere (Brotherstone, Simonton et al. 1999, Abrams, Gordon et al. 2006). Studies examining gender relations in 19th-century working class communities provided evidence of the incidence of domestic violence from police and court records in Glasgow and elsewhere in Scotland (King 1993, Clark 1995, McIvor 1996). Other studies focussed on violence against working and middle class wives in the context of patriarchal influences on marriage, gender property relations and legal responses in Scotland in the 18th and 19th centuries (Clark 1995, Leneman 1997, Barclay 2013). Hughes argued that during the twentieth century inter-war period, in working class communities, 'Gender antagonism and marriages of conflict, which had marked Clydeside from at least the eighteenth century, prevailed, and were exacerbated by the ruptures wrought by war' (Hughes 2004: 87). While domestic violence among Glasgow's working class communities remained relatively hidden from public view until the late twentieth century, literature, popular song and memoir provide evidence of its prevalence (Craig 2010). The focus on domestic abuse in 20th century west of Scotland working class communities and an action research oral history of domestic abuse experienced by the wives of clergymen in the 1990s (Orr 1997) leaves scope for studies focussed on women in other areas and social groups. With the exception of Orr's study, there has been a strong focus on examining personal experiences of domestic abuse in the first half of the twentieth century, on the central belt of Scotland and in particular on working class families in the Glasgow area. Overall however, less is known about domestic abuse in other parts of Scotland and about the experiences of women of other classes during the post-war period.

Despite UK legislative changes such as the Abortion Act of 1967, the Equal Pay Act of 1970[2] and the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975[3], the position of women in Scottish society at the end of the 1970s remained, according to Breitenbach, less than ideal (Breitenbach 1989, Browne 2007). By the end of the twentieth century, commentators noted that Scotland was still struggling to cast off a

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[2] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/41
[3] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65

deeply patriarchal legacy still evident in 'misogyny in its press, its public life, its politics and the daily lives of women' (Hills 1994 in Breitenbach, Brown et al. 1998:45). The expansion of work on masculinity, gender identities and domestic abuse (Abrams 1999, Hughes 2004, Hughes 2007, Young 2007, Hughes 2010, Young 2010) offered valuable glimpses into the relational, material and cultural world of working class women and men in twentieth century Scotland. In the twenty-first century, the Departments of Gender History and Gender Studies at Glasgow University and Stirling University respectively and the Centre for Research into Families and Relationships at Edinburgh University have been established. These developments provide evidence of a Scottish epistemic community focussed on gender including academics from a range of disciplines, women's activists, journalists, artists, practitioners and policy makers. There remains much that we do not know about women's experience of domestic abuse in Scotland, particularly from the 1960s to the 1990s - a period of change and contradictions. A range of legal reforms to women's social status had been enacted across the UK and UK women's activism in the peace and women's liberation movements had grown in size and influence. However, by the 1980s the policies of the UK conservative government had turned to the right. As their neo-liberal economic policies increasingly focussed on the accumulation of individual wealth, upward social mobility and 'yuppie' consumerism, women's activism returned to the grassroots (Browne 2014). Many working class communities were experiencing de-industrialisation, the privatisation of national utilities and the attack on the trade union movement and class tensions were heightened by increasing disparities of wealth. The impact on gender identities and gender politics within that maelstrom has been examined in work exploring the women's peace movement at Greenham Common 1982-2000 (Shaw 1993, Junor 1995) and the role of women during the 1984-5 miners' strike (Measham and Allen 1994, Davies 2012, Phillips 2012). However, with the exception of Phillips' and recent commemorative work in Fife [4] much of this work concentrates of the experiences of women in England and Wales. As has been noted, Scotland was still being described at the end of the century as a deeply patriarchal society.

Domestic abuse consists of a number of highly gendered behaviours redolent with patriarchal norms and practices. Its place in modern Scottish public and private life offers much scope for historical study. There has been a growth in historical interest in everyday life in the recent past with oral history expanding its reach as an ideal medium for exploring many aspects of everyday private life from living memory (Abrams 1998, Breitenbach 2006, Abrams 2010, Bartie and McIvor 2013, Abrams 2014).

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[4] *Here We Go: Women Living the Strike* presented and directed by Maggie Wright (TV2Day, Independent Video Production, 2009)

Conclusion

This chapter has identified the limitations in historical knowledge about domestic abuse for the post-war and late twentieth century period in Scotland. Firstly, a contribution to existing knowledge can be made by incorporating recent theoretical and methodological approaches in order to historicise working and middle class women's lifetime experiences of domestic abuse from beyond the urban central belt and across the longer time frame of 1945 to 1992. No studies were found which include the voices and histories of women who did not contact support agencies during this period. Little is known also about agency responses to domestic abuse unconnected to women's aid which includes the voices of criminal justice and social welfare professionals. By addressing these themes using the study's research questions, any links between agency responses and women's disclosure decisions during this period can be identified. Domestic abuse in the post-WW 2 period in Scotland therefore offered considerable research potential for a feminist approach to oral history. Since the publication of *Violence Against Wives* in 1979, there have been valuable archive and commemorative projects, grey literature, campaigning and community history projects which whet a growing appetite for more understanding of the history of this complex issue.

This chapter has outlined the methodological and conceptual limitations of crime survey methodology for providing wider contextual data on the extent of domestic abuse, its nature and impact in late twentieth century Scotland and why it was considered common but under-reported and undisclosed. This confirmed what has been acknowledged elsewhere, that the private world of Scottish gender relations in the latter decades of the twentieth century remains largely unexamined by historians (McIvor 1996, Abrams 2010). A contribution can thus be made to our knowledge of the private experience of domestic abuse, and what, if any, impact the changing social context of post-war Scotland had on that experience.

The public story of domestic abuse in Scotland and its progress to becoming a public issue over the last forty years has, to some extent been mediated through the campaigning, service developments, recollections and achievements of the Scottish WLM and of SWA. Literature emerging from the movement has contributed greatly to public awareness, knowledge and prevention. However, aspects of the history of the domestic abuse in Scotland remain hidden. In 1983, Hanmer noted that across the UK 'the true demand for refuges has yet to be established' (Hanmer 1983:47). This suggests a substantial mismatch between the numbers of women approaching women's aid for help and the numbers who did not come forward but who, nevertheless, may have been in need of such services. The chapter argued therefore that there is a need to examine domestic abuse in a way which includes the personal and professional experiences of individuals unconnected to women's aid

and to examine these using a historical, context specific approach which can capture lifetime experience of domestic abuse in the changing times of late twentieth century Scotland. The chapter concluded that a feminist historical approach to the study of domestic abuse in post-war Scotland would build on international developments in feminist scholarship, gender studies and historiography and contribute to the historicisation of domestic abuse in Scottish history.

While it has been shown that the true extent of domestic abuse in intimate relationships in post-war Scotland may remain unknown, estimates suggest prevalence was high. This review of the literature has argued that the reasons for non-disclosure in the late twentieth century may have deeper roots in the long-standing subordination of women in both private and public life in Scotland. At that time, the issue began to be emerge as a key element in the struggle for women's equality across the UK. The emergence of gender as a category of analysis has proved a valuable means of explaining domestic abuse with reference to gender discourses of power and their influence on private life in the past. The value of this approach to studies focussed on working and middle class marriage and marital conflict in previous centuries in Scotland and in the interwar period in Glasgow has been noted. The *context-specific* study carried out by Dobash and Dobash in the 1970s was based partly on Scottish data. However, a gap exists for a study using a gender analysis to examine domestic abuse historically over the longer time frame of post-war period Scotland. A historical examination of the influence of wider contextual factors on contemporary personal and professional lives for the broader post-war period would contribute to the historiography of this important issue.

The gaps in the literature for illuminating knowledge of lifetime experiences of domestic abuse in the second half of the twentieth century period have been outlined. Personal testimonies can provide unique insights into the complexities of everyday private life in their immediate social context. Oral history research with those who experienced domestic abuse outwith those recruited through women's refuges is limited. There is therefore a need to explore lifetime experiences of domestic abuse among women of different classes from across Scotland to enrich the existing picture derived from crime and victimisation surveys and which builds on WA accounts about this hidden and under-reported social issue. Close examination of personal accounts from women and professionals from Scottish criminal justice and social welfare agencies would permit a close examination of why domestic abuse happened, what it was like living with it, its impact and the extent to which people reported or disclosed their abusive experiences to others. An exploration of their reasons for non-disclosure alongside contemporary social and professional responses to disclosure would also be possible. The period from the 1970s to 1992 was important in the trajectory of domestic abuse from a private to a public issue in Scotland which was also marked by contrasting trends in women's lives. During the 1970s, the issue gained an increasingly public and political profile culminating in the work and

recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Marriage in 1975. In 1979, Dobash and Dobash published their ground-breaking study of violence against wives which provided evidence and impetus to the campaign to improve policy and service responses and to change public attitudes to domestic abuse in Scotland. During the 1970s and 1980s a network of publicly funded women's aid refuges was established across Scotland (Scottish Women's Aid 2018). By the 1980s, the newly elected Conservative Government's approach to social policy advocated a return to bourgeois patriarchal 'family' values with a strong emphasis on individual self-help, home ownership and consumerism, a rolling back of the state, changes to the social welfare system and the introduction of the poll tax (Breitenbach 1989, Purvis 2013, Campbell 2015). However, the culmination of over two decades of activism occurred in 1992 when Zero Tolerance launched the first public anti-domestic abuse advertising and publicity campaign in Edinburgh (Cosgrove 1996). The study investigates domestic abuse in this changing social, political and economic context. By addressing these gaps, the study contributes to our understanding of how personal, social and political discourses and practices of gender, gender identity and domestic abuse shaped adult lives and intimate relationships and the role of domestic abuse in private life in late twentieth century Scotland.

As the period being studied was in the relatively recent past, an opportunity existed to undertake oral history research with a group of individuals prepared to share either their personal or professional experiences of life or work in the recent past. Research focussed on key research questions, undertaken with a small sample of participants in the interactive setting of an oral history interview, provided an opportunity to explore, in detail, individual childhood or adult experiences of domestic abuse or of providing professional services to those affected. The interview setting also facilitated an exploration of the impact of the wider social and cultural factors and gender discourses on individual life choices, decisions and actions or the professional practice options open to those in the front line. Studying domestic abuse in post-war Scotland will provide new findings from a transitional period for women in Scottish history. This contributes to ongoing debates about the reasons why domestic abuse continues to adversely affect many lives in twenty-first century Scotland (Humphreys, Houghton et al. 2008) and why estimates of lifetime prevalence and non-disclosure rates remain high (Donaldson and Marshall 2005, Scottish Government 2013). The study's key questions emerged from the gaps identified: what it was like living with domestic abuse across the longer time frame of post-war and late twentieth century Scotland; what was its impact on those affected; what were their reasons for non-disclosure and what were criminal justice and social welfare agency responses to this issue? Answering these questions would provide some additional historical context to the long-term aim of eradicating domestic abuse in modern Scotland (O'Hagan 2010, Scottish

Government 2010, The Scottish Government 2016). The next chapter outlines why oral history practice was central to the study's approach to research design.

CHAPTER 3

SOURCES & METHODS

Introduction

This oral history study focussed on four research questions: what was it like living with domestic abuse in post-war Scotland; what impact did it have on those directly affected; what factors influenced their decisions to disclose, seek help or leave an abusive relationship; how did professionals in criminal justice and social welfare agencies respond to those seeking help or disclosing domestic abuse? Domestic abuse is a sensitive and intensely private issue which can be difficult to talk about. Researching the issue therefore raised methodological and ethical challenges; how was the study to be described, how and where was it was to be publicised and what definitions and inclusion criteria should be used to recruit participants? Domestic abuse experiences are often a hidden aspect of people's lives and disclosing difficult memories to a stranger in an interview setting can be distressing. I also had to consider the personal impact of hearing potentially distressing content during the interview. I considered a feminist approach to oral history research design to be appropriate for a study focussed on first person narratives about a sensitive personal issue.   The methodological approach taken reflected the key epistemological features of feminist research:

> …valuing women's lived experiences as a legitimate source of knowledge, appreciating the influence of context in the production of knowledge, respecting the role of reflexivity in the research process, rejecting traditional subject–object dualisms, and attending to gender, power, and transformative social action (Plummer, 2010:307).

Firstly, this chapter describes the study's feminist approach to oral history methodology. By addressing a relatively hidden aspect of women's history the study reflects an early stage of oral history practice, that of   'recovery', but also contributes to the current 'inter-disciplinary' phase of oral history, described as a 'bricolage' (Abrams 2010). Secondly, the chapter outlines the study's interdisciplinary research design and how this helped navigate a complex ethical terrain in order to successfully recruit, interview and collect the personal narratives of twenty-six participants (twenty-one women and five men). Thirdly, the chapter describes the range of archival and secondary source material which was consulted to enable the oral history narratives to be analysed in contextual relationship to each other and to contemporary patriarchal discourses and practices.   Finally, the chapter demonstrates the ecological approach taken to analysing the narratives in their contemporary context in order to answer the study's questions.

Feminist oral history

The limitations of research aimed at quantifying the full extent of domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland were outlined in Chapter Two. Crime statistics and victimisation surveys failed adequately to capture the private, relational, psychological and emotional dimensions of domestic abuse which reflect the development of more nuanced typologies of domestic abuse (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Stark 2007, Johnson 2008, Hanmer and Itzin 2013). Further, where surveys involved interviews or the completion of a questionnaire in a one to one setting these were found to be insufficiently sensitive to the confidential nature, breadth and context of the topic under investigation, and to considerations of the impact of the researcher/participant relationship on the nature of the information being disclosed. However, the strengths of the interview setting for exploring sensitive and challenging subjects have been recognised particularly by feminist oral historians who have been influential in developing relational research practices for exploring women's lives, memory and gender identity in context – key themes relevant to this study.

Oral history offered an appropriate means of investigating private experiences recalled in living memory and especially in relation to hitherto unexplored aspects of private life including its more challenging, traumatic or taboo aspects. An approach building on feminist research principles provided a useful starting point. Investigating sensitive and highly personal experiences required a keen awareness of the inter-personal dynamic present in the participant/researcher relationship, and the need to ensure everyone's emotional and physical safety. Developments in the focus, theory and method of oral history practice merged with advances in feminist oral history practice to reinforce the value of this approach.

Since its origins, oral history practice has developed substantially beyond its original function of 'recovery' through three paradigm shifts (Thomson 2007): the traditional, social-historical and cultural-interpretive phases (Green and Troup 1999, Summerfield 2004). The discipline evolved beyond straightforward data gathering to considerations of the interactive and dynamic nature of the interview process itself and a deeper analysis of interview texts (Anderson and Jack 1991) in a move away from post-war positivism towards contemporary inter-disciplinarity (Sheftel and Zembrzycki 2016). The socio-historical phase was part of the left-wing and Marxist-inspired history movements in the 1970s seeking to recover social 'history from below' and the work of the Popular Memory Group (Popular Memory Group 1982, Thompson 1991). Studies about the experiences of groups marginalised by gender, class, ethnicity or geography provided a critical counterweight to a bias observed in traditional historical scholarship which, it was argued, tended to focus on ruling elites, economic and political power structures, and the business of states (Hobsbawm 1971, Roberts 1984,

Smith 1984, Thompson 2000, Bickford-Smith, Field et al. 2001). During this period, oral history narratives were being recovered in order to illuminate the lives of individual working class men and women and groups through their memories of past times in order to enrich knowledge of the wider historical context (Roberts 1977, Roberts 1984, Roberts 1990, Thompson 1992). These developments were part of wider trends in social science research which challenged traditional positivist research methods.

In the 1970s and 1980s, oral historians became involved in anti-positivist trends in history and social science methodology and practice particularly in relation to objectivity, defined as 'value-free research which requires the elimination of researcher intrusion' (Yow 1997:55) and the subjectivity/objectivity binary. Youngson observed that the historian produces 'a version of events which he himself [sic] finds believable and agreeable in the sense that it accords with his view of human nature and of how things are apt to happen' (in Donnachie and Whatley 1992:3). Oral historians had begun to challenge the subjective/objective binary beloved of positivist historians who questioned the validity of individual narratives and memories of past events or experiences in historical scholarship (for summary see Portelli 1981 also Scheftel and Zembrzycki 2016), 'There is no such thing as writing "objective history". It's like reading the telephone book, if you were going to write objective history. It would be a series of names. It would be meaningless' (Grele and Terkel 1991:85). Feminist researchers also argued that researchers could not ignore the inter-subjective relationship they had with their research 'subjects' and that knowledge 'produced by subjects situated in particular social relations and historical discourses', was not 'objectively there' (Cosslett, Lury et al. 2000:2). Surveying these debates, Kennedy noted a false distinction between oral history testimony as chronicle and narrative on the one hand and as evidence and interpretation on the other (Kennedy 2001). For her,

> A judicial approach to historiography and the retreat to an authority allegedly grounded in factual accuracy, protects the historian from the need to consider his or her own subject-position in relation to the events under consideration (Kennedy 2001:511).

Passerini, whose work marked a decisive shift from reconstructive to interpretive oral history, regarded narratives as valuable both for their factual and cultural content which included 'not only literal narrations but also the dimensions of memory, ideology and subconscious desires' (Passerini 1979:84). By ignoring the 'twin aspects of subjectivity' of narrator and researcher, she argued, oral historians risked denying the importance of the dynamic interaction between individuals and the cultural milieu in which they grew up, lived and made sense of their lives – this milieu also included the oral historian and their research.

Oral historians, influenced by post-structuralist theory from the 1980s onwards, contributed to the late 20th century linguistic and cultural turn of post-modern theory in the humanities and the social sciences (Brown 2005) which recognised 'the fundamental constitutive role of language and cultural discourses in shaping individual interpretations of experience' (Green 2004:35).   The impact of hegemonic linguistic discourses of power on social structures, individual lives and personal identity became more closely examined in, for example, Thomson's study of former Anzac servicemen and Summerfield's work with women recalling their wartime lives (Summerfield 1998, Thomson 2006, Abrams 2010).   This acknowledgement of the wider social influences on individual growth and development brought broader understandings of their impact on individual identity, development and life choices. This was particularly relevant in relation to gender.

Feminist oral historians challenged the gendered as well as the class and race bias and focus of previous scholarship and methodology (Etter-Lewis 1991, Sangster 1994, Hall 2000, Hall 2013). In keeping with trends elsewhere in history and the social sciences, the use of gender as a category of analysis grew (Scott 1986). Feminist standpoint theories of the 1990s highlighted ' the importance of relations of power in the production of knowledge' (Crasnow 2009:191) and argued that oppressed groups, such as women, derived knowledge from their standpoints which were 'socially situated' within prevailing power discourses (McClish, 2002:28). In their view, knowledge generated from the standpoint of those in oppressed groups had value and that consequently women, as one such group, should be regarded as 'epistemically privileged' (Harding 1997, Hekman 1997, McClish and Bacon 2002:28, Crasnow 2009, Rasool 2013). The feminist approach to oral history validated women's experiences, subjectivity and theorised gender as a discourse which exerted a powerful influence on women's identity. This approach became a foundation for research exploring how women lived and viewed their lives and sense of themselves, how they learned, developed their knowledge and struggled 'to claim the power of their own minds' (Belenky 1986:3, McGuckin 1992).

Feminist oral historians also acknowledged that, 'like most oppositions, gender relations are reframed in every period of history' (Leydesdorff, Passerini & Thompson 2005: 8). They redirected their focus and methodology towards a re-examination of history from a gendered perspective to correct what they regarded as the marginalisation of women's past lives in scholarship and historiography. Absorbing lessons from the social sciences and cultural studies, oral history became a valuable medium for the study of women's lives in the past and for illuminating women's lives in the present. Feminist approaches to oral history acknowledged the role of reflexivity, subjectivity and inter-subjectivity in the research process. Practice began to develop which ensured regular reflection of the dynamics in play in the relationship between researcher and narrator (Yow 1995, Yow 1997);

the construction of a 'feminist frame' for the conduct of the interview process (Minister 1991) and the interpretation, meaning and analysis of recorded oral testimonies (Armitage and Gluck 1998). In the 1990s, Gluck and Patai observed that feminist oral historians, by incorporating multi-disciplinary perspectives into their methodology and knowledge base, were contributing to the continuing collective feminist project. While restoring women's stories to the historical record remained important, the practice had 'moved beyond celebration of women's experience to a more nuanced understanding of the complexities of doing oral history' (Patai and Gluck 1991:3). For McGuckin, 'analysis of women's experience, using both social and self-knowledge has been put forward as the central tenet of a feminist methodology'(McGuckin 1992:203). Feminist oral history practice thus historicised women's narratives by contextualising their experiences and revealing the traces of wider socio-economic and cultural forces in their accounts of how they lived and interpreted their lives (Anderson and Jack 1991, Armitage and Gluck 1998). Working within a feminist framework therefore, the study took a multi- disciplinary approach to address the sensitivities of recruiting participants, the inter-subjective dimensions of the interview setting and to analysing the narratives.

Reflexivity, subjectivity and inter-subjectivity

In my early communications with them, prospective participants asked me why I was doing the research. I felt it was important to share my own motivation for doing the research just as they had shared theirs with me and to position myself and my research practice in discourse. This became a key element in building rapport. I came to the study for professional, personal and political reasons. I was born into a family of political activists, developed a keen eye for injustice and became a feminist as a teenager. I am a feminist activist, journalist, academic, and former local government lead officer for domestic abuse and violence against women. I currently lead a national campus gender-based violence prevention project. I graduated with a history degree and for twenty-five years I lectured on access, undergraduate and post-graduate courses in the humanities and social sciences specialising in Caribbean, Scottish and women's history and in adult education. As a new adult educator in the 1980s, I was greatly influenced by the work of hooks (hooks 1989, hooks 2013, hooks 2014), Kuhn, Steedman, Freire and Kolb, (Freire 1970, Steedman 1987, Kuhn 2002, Kolb 2014), particularly the interaction between learning processes, gender, knowledge development, memory and history in women's lives and social movements. I have seen at first hand the destructive power of domestic abuse on women and children's lives through my work, in my own family's history and in the lives of friends, colleagues and students over the years. In the course of my work, I became aware of gaps in the historical literature about domestic abuse in twentieth century Scotland; my curiosity led to initial literature searches and a conclusion that this was a hidden history worth telling. I have learned a great deal about domestic abuse in my professional life and from supporting women and hearing their stories. I

have also learned that bringing about positive change in women's lives requires collective praxis combining knowledge and action. This has furnished me with the interpersonal skills, knowledge and experience to undertake the study but also to work directly with participants whose own experiences and motivations have brought them to my study. I am older than most PhD students and undertook this study part-time towards the end of my professional career because I still had many unanswered questions about domestic abuse. I therefore bring my own history and motivations to my oral history research practice. Without over-sharing, I felt it was important to clarify my role as a feminist researcher, to maintain a clear professional boundary whilst also positioning my own subjectivity in the currents of domestic abuse discourse in Scotland in the early twentieth-first century. By engaging in a degree of mutual self-disclosure in the early stages of communication, I was able to build and maintain rapport with my participants before, during and after the interview. Some remain in touch. They said they found it easy to talk to me and perhaps that is why they felt able to share sometimes very distressing details about their lives and, for the professionals, the circumstances they encountered which were still recalled with sadness and at times regret. I was, at times, extremely moved and upset by what I heard but remained mindful of the need for consistency and clarity in my role as a researcher and responsibilities in the research setting. My training helped me to contain my feelings in order to prioritise theirs. There is a risk for professionals that hearing about the traumatic events in other people's lives can result in the listener experiencing vicarious trauma. Good practice when working with sensitive issues recommends access to external support. I therefore arranged for this to be available throughout the interview phase of my study. I was surprised to observe however, that I often became extremely upset and angry as I was listening to the interviews through headphones during transcription. I took regular breaks, and was able to talk this over with my support worker. The importance of ongoing self-care in this type of research environment is paramount.

The study's research design drew on research highlighting oral history's relational nature and the need to create a safe and ethical environment from the start. This would ensure participants felt able to share their experiences in a non-judgemental setting where trust and equality could emerge and where the impact of potentially distressing conversations was minimised. Figlio compared embarking on a new historical research project to starting a new relationship and invited consideration of the 'intangible and emotional side of research', suggesting that researcher and participant '…are drawn together to share in a story' and that the audience for that story is also part of the relational context of the research' (Figlio 1988:121). Feminist social scientists also observed the dialectic dimension of the interviewer/interviewee relationship, an inter-subjective, dynamic co-construction involving the subjectivity and reflexivity of the researcher (Plummer, 2010:315). For Thomson also, the dimensions of subjectivity and inter-subjectivity in the interview setting incorporate the wider

interactions of each individual's life including those in their immediate circle and in the wider environment and culture (Thomson 2006:240). Oral history practice developed beyond straightforward memory recovery to considerations of the importance of the relational aspects of oral history interviewing, the external influences on the construction of memory and identity formation and their expression during the interview itself.

Building on earlier work drawing attention to the psychological aspects of oral history (Figlio 1988), the interaction of emotions, gender and memory in the formation of subjectivity and composure attracted feminist scholars and oral historians whose practice was firmly rooted in feminist activism and collective struggle (Armitage and Gluck 1998, Hirsch and Smith 2002). The impact of prevailing hegemonic power structures and socio-cultural discourses on women's emotions, and how they spoke of themselves and understood their lives, was recognised as significant (Leydesdorff, Passerini et al. 2005, Bourke 2012, Clifford 2012). Building on the consciousness raising (CR) groups of the 1970s' WLM, much of the focus of feminist praxis and feminist oral history was to create opportunities for women to speak or write about their lives and experiences and to interpret them (Belenky 1986, Cosslett, Lury et al. 2000, hooks 2013). CR groups aimed 'to encourage participants to explore their life experiences and to transform these into 'a shared awareness' of women's oppression' (Browne 2014:45). Groups were organised non-hierarchically with authority shared collectively. Women were encouraged to speak openly and honestly about their lives in a safe and supportive environment. According to Browne, 'the domestic setting of CR groups opened the doors not only to each other's past experiences but also to their present lives' (Browne 2014:53). Common themes from lived experiences emerged and their conclusions informed feminist theory and activism. The importance of women's personal accounts of their experiences of domestic abuse to the problematizing of domestic abuse and to the development of women's aid activism has been noted. CR groups provided a mechanism and a safe quasi-domestic setting for the transmission of private experiences into public discourse and were particularly effective in providing evidence to inform campaigns against domestic abuse and rape. For the women themselves, the unique private/public setting of the CR groups, often held in women's homes, provided a safe environment for the public disclosure of details of women's private lives and relationships and an opportunity for others to bear witness to those experiences. The unique context of CR groups held lessons for oral history practice in the creation of safe public/private spaces where women could share intimate details of their lives. The presence of active listeners in this context also parallels the one-to-one interview setting and the success and effectiveness of the empathetic CR model may be derived from the presence of other dynamics in the process.

The 'cultural circuits' at work looping private and public stories into inter-subjective processes and dynamics through cultural scripts and psychological schemas were identified as key influences on individual recall, memory and narrative (Green 2004, Summerfield 2004, Thomson 2006, Dawson 2013). Some oral historians considered collective cultural memory to have pre-eminence over individual memory in this process. However, this was challenged by others for its denial of individual agency and reflexivity in resisting, critiquing or rejecting dominant discourses and for minimising the individual's capacity for resolving conflicts between personal and collective values (Passerini 1979, Portelli 1997, Green 2004, Smith 2007). This re-assertion of the importance of the dialectic within individual memory throughout the life course and between individual and collective memory confirmed a key role for the oral history interview in stimulating individual memory in 'an active process of creation of meanings' (Thomson 2015:25). For feminist oral history practice, the relational nature of the interview offered the narrator an opportunity to describe, reflect, interpret or re-interpret their own past in the telling (Clifford 2012, Hyden 2013). According to Alexievich the listener/researcher in an interview is surrounded by 'an invisible world'. At least three persons participate in the conversation: the one who is talking now, the one she was then, at the moment of the event, and myself. My goal is to get to the truth of those years. Of those days' (Alexievich 2017:xx). In this way, according to Summerfield, narrators may experience dis/composure but also re-composure as they create new meaning and interpretations of past experiences (Summerfield 2004). This proved to be particularly important when working with potentially traumatic memories.

Working with traumatic memory

By the late twentieth century, individual testimony acquired particular salience in a world coming to terms with the impact of warfare, genocide, war crimes, discrimination, the struggle for civil and human rights in an atmosphere of reconstruction, recrimination and retribution (Rogers and Leydesdorff 2002). Working with memory in the context of the Holocaust has been particularly influential in advancing oral history practice when interviewing people traumatised by their own or by witnessing others' experiences (Bernard-Donals and Glejzer 2000, LaCapra 2001, Prince 2002, Ryan 2005). Personal narratives of traumatic experiences in other contexts have also been recorded for human rights, criminal justice, social justice and reconciliation purposes, to support movements seeking reparation, and to facilitate individual and community recovery. The complexities of undertaking oral history research in these contexts have been exposed and the limits of achieving objective truth, 'healing' or closure identified (Klempner 2000, Kennedy 2001, Field 2006, K'Meyer and Crothers 2007). Passerini was clear in her warning that without a rigorous approach to scholarship

and analysis in these contexts, oral history risked becoming a 'form of populism that is to replace certain of the essential tenets of scholarship with facile democratisation' to become 'merely an alternative ghetto where at last the oppressed can be allowed to speak' (Passerini 1979:84-85). People's reflections and emotional responses to past activities and events offered rich resources for oral historians. They also offered a unique lens through which to view the impact of historical events and provide more nuanced, inter-subjective narratives alongside traditional documentary or public sources. Oral history methodology became more sophisticated in its approach to the development of ethical practice in work with people who were traumatised (Yow 1995, K'Meyer and Crothers 2007, Sloan 2008, Sheftel and Zembrzycki 2010, Jessee 2011), in the conduct of interviews and in the interpretation of their testimonies (Dawson 1994, LaCapra 2001, Dawson 2005, Field 2006, Leys 2010). Drawing on experience from other disciplines including psychology, therapy, ethnography and criminology, oral history extended its reach into previously less accessible, more private areas of memory including the traumatic. These deepened wider understanding of public atrocities, the actions of perpetrators and the impact on victims, survivors and witnesses (Godfrey 2003).

Developments in the fields of psychiatry, psychology and therapy, in particular, have deepened our understanding of the impact of trauma. Research has shown that 'the rupturing of an individual's senses of internal and external worlds leaves post-traumatic legacies such as dissociation, depression and hypersensitivity' (Field 2006:31). Since the 1990s, domestic and sexual abuse of women and children in private relationships and settings have become more widely contextualised within a broader continuum of hegemonic and highly gendered social control structures (Kelly 1987, Herman 1997, Cockburn 2004, Stark 2007, Johnson 2008, Cockburn 2013, Pain 2014). Trauma-informed approaches are now considered best practice in therapeutic, counselling and other support work with child and adult trauma survivors in the UK (Humphreys, Houghton et al. 2008, Scottish Women's Budget Group 2010, Tagg 2011, Haggerty and Young 2013). Trauma-informed approaches recognise the needs of the survivor for safety, providing an opportunity to process traumatic memories and for the gradual rebuilding of trust and healthy attachments in their personal relationships.

Repeated exposure to such mental anguish, which can be neither disclosed nor denied, is known as the dialect of trauma. Herman historicises trauma and argues that a dialectic of trauma can be present at both the individual and social levels.

> The conflict between the will to deny horrible events and the will to proclaim them aloud is
> the central dialectic of psychological trauma…the knowledge of horrible events periodically

intrudes into public awareness but is rarely retained for long….therefore an understanding of psychological trauma begins with rediscovering history (Herman 1997:1).

The social dialectic of trauma was particularly evident, for example, following disclosures of the extensive and long-term sexual abuse of children in care settings by celebrities (Moore 2012, Greer and McLaughlin 2013) and cases of sexual violence perpetrated by public figures in the UK (Penny 2013). The findings of public inquiries into the widespread sexual exploitation of children in England highlighted institutional cover-ups and failure to take effective action (Ansbro 2014, Rajeev 2014). The dialectic is often resolved by denial that it is common, minimisation of its likely severity or impact or by attributing agency to victims which perpetrators have in fact removed – also known as victim-blaming. The impact on abuse victims and survivors can be profound and public responses to traumatic experiences and disclosures have served historically to silence and stigmatise victims.

Recruiting participants

The research design aimed to enhance the opportunity for disclosure by adopting a staged approach to recruitment which would help build rapport between participant and researcher in an environment of openness, privacy and safety at each stage (Ellsberg, Jansen et al. 2008). In the first stage of the recruitment process, an advertising poster (Appendix B) was developed with brief information about the study, an invitation to participate and three inclusion criteria. The poster invited participation from those who had experienced 'conflict' in their relationships or if they had worked with people in that situation. Some methodological issues arise when defining the forms of violence which may take place in the family (Weis 1989). The general term 'conflict' was used at this stage because, when used in the context of family relationships, it can describe physical fighting, assaults, arguments, disagreements and difficulties in relationships. Conflict can be commonplace in relationships or families but this study was focussed on the particular types of conflict which had occurred between married or co-habiting adults. In order to ascertain whether particular forms of conflict and abuse experienced by participants would be identified as 'domestic abuse' (the term commonly used in Scotland is understood to comprise physical, emotional, psychological, sexual and financial abuse), participants were invited in email, telephone or write to me for more information about the study. The poster also included my contact details for inquiries: a dedicated mobile telephone number and my university postal and email address. The poster stated clearly that all enquiries would be treated in confidence. During these communications, those who met the first and second criteria were very open in describing their experiences of 'conflict' in their relationships.

In line with World Health Organisation Guidance on conducting domestic abuse research, multiple behaviour specific questions about domestic abuse were used in these communications

(Garcia-Moreno, Jansen et al. 2006).   The initial use of the term 'conflict' followed by questions about individual acts or forms of behaviour allowed the participant to interpret or define their subjective experience in their own way using terms of their choosing. It also removed any negative associations attached to identification with what can be perceived as stigmatised groups such as 'domestic abuse victims', 'battered women', or 'battered wives' (Garcia-Moreno, Jansen et al. 2006, Ellsberg, Jansen et al. 2008). This approach has been used successfully in a number of prevalence studies carried out in primary care settings   (Bradley, Smith et al. 2002, Richardson, Coid et al. 2002). While not all participants used the term 'domestic abuse' it was clear from the conversations and email exchanges that what the participants had experienced was in fact domestic abuse in one or more of its forms. During the period covered by this study the terms 'wife beating', 'wife assault', 'battered wife' were in use in the fields of law, police, criminal justice and in the media (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Dobash 1992). The nationally recognised term used in Scottish policy at the time of recruitment is 'domestic abuse' (Scottish Government 2008). The term 'domestic abuse' is used throughout this study except when citing terms used in other research including for example 'intimate partner violence' (Johnson 2006, Johnson 2008), 'domestic violence' and 'woman abuse' (Kelly 1988, Morley, Mullender et al. 1994). From the outset, the study utilised features of epidemiological studies which focus on lifetime experience of domestic abuse rather than individual incidents occurring during a specified period. This technique has been shown to enhance the opportunities for the disclosure of personal, intimate, private or confidential information by participants (Weis 1989, Mirrlees-Black and Byron 1999, Bradley, Smith et al. 2002, Richardson, Coid et al. 2002). Such a research design and methodology avoids being prescriptive about the experiences being researched and ensures sensitivity to the intimate nature of the disclosures being sought.

Recruitment presented me with challenges: how was I to publicise a study among a hidden section of the general population which would elicit a response which could be in itself a disclosure; how was I to recruit professionals? Three factors contributed to the success of my recruitment strategy. Firstly, my experience of contacting 'hard to reach' and socially isolated groups such as domestic abuse survivors proved useful. I had learned that this is best done through personal contact and providing information to local community groups, activists, organisations, workers, employers and networks, in local hubs, through personal contact and word of mouth. To maximise the reach of the poster, paper copies of the were displayed in a wide range of public settings including workplace noticeboards, doctor's surgeries, community centres and local shops using personal contacts and networks as well as direct 'cold' approaches across the country. The poster was sent as a news release to the *Oban Times*, *Ullapool News*, *Stornoway Gazette* and *Press and Journal* and followed up by phone calls to the editors, with limited success. Only the *Ullapool News* carried a short item on the study.

Overall, the distribution covered most areas of Scotland, the north, west and east of the country and included the Scottish Borders, the central belt, from Shetland to Kirkcudbright, from the Island of Eigg to Dundee. Secondly, in order to recruit professionals, the poster was also distributed widely by email through my professional networks including police, criminal justice and social work services, third sector organisations; through public and third sector newsletters and bulletins. My recruitment poster was distributed to a number of NHS settings including health centres and GP surgeries and to networks of health professionals but elicited no inquiries from health professionals enquiring about participation. I also applied for research access to recruit participants from staff and prisoners within the Scottish Prison Service but my request was declined. The grounds of the refusal were that they were currently managing a number of research projects and they did not have the capacity to support my work. Though wide ranging across the country and aimed at recruiting participants from urban, rural and island communities, the study's recruitment strategy was unsuccessful in obtaining enquiries from women living in rural or island communities north and west of Tayside or south of the central belt. As a part-time student with a full-time job and limited time and resources, I was unable to more pro-actively engage with distant communities to promote the study in person and had to rely on remote email communication with contacts in those areas. This resulted in a sample which, though varied, was not as geographically diverse as I had hoped. Recruitment took place in 2013 and email distribution and resulted in twenty-three rich and detailed narratives lasting between one and a half to two hours. While this provided sufficient data for my purposes, news of my research did continue to spread around the country and I received further enquiries. These resulted in three more interviews which took place in 2016 and 2017.

In order to facilitate purposive sampling, email recipients were invited to cascade or re-distribute the email or post information on social media and other websites thus snowballing the original email. This proved to be the most successful strategy overall. Receiving the email indirectly proved effective in reaching the study's target groups. Linda, who received my invitation email indirectly through a colleague who knew about her past, regarded participation as part of her long-term recovery,

> Wherever the email came from, [colleague] was part of the group that got it and she automatically thought of myself and she forwarded it to me. So I was sitting at that position saying, 'I could dae this now'. It just seems to be the time. And because ae all the clearing that I've been doing this maybe just… (Linda b. 1967).

The three inclusion criteria were designed to ensure participants were self-selecting. Should any participant fulfil two or more criteria, any disclosure by professionals of prior experience of domestic

abuse was voluntary and made on the basis of informed consent. The recruitment strategy had positive but unexpected outcomes. Ten of the women participants who were interviewed about their past experiences of domestic abuse had, after their abusive marriages/relationships ended, gone on to become professionals or activists in the field of equalities, domestic abuse or gender-based violence. Their involvement in these fields was also a key motivating factor in their willingness to participate in the study. In the majority of these cases, the women's past experiences, and not their professional experiences, occurred during the study's time period and this became the basis of the narratives they agreed to provide. Overall, the study's open recruitment strategy therefore yielded a group of women whose past lives and histories of abuse were undisclosed at the time but who now felt comfortable doing so for the purposes of historical research – something which all of them felt was important. Dot, one of two participants who had personal experience of domestic abuse in the past and who also worked in the field in the period being studied, recalled receiving the email indirectly and being motivated to participate,

> The person who put me on to you had said that she thought that I would have a different perspective to some of the people that you had already spoken to and eh…I do have a wealth of memories if I can remember them so that was really it. And then of course after I got in touch with you it all…some of it did come flooding back (Dot b. 1949).

Thirdly, the period of recruitment from 2013 – 2017 itself provided a conducive context for my study. Since 2000, the high profile of domestic abuse in public discourse, the political support and allocation of financial resources have raised the profile of the issue in Scotland and encouraged more women to report to the police and to support agencies. This changing social climate has led to a gradual increase in the number of incidents reported to police since 2000 and in the demand for and provision of domestic abuse support services (Scottish Government 2016; Scottish Women's Aid 2017; Safe Lives 2017). It was also evident that this climate was creating an appetite for knowledge. Promoting a study looking at the history of domestic abuse from within living memory proved very popular with many of the individuals and groups I approached for help with recruitment.

Stage two of the recruitment process began when people contacted me for more information. I received a total of 34 requests for more information. Enquiries were followed up by a personal telephone call, letter or email communication according to the preference of the person inquiring and copies of the Participant Information Sheet and Consent and Recording Agreement Forms (See Appendices C – E) were provided. Enquiries offered an early opportunity to establish rapport with potential participants by using a friendly, professional tone in all communications, answering all questions and assuring participants that they could take whatever time they needed to decide

whether to participate or not. Early email exchanges revealed personal motives for participating: 'I feel very strongly about highlighting the issue and the way domestic abuse was dealt with at that time' (Denise b. 1966). Another participant was clear, 'I am now active [working] on domestic violence and its legacy, to those who suffer it…I would like to help with your study, if possible' (Theresa b. 1963). Laura, now a poet, was clear why she wished to participate,

> I recognise the deep value of oral history work through this experience. It has taken me a long time to find my voice through all this and when my book was published I was so happy. Silence is such a strong force concerning domestic violence although I was always a wee girl who stood up to things (Laura b. 1964).

Such a sensitive area of enquiry required methodological approaches which ensured the ethical management of the research process as well as the safety and wellbeing of participants and researcher. On receiving participants' signed consent forms, a date, time and suitable place for the interview was agreed.

Ethical practice

The study's ethical framework was based on the World Health Organisation's Guidance on conducting research in the field of violence against women (Ellsberg, Heise et al. 2001), the Oral History Society Ethical Guidelines, the University's own Code of Practice and the Council for International Organization of Medical Sciences Guidance (Ellsberg and Heise 2002). The importance of balancing the academic benefits to the researcher and the University derived from participant involvement in this research project with the potential benefits to participants was acknowledged. Studies have shown that, 'an oral history interview in this and other harrowing contexts can give the interviewee affirming insights about connections and meanings in their life' (Rickard 1998:41).

The possibility of potentially defamatory information about a third party being disclosed during an interview was discussed with the participants ahead of the interview along with an assessment of the risks and benefits of making that portion of an interview available. Similarly, where such disclosure related to past or current criminal behaviour by the participant or a third party, before proceeding further with the interview, the participant was offered the choice of continuing, interrupting or ending the interview at any point. This procedure is compatible with the Oral History Society Ethical Guidelines. The Oral History Society provides clear guidance,

> A person or organisation in possession of information relating to criminal activities is legally obliged to disclose it to the police, if legal proceedings or investigations are under way in

connection with those activities. Failure may lead to conviction for perverting the course of justice and/or contempt of court.[5]

I took care to ensure I met with participants in a quiet room which protected their privacy for the duration of the interview, where they felt relaxed and comfortable. The majority of interviews took place, at their choice, in the participants' homes and one took place in a local counselling practice room. The remainder took place in a private room or office at the participant's workplace. Participants were encouraged to be mindful of their own emotional wellbeing. Some participants chose to have a relative or friend present in another room who was aware of the nature of the interview and who could provide support when the interview was over. Others informed family members of the date and time of the interview and arranged for them to be available on the telephone during or to call them when the interview was over. Some of the women spoke of their apprehension prior to the interview, of discussing this with their adult children or current partners but all were resolved to go through with the interview and were keen to share their stories and contribute to the study.

My oral history practice has benefitted from practice guidelines developed in other disciplines and settings for work with vulnerable groups (Sullivan 2004, Argyll and Clyde VAW Training Consortium 2006, Logan, Walker et al. 2008, Campbell R 2010) and from frameworks for the articulation of feminist values in organisational governance (Otto 2013). I devised a multi-disciplinary framework informed by trauma theory, feminist standpoint theory and therapeutic approaches. Herman's three-stage trauma recovery framework recognises that, firstly, the traumatised person should be safe from harm. During the second stage, therapeutic or other interventions such as counselling can help the survivor begin to reflect, speak about their experiences and process traumatic memory. At stage three, the survivor can begin to rebuild their confidence, reconnect with the wider community and social networks and bring an end to the physical and emotional isolation common to abusive relationships. During this stage survivors can recover their sense of personal agency and rebuild their lives – this was the case for all of the women survivors who participated. It was important during the process of recruitment to establish that participants willing to talk about their experiences of abuse were safe and no longer living with their abuser. Feminist standpoint theory informed the research design to help create a sufficiently safe and supportive research environment which would overcome the 'hermeneutic injustice' (Crasnow 2009:191) resulting from silences or absence of a meaningful vocabulary to describe personal experiences.   While most oral historians are not therapists, the oral history interview itself may be therapeutic and offer what Field describes as

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[5] . http://www.ohs.org.uk/ethics/

'democratic' or empowering space or opportunity for trauma survivors to recount their memories, overcome hermeneutic injustice and reinforce their sense of personal agency in doing so (Field 2006:31-42).

> It is precisely because oral historians are not psychotherapists or other care workers that they are in a unique position to document experiences, since narrators can speak more freely when their interviews are not prerequisites for any kind of aid (Sheftel & Zembrzycki 2016: 355).

This oral history study provided such an opportunity and setting for those whose experience of abuse lay in the past and were in or beyond stage three in the post-traumatic recovery process. Results of other studies involving survivor testimonies about domestic abuse and other forms of gender-based violence show the potential to support individual women's empowerment (Kasturirangan 2008, Donaldson 2013) and promote social change (Ellsberg and Heise 2002), what Herman calls the 'survivor mission' (Herman 1997:156). Rickard also noted that 'oral history around traumatic and taboo issues is contributing towards social change itself, potentially acting as a crucial conduit by which trauma is being returned to the public domain' (Rickard, 1998: 35) thus helping resolve the dialectic of trauma.

The researcher's duty of care to participants in such a sensitive area of inquiry was addressed by taking a person-centred approach utilising Rogers' core conditions of congruence, empathy and unconditional positive regard (Rogers 1980; Natiello 2001). These help promote an even balance of power, shared authority, non-judgemental practice and self-care in the interview setting. These conditions established clear personal and professional boundaries in the research relationships and facilitated the development of a relaxed and supportive environment before, during and immediately after the interview. This is especially important where, for example, gender, class, race, the content of the interview, personal attitudes, personal values or views may create difficulties between those involved. The oral historian's own motivations and desire to connect and an acknowledgement of reflexivity and inter-subjectivities in the interview dynamic are key elements of their practice (Yow 1997). Emotional intelligence provides a sound and humane basis for personal and professional relationships including oral history interviews (Salovey and Mayer 1989, Goleman 1998, Bar-On and Parker 2000). Awareness of and taking responsibility for how we are feeling and behaving, maintaining respectful personal boundaries, and communication are basic rules for healthy interpersonal and professional relationships. Having regard to the duty of care interviewers have to their participants, and by implementing good practice from other fields, oral historians, while not therapists, may nevertheless be involved in work on challenging topics. This can be therapeutic for participants.

When dealing with potentially traumatic responses to memories during an oral history interview Ugolini stressed the importance of being sensitive and ethical regarding issues of informed consent, anonymity and publication (Ugolini 2004:147). Oral history offers the option to waive anonymity and '…promotes the use of oral history techniques to record the memories of those whose life stories would otherwise be lost to future generations'.[6] Participants were fully informed about issues of consent and confidentiality, that participation was voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw at any time. An information sheet, consent and recording agreement forms outlined the choices, conditions and protections available to them in relation to their participation, audio recordings and transcripts (Appendices C, D and E). Participants could choose to be identified or to remain anonymous. They had the opportunity to discuss this in detail with the researcher prior to granting informed consent to participate in the study. Participants had the opportunity to detail their wishes in relation to anonymity and to place any special conditions on the future public release of their recordings and transcripts on the Recording Agreement Form. Oral History Society guidance recommends that agreements to maintain participants' anonymity in oral history productions be time limited if possible. A high motivation to participate was tempered, for some, by the need for the researcher to ensure anonymity. However, one survivor also now a professional in the field, who had originally wished to remain anonymous, changed her mind on reading her interview transcript, 'I am happy to own my own story now' (Shona b. 1963). In the event, eight participants (seven survivors and one professional) elected to remain anonymous. Pseudonyms were agreed with those participants for use in the text of this thesis. These measures ensured clarity and consistency in complying with participants' wishes. For their material to be used in any future publication, participants were invited to assign copyright to the Scottish Oral History Centre at the University of Strathclyde. However, it was made clear to participants that involvement in the study was possible without the assignment of copyright. Both the Consent Form and the Recording Agreement Form were adapted from that used by the UK Data Archive[7] (See Appendices D and E).

All written information generated during the study was saved and stored electronically in an encrypted file. Interviews were audio-recorded and I transcribed them verbatim. Hard copies of transcripts were stored in a locked filing cabinet in my office in the university. Digital audio recordings were stored on my password-encrypted computer in the University and backup copies were made on CDs. The full transcript of individual interviews was posted or emailed to the participant for checking, thus providing the opportunity to indicate if they wished anything removed. Two participants chose to remove text from their transcripts themselves and return the updated version. The material

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[6] http://www.ohs.org.uk/ethics/
[7] www.data-archive.ac.uk/create-manage/consent-ethics/consent?index=3

removed related to named third parties and was done to preserve their anonymity. This procedure is in line with their legal rights. It was made clear to participants that they were free to withdraw their contribution at any stage even after taking part in the interview and that in that event all interview recordings and any typed transcripts would be safely deleted or shredded as appropriate. None of the participants withdrew their contribution to the study. Participant information outlined that the researcher was operating strictly to the moral, ethical and legal requirements laid down by the University UEC Code of Practice and by the UK Oral History Society.

The Participants

Twenty-six participants (21 women and 5 men) took part in the study. Five women and five men were currently working or retired professionals and spoke only about their work in social welfare or criminal justice agencies during the period under study. Sixteen of the women had experienced domestic abuse as an adult and/or as a child and described their experiences. No men with experience of domestic abuse as an adult and/or as a child enquired about participating in the study. Eighteen participants (5 men and 13 women) were working or retired professionals in the fields of criminal justice, social welfare, health and equalities at the time of interview. Nine of the thirteen women professionals had experienced domestic abuse as children and/or as adults; seven of the nine began working in the fields of domestic abuse in health, criminal justice and social welfare or in the equalities field in the years following the period under study. This group of seven women became professionals in the years after the period under study and were interviewed only about their experiences of domestic abuse during the period being investigated. Two of this group of nine women professionals spoke about their experiences of domestic abuse and about their work in the field during the period under study. Thirteen of the women who spoke about their personal experience of domestic abuse described themselves as being from working class families, two as middle class and one as upper class and all grew up in Scotland during the period 1945s-1970s. They described family economies where their fathers or step-fathers were the main financial providers and included skilled and unskilled workers, one who was in the RAF, one in the merchant navy, an academic, a psychiatrist and one with inherited wealth. Many of the working class families in the narratives depended also on their mothers' part-time earnings when they did work and this was managed alongside their mothers' domestic responsibilities. All of the women's childhoods included common experiences of the patriarchal family and some also revealed experiences of domestic and sexual abuse in childhood.

Nine of the women's personal histories reveal substantial upward social mobility since childhood. For a number of the women who defined their backgrounds as working-class (Andrea, Carol, Denise, Elaine, Eve, Evelyn, Laura, Linda, Lynne, Mhairi, Sarah, Theresa and Vickie), in the period

after their divorce/separation from their abusive partners they were able to further their education and/or take up new opportunities in paid and unpaid work. Some of the women entered more highly paid employment, went on to work full-time (or did so prior to retirement), experienced significant upward social mobility. All became financially independent and became homeowners or tenants in their own right. All of the women are now living free from abuse, some, but not all, have remarried or are in long-term relationships. Seven of the women who shared their experiences of childhood and/or adult experiences of abuse became professionals working in managerial roles, front-line service provision or as advocates or activists in the field of domestic abuse or violence against women after their abusive marriages ended.

With two exceptions, all of the participants were born in areas across the central belt of Scotland or Tayside and all but one grew up in Scotland. They came from rural areas or the industrial villages and towns of Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire and West Dunbartonshire; others grew up in or around Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Edinburgh and Stirling. At the time of interview all were currently resident in Scotland and most have not moved far from where they grew up. Those who were interviewed about professional responses during the period of study all began their careers in Scotland in the 1980s and worked in the police, social work, criminal justice, Women's Aid or in government research.

Participant biographies

What follows summarises the biographical information provided by participants including their year of birth where this was provided. Fuller participant biographies are provided in Appendix H. Participants were not asked for, nor did they offer information regarding their race/ethnicity during the interviews or my communications with them. With two exceptions, all participants identified as Scottish. Where the information was provided, they were born in Scotland between 1943 and 1966 and grew up in Scotland. N assumptions were made about participants' race or ethnicity based on my meetings with them. Pseudonyms agreed with the participants are used to protect the identity of those who chose to remain anonymous. Care has been taken in the detail provided in the participant biographies. This has been carried out in a manner which ensures that, in accordance with their expressed wishes, those participants who wished to remain anonymous are not identifiable.

Andrea (b. 1960) from Lanarkshire experienced abuse and neglect and witnessed domestic abuse as a child. Andrea experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1980s. Andrea is now a Senior Manager in Social Work Services.

Arthur (b. 1960) from Lanarkshire trained as a social worker in Glasgow in the 1980s and worked as a social worker in Glasgow and Lanarkshire during the 1980s and 1990s. His caseload included many families where there was domestic abuse. Arthur became a college lecturer in the 1990s and is now a university lecturer in social work.

Bob (YOB not provided) joined Strathclyde Police in the 1980s. Bob became head of Strathclyde Police's Domestic Abuse Task Force and was responsible for developing the Force's Domestic Abuse Policy. Bob is now retired.

Carol (b. 1953) grew up in Paisley and trained as a nurse. Carol experienced abuse during her marriage in the 1970s and 1980s. She recently retired from her position as senior theatre sister.

Dave (YOB not provided) was a criminal justice social worker and with Monica (also interviewed) became Joint Coordinator of the Change Programme, Scotland's first court mandated group work programme for convicted domestic abuse offenders. Dave is now a university lecturer in criminal justice social work.

Denise (b. 1966) grew up in Lanarkshire. Denise experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Denise trained as an accountant and is now a manager in the third sector.

Dot (b. 1949) grew up in Edinburgh. Dot witnessed domestic abuse as a child and was sexually abused by her father. She experienced domestic abuse during her marriage in the 1970s and 1980s. Dot worked for Scottish Women's Aid in the 1980s. Dot is now retired.

Elaine (b. 1957) grew up in a large family in Dundee. Elaine experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1970s and 1980s. Elaine trained as a social worker in the 1990s and is now a Senior Manager of Criminal Justice Services including the management of interventions with convicted domestic abuse perpetrators.

Eve (b. 1949) from Glasgow experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1970s and 1980s. Eve worked as a nurse throughout her marriage and is now retired.

Evelyn (b. 1947) from Lanarkshire experienced domestic abuse during her marriage and went on to be one of the founders of Strathkelvin Women's Aid.

Geraldine (b. 1951) grew up in rural Stirlingshire and attended boarding school as a child. Geraldine experienced domestic abuse in her second marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Geraldine trained and worked as a teacher and later worked in the field of equalities and human rights. Geraldine is now retired.

Iain (YOB not provided) was born in Glasgow, trained as a lawyer at Glasgow University in the 1970s and worked in private practice for many years. Iain entered the Crown Office Procurator Fiscal Service and became an Area Procurator Fiscal. He is now retired.

Jackie (YOB not provided) is a retired criminologist and formerly head of the criminological research branch of the Scottish Office (SO) from 1976 until 1997. Jackie was involved in developing research on domestic abuse and rape during the 1970s and 1980s. Jackie was instrumental in allocating SO funds to the Russell and Rebecca Dobash *Violence Against Wives* research project in the 1970s.

John (b. 1952) from Lanarkshire joined Strathclyde Police in the 1980s and later established and became Director of the Violence Reduction Unit which aimed to prevent gang violence in Glasgow. John is now retired.

Laura (b. 1964) grew up in Ayrshire. Laura and her younger sister witnessed domestic abuse as children. Laura was physically and emotionally abused as a child. Laura graduated from Edinburgh University in the 1980s and is now a poet and writer.

Linda (b. 1967) grew up in Ayrshire where she still lives. Linda experienced domestic abuse during her first marriage in the 1980s. Linda currently works in local government and is a part-time therapist.

Lorraine (YOB not provided) grew up in Lanarkshire and was one of the founding members of Strathkelvin Women's Aid.

Lynne (b.1961) grew up in Glasgow and experienced domestic abuse from her boyfriend during the 1980s. Lynne is a professional photographer.

Mhairi (b. 1955) grew up in the Vale of Leven and experienced domestic abuse in her first marriage during the 1980s. Mhairi became Group Manager of Glasgow's city-wide Violence against Women Services and is now retired.

Monica (YOB not provided) with Dave (also interviewed), was the Joint Coordinator of CHANGE, Scotland's first court mandated group work programme for convicted domestic abuse offenders. Monica is now retired.

Roisin (1960) grew up in Renfrewshire and trained in social work at Glasgow University. Roisin worked with families where there was domestic abuse during the 1980s and 1990s in the Greenock area. Roisin now works in higher education and is a Teaching Fellow in Social Work.

Sarah (b. 1961) grew up in a large family in Lanarkshire. Sarah experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Sarah began work in the field of health in the 1990s.

Shona (b. 1963) was born in Reading and moved to Stirling as a teenager. Shona experienced domestic abuse from her boyfriend in the 1980s. Shona worked in the field of domestic abuse prevention with young people in the 2000s and is now a counsellor.

Sue (b. 1950) is from Edinburgh and was involved in Scottish Women's Aid movement from the 1970s until the 1990s. She held the position of Scottish Women's Aid National Coordinator during the 1980s. Sue is retired.

Theresa (b. 1963) grew up in Barrhead and Paisley. Theresa experienced abuse as a child and witnessed domestic abuse in her family. She experienced domestic abuse in her marriage in the 1980s and 1990s. Theresa works in a voluntary capacity with women's groups in her area.

Vickie (b. 1943) grew up in Glasgow and as a child, witnessed her father's abuse of her mother. She experienced domestic abuse in her own marriage. After her marriage, Vickie was a foster carer for many years and has since retired.

Interviewing

The intersubjective setting of an oral history interview focussed on deeply personal aspects of women's private lives benefited from an approach to framing the interview based on what Minister describes as women's distinctive 'socio-communication subculture': non-hierarchical; acknowledge inter-subjectivity; establish rapport and promote dialogue through mutual self-disclosure including the researcher declaring their subjective position; verbal and non-verbal 'inter-support work' (Minister 1991:34-39). This frame was particularly relevant to the study and its research questions. The study was seeking women's accounts of their experiences and also their perspectives on those experiences. This approach requires interviewers to 'listen in stereo' to both facts and feelings (Anderson and Jack 1991:11). An open-ended approach to interviewing allows the interviewer to explore the narrator's personal frame of reference and to increase their understanding of the wider context of their responses in their narratives (Dobash and Dobash 1979:254). Based on these recommendations, an *Aide Memoir* was created containing themes and prompts based on the research questions (Appendix F). In the event, I was sufficiently well prepared for each interview that after the first I made scant use of it and the narratives emerged from freely flowing dialogues which addressed the research questions and themes but which also generated unexpected but highly relevant data. This data shed more light on the themes than I could have anticipated. This closely resembled the outcome identified by Minister, 'What emerges and develops through dialogue are issues – the chaotic and problematic process of two humans thinking and communicating. It is this rich dialogue that holds ontological priority, not an impoverished list [of topics]' (Minister 1991:36-

37). This study drew on these and other developments particularly the relational aspects of recovery, the importance of safe and ethical practice when bearing witness to others' distressing life experiences in the interview setting.

Oral history interviewers are required to be highly engaged with participants' narratives but also flexible enough to allow the exploration of any unplanned issues that may emerge. The aim was to focus on participants' lifetime experience of domestic abuse rather than on individual incidents occurring during a specific period. This technique has been shown to enhance the opportunities for the disclosure of personal, intimate, private or confidential information by participants, an issue which is central to this study's investigation (Weis 1989, Mirrlees-Black and Byron 1999, Bradley, Smith et al. 2002, Richardson, Coid et al. 2002). Such a research design and methodology avoids being prescriptive about the experiences being researched and ensures sensitivity to the intimate nature of the disclosures being sought. When invited to provide a background to the relationships or the professional work they would be sharing the majority chose a life-story approach. In her oral history work with Scots-Italian interviewees, Ugolini allowed participants to contextualise and organise their narratives in line with their memory and chosen starting point. They were thus able to recall, emphasise and prioritise aspects of their life which they felt were relevant to the parameters of the oral history study (Ugolini, 2004:52 & 147). This technique proved successful as the participants were extremely open and offered rich narratives full of descriptive detail about their lives. They did not shy away from providing harrowing details about the physical and sexual violence and psychological abuse they experienced. This was upsetting for them and for me at times but they were determined to carry on and place their stories on the record. The open form of the interview had the unexpected result of extending the original time frame of the study back to the 1940s. Participants were born between 1943 and 1967 and many provided unexpected and extensive detail about their families going back, in some cases, two previous generations. This also allowed deeper insights and detail about continuity and change in family life and relationships and offered glimpses of common discourses and practices in the inter-generational transmission of attitudes and behaviours in relation to family dynamics, children's socialisation, gender roles and identities all pertinent to the aims of the study.

Mindful of the emotional impact of the interviews, the conclusion of the interview was signalled 5-10 minutes before the anticipated end to ensure participants were comfortable to wind things down or if they wished, to discuss continuing. Participants were debriefed usually over a cup of tea when the interview was over and recording had ceased. This gave them time to reflect on their experience of being interviewed, on what they talked about, how they felt now that it has over and, if they wished, to give their reactions to being interviewed (see Rickard 1998 and Vanjbar 2011). Some women reflected on the process during the interview, 'I'm getting lost with my stories.' (Theresa b.

1963). During the interview, Laura recalled that for her, the time between arranging and carrying out the interview was significant,

> Since I agreed to do the interview a bit of a memory came back that I actually had not remembered before and actually wrote a little poem about it. It came to me when I was staying at my friend's very safe place for me... it was to do with him [father] that night and so there's a way I'll always remember it, well [I've] not always remembered it 'cos [it's]... just so traumatic... (Laura b. 1964).

Gentle questioning in general conversation confirmed when participants had recovered their composure and I checked on their plans for self-care for the rest of the day or evening following what was in many cases a very distressing interview. I sent a handwritten card to each participant thanking them for their participation. When returning transcripts to each participant I was mindful that seeing and reading their own spoken words in print might be powerful. Without wishing to alarm them, I was sensitive in my choice of words saying,

> Please make sure you are somewhere relaxed and are comfortable when you read it. It can be quite strange reading back your own spoken words, especially when it is about such powerful memories (Extract from text of my personal email to participants).

Replies were overwhelmingly positive, 'Powerful stuff. Interesting, forgot some of what I said. Very interesting to read it written as you mentioned' (Lynne b. 1961); 'Throughout reading this report, I cried and laughed, thank you for taking the time to speak to me and get my story' (Theresa b. 1963). One woman decided that now that she had told her story she had no need to read the transcript. However, a few participants found reading the transcripts to be powerful. Denise described her reaction:

> I found it very hard to read. All those years have passed but it still hurts and the way I spoke to you was more like me all those years ago than now and that felt strange and upsetting. Now I feel it shows how far I have moved on. However, my strong reaction to it shows how important your research is. Many thanks for highlighting this very important issue (Denise b. 1966).

Analysing the interviews

There was also a recognition that the practice of oral history and the oral historian are situated in their own contemporary historical context. The period when the study was undertaken from 2012 – 2018 – provided a highly conducive context for domestic abuse research in Scotland with a lively multi-disciplinary field of activists, academics and practitioners involved in the ongoing development

of theory, policy and practice. This period was also characterised by substantial public and political attention on the issue of domestic abuse and violence against women in Scotland. These are social problems which at the time of writing attract significant financial resources for prevention and service provision. A recent change in criminal law, the Domestic Abuse Bill (Scotland) Act 2018 [8] re-defined domestic abuse and how it was to be prosecuted. This has been in response to campaigning, policy, research and practice development, and to advances in theoretical approaches to all forms of violence against women. These developments both positioned the research in twenty-first century discourse and also informed the epistemological approach taken to analysing the narratives which will be fully outlined in Chapter Four.

It was observed in the 1970s that those who live with domestic abuse experience a range of physical and emotional measures directed at them by their abusive partner which is used to control their behaviour and to 'bring about a desired state of affairs. It is primarily purposeful behaviour and not the action of deviant or aberrant individuals or the prerogative of deviant or unusual families' (Dobash and Dobash 1979:24). These tactics also construct private, gendered power discourses which can silence and disempower those affected. The participants' narratives, often containing sensitive and potentially distressing aspects of intimate relationships, were analysed using a framework based on feminist theory. I took care to transcribe the narratives verbatim to ensure nuances of speech and meaning were captured for analysis. The analysis combined feminist standpoint and grounded theory approaches to construct a thematic framework for interpretation and analysis. This centralises individual experience in an important way, 'the key to this feminist standpoint method is the use of individual narratives to uncover underlying social and political relationships' (Daley 1998, Sosulski 2009:228). This approach placed the women's account of their lived experience at the centre of the analysis in order to illuminate previously hidden aspects of Scottish everyday private life. Nvivo software was used to create an analytic framework based on the study's four questions. These were collated thematically to facilitate ease of access to relevant interview data. Close reading of the interview transcripts using the study's four research questions allowed emergent themes and subthemes to be identified. These were then transferred to Nvivo software and a coding framework based on a hierarchy of nodes and sub-nodes was developed which allowed relevant and related material from each individual narrative to be selected and collated. The narratives were then analysed using a grounded theoretical approach (Glaser 1967, Charmaz 2014, Corbin 2015) to contextualise them within the wider power and gender discourses of Scotland during this period drawn from

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relevant secondary sources. This contextualisation required a search for and close examination of relevant archival and contemporary secondary sources.

I approached Strathclyde Police in 2011 requesting support for my study and access to the Force archives at their Library outside Glasgow. I had meetings with senior officers in the Domestic Abuse Coordination Unit at Strathclyde Police Force Headquarters. They provided me with an introduction to the Force's Head Librarian, permission to access Jackton campus resources and also provided me with a detailed document dated 1 August 2011 outlining Strathclyde Police's history of responding to incidents of domestic abuse. The document also provided a list of Citations and Reference Material all of which were consulted. The document stated,

> Strathclyde Police was formed in 15 May 1975 with the amalgamation of several other police
> forces within Scotland. As a result, there is a paucity of information on Domestic Abuse
> incidents prior to this date… and there is a deficit of information in relation to Police and
> Criminal Justice Responses to Domestic Abuse between 1970 and 2000 as police records for
> this time period are no longer in existence' (Strathclyde Police 2011).

In addition to agreeing to be interviewed, one participant Sue Robertson, who was the second National Coordinator at Scottish Women's Aid (SWA), generously provided me with her personal archive of material related to her involvement with the early Women's Liberation Movement in Scotland and to her time at SWA. The three large bags contained material which was extremely rich but uncollated. I therefore asked for and was given permission to list and collate the material. Although a time-consuming endeavour, as a former archivist, this was a task which I was competent to undertake for Ms. Robertson's benefit and also to support my research. Following my use of the material, I was able to return it to her with a chronological listing and with the material collated in order. (These are listed in Appendix A). This allowed ease of access and cross-referencing for my purposes. The focus of the study was to examine the experiences of women who did not disclose or report their experiences to services and their reasons for not doing so. This study predated the 'Speaking Out' project which in 2018 completed the archiving and listing of the SWA archive at the Glasgow Women's Library (GWL) and which has recently published a history of the movement from the perspective of current and former paid and unpaid workers (Scottish Women's Aid 2018). The Robertson archive therefore provided me with invaluable source material before all of SWA's archive material was publicly available and rich contextual material on the activities of the network in Scotland which are included in the study. This archive also included unpublished material from Esther Breitenbach a leading feminist involved in the early WLM in Scotland who gave me permission to use her material (Breitenbach 1978 and 2012). In 2017, I accessed the SWA media archive at GWL in 2017

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which had recently become accessible to researchers. This contained valuable press cuttings and media reports collated from Scottish Women Aid groups from the 1970s to the 1990s. This material provided my study with valuable contemporary material on public and media discourses and reports on domestic abuse. A full list of all archival sources is provided in Appendix A.

Sangster and others have stressed the importance of grounding women's experiences in their contemporary social and material framework – a context specific approach (Dobash and Dobash 1983, Sangster 1994, Daley 1998). Plummer identified key areas of compatibility between grounded and feminist theories relevant to this analysis. These place particular value on accounts of lived experience, acknowledge the importance of social processes for constructing knowledge and assert that meaning is derived and defined by the interpretation of language (Plummer 2010:318). These allow the influence of gendered culture on individual experience, identity and memory as expressed in the narratives of personal history to be identified (Daley, 1998:355). This reflects Allen's view that '[al]though the stories are cast as personal narratives, they reflect a larger regional experience, the contours of which can be discerned in repeated patterns of individual narratives and can expose 'invisible assumptions that often underlie traditional discourse' (Allen 1992:6, Gray, Agllias et al. 2015). Through the identification of *moral language*; *meta-statements* and the *logic in the narrative,* oral history interviews can also help identify influential discourses of gender in women's narratives. This oral history study offered an opportunity to closely examine individual lives in context. However, it is important to acknowledge the limitations and challenges of such a study.

Due to the small sample size of participants, the study was unlikely to draw conclusions about domestic abuse which could be generalised across the wider population of Scotland during the period under study.   However, Kennedy also highlights the potential dangers of research activity individualising and pathologising those affected by trauma and reducing them to mere examples of the impact of trauma without the wider social contextualisation of their experiences (Kennedy, 2001). Bennett too argues that close examination of women's lives can help identify continuities in aspects of women's lives and also 'how appreciation of difference among women is essential not only for nuance and clarity but also for understanding the experiences of all women' (Bennett 2006:76). The particular features of the Scottish post-war socio-economic context, its patriarchal features and the importance of historicising patriarchy for observing continuity and change in women's structural inequality have been noted. The participants were born between 1943 and 1967 and grew up in post-war Scotland. Their narratives offer a unique opportunity to observe patriarchal discourses and practices in Scottish society and their impact on the participants' personal and professional lives across

that broad contemporary context of social and economic change. While they came from different areas of Scotland and have their own unique personal histories, the women shared the experience of growing up and coming of age in post-war Scotland. The women also reflected on their experiences of domestic abuse as children and/or as adults and the professionals shared their recollections of professional practice in the early stages of their careers. This shared context provided the backdrop to the stories they had to tell and allowed wider conclusions to be drawn.

The detailed analysis of otherwise unconnected personal narratives, enriched by contemporary sources and texts, allowed a search for commonalities and differences in individual circumstances and in individual and social responses. Through close examination of the narratives and the search for common themes, new insights into gender relations in Scotland emerged and highlighted some areas of continuity and change over time in relation to what continues to be an enduring feature of many Scottish women and children's lives. This oral history study of domestic abuse in people's lives in context therefore offered rare and valuable glimpses into the close interconnections between individuals' private and professional lives and wider public discourses and how these influenced lives, behaviours, choices and practices. However, identifying the value and uniqueness of individuals' potentially traumatic memory through an oral history interview can also provide opportunities to support individual recovery through the identification of shared experiences as well as wider knowledge and theory building. While all experiences of abuse and its impact are unique to the individual in nature, the analysis sought to identify any similarities and differences between the personal narratives of lived or observed experiences. According to Sosulski, although individual experiences uniquely contribute to the wider collective experience they are 'transitory' (Sosulski 2009: 228). Similarly, for Collins, feminist standpoint methods 'place less emphasis on individual experiences within socially constructed groups than on the social conditions that construct such groups' (Collins, 2004, p. 247). However, the emphasis in the analysis was on the inter-connectedness between the personal and social stories of domestic abuse in recent Scottish history. Oral history methodology offers a distinctive interpretation of feminist standpoint theory. By striving for equality, shared authority and knowledge building in the research relationship it provides fresh perspectives on the individual's relationship to the contemporary social context in which they live: 'asking why and how women explain, rationalise and make sense of their past offers insight into…the complex relationship between individual consciousness and culture' (Daley 1998: 343). The theoretical underpinnings of the analysis will be discussed in detail in the next chapter. Overall, the methodological and theoretical approaches thus outlined, provided a firm foundation for the analysis. This allowed an assessment of the relative importance of those connections, the links or ruptures between individual and collective memory, between private and public discourses of power and

gender and the contribution these may make to our understanding of women's everyday life in the recent past. For Passerini, maintaining this balance in oral history is essential:

> The coexistence - at the level of subjectivity - of coercion and freedom, of inheritance and critique is a relationship of interconnection between the symbolic structure which is handed down through different forms of socialisation (family, primary groups, peer-groups) and the capacity for self-reflection and consciousness. If we do not save these two dimensions of subjectivity, we end up with a foreshortening of our perspective (Passerini 1979:104).

Conclusion

The value of oral history interviews lies not in their truth, validity or reliability as the work of Summerfield and others has shown (Summerfield 1998; see also Perks and Thomson 2006), but in their relational nature and in what they can tell us about how narrators describe and understand the world and the times they lived in. It can also shed new light on the history of marriage, the family and its secrets (Thomson 2006:29). This chapter has acknowledged that the quest for objective 'truth' in traditional historical methodology is constrained by the historian's own temporal positioning in contemporary discourse and that their worldview informs their research priorities, 'no claim of objectivity survives the generation in which it is made' (Yow 1997:57). However, with these caveats, all historians are trained to read between the lines, to search for meaning in their sources and to contextualise their content in the world which created them. Oral history narratives are co-produced in a relational context, this provides an opportunity for participants to tell their story and explore its meaning for them. While the researcher has created that opportunity and the benefits to both parties may differ, the choice to enter that shared space is a free one and the topic is one which unites both in a shared endeavour. Bearing witness is a powerful process particularly in the context of previously hidden memories arising from difficult life experiences. Speaking about what was previously invisible to others can have enormous meaning and value: voicing our experiences can place us in a bigger story sometimes for the first time. As the participants showed, survivors of abuse may be silenced for long periods and the power of telling their stories in a supportive context puts those experiences out into the world, articulates their humanity and connects it with the humanity of others.

This chapter has outlined the study's feminist approach to oral history methodology, drawing on significant advances in oral history theory and practice to obtain interview data to address the gaps in knowledge identified in Chapter Two. The chapter has also described the increasingly multi-disciplinary nature of feminist research in the field of domestic abuse and violence against women

from which it also benefited. The study's research design also reflects theoretical and practice developments in psychology, psychotherapy, trauma studies, epidemiology, VAW research, feminist standpoint and grounded theory all of which have informed the study's methodological approach. This provided a secure methodological and ethical basis from which to recruit and interview twenty six participants whose narratives offered a range of perspectives from which to identify common themes and insights about domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland. The open approach to the study's four research questions in the interview setting resulted in participants providing life-story narratives which extended the time frame of the original study and resulted in valuable data on family histories stretching back, in some cases, two previous generations. With participants born between 1943 and 1967, this offered additional and unexpected insights into the inter-generational transmission of discourses of gender, family and violence in the home and in intimate relationships in a time of change for the position of women in Scottish society. A range of primary and secondary sources were used to analyse and contextualise the narratives in relation to one another and also to the wider contemporary context. The grounded approach to the analysis of the interview data outlined above revealed emergent themes which then informed the development of the study's epistemological approach and theoretical framework. This will be outlined in Chapter Four.

CHAPTER 4

THEORISING DOMESTIC ABUSE

Introduction

This study required a theoretical approach firmly grounded in participants' accounts and interpretations of their lives and which also facilitated an exploration of three key dimensions of private life related to domestic abuse: gender, power and violence. The study was investigating what people thought, how they acted and why and what influence, if any, the wider world had on those processes. Oral history does not claim to offer conclusions which can be generalised across a particular society at a particular period in the past. In oral history, the subjective/objective binary of traditional positivist methodologies are swept away as the boundaries between practice and theory become more fluid. Oral history is an essentially relational practice which explores the relationships people have in their lives. These include inter-personal relationships as well as the matrix of social relationships they have with their communities and with wider society. Oral history begins by constructing a research relationship which will culminate in a conversation taking place in the private space of the interview setting. The narrator and the oral historian bring their own subjectivities, inter-subjectivities and knowledge to that setting to recall a personal aspect of history together. A history lived becomes a story told and the act of listening honours both the story and its teller, sometimes, in some cases, for the first time. The private becomes public, questions become answers and reflections, and insights emerge during the telling. Having custody of that story, once heard, captured and recorded creates a responsibility on the oral historian to explore meaning and make a contribution to wider human knowledge based on the lives remembered and testimonies collected in that setting. In the context of this study, I had an opportunity to contribute new knowledge from what was learned about that intersection of private and public discourses and practices of gender, power and violence where domestic abuse takes occurs. The rich accounts demanded a theoretical framework which historicised domestic abuse using an ecological approach which combined feminist, patriarchal and gender theory – key areas of theory relevant to this study.

This study builds on historical and social science research cited in Chapter Two. This focussed on marriage, domestic abuse and violence against women in Scotland and confirmed the value of feminist, patriarchal and gendered theoretical approaches to these questions (Clark 1995, Leneman 1997, Macdonald 2001, Hughes 2004, Hughes 2007, Barclay 2011). The value of these approaches in work focussed on the United States and the UK from the early modern period to the nineteenth century was also outlined (Gordon 1988, Hammerton 1992, Clark 1995, Leneman 1997, Clark 2000, Barclay 2011). Studies examining broader historical trends in the study of women, violence and the

family in North America and Europe have also utilised these approaches (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Dobash and Dobash 1981, Pleck 1987, D'Cruze 2000, Hughes 2010, Barclay, Cheadle et al. 2013).

Building on this literature, the chapter will firstly, outline the contribution of theoretical developments in feminist research, history, social sciences and social activism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries to the conceptualisation of domestic abuse. Secondly, the chapter will describe the value of recent developments in patriarchal theory to this conceptualisation. Finally, the chapter explains how patriarchal theory was operationalised to create a theoretical framework with which to address the study's research questions and historicise domestic abuse in private and public discourses of gender, power and violence in late twentieth century Scotland.

Conceptualising domestic abuse

During the 1970s and 1980s, women's social activism and second wave feminism led to a growth in feminist research into the physical and sexual abuse of women (Hanmer and Maynard 1987, Dobash 1992). This challenged the sociological mainstream, deepened knowledge of women's lived experience of violence and offered directions for prevention strategies (Walby 2011, Walby 2014). Gray et al summarised the three guiding principles of feminist research: to understand women's experiences, improve women's lives and equalise power in the research relationship (Gray, Agllias et al. 2015). Feminist research looked for understanding beyond individual pathology to scrutinise violence against women in its wider social and historical context. Definitions of violence derived directly from women's lived experience were developed and domestic abuse and other forms of violence against women were reconceptualised as gendered phenomena. During this period, domestic abuse and violence against women were reframed within a matrix of embedded public and private social controls which maintained women's structural inequality (Hanmer 1978, Littlejohn 1978, Hanmer 1996). This approach centralised gender power relations as a key concept for historical and social science research into domestic abuse and other forms of violence against women (Millett 1978, Dobash 1979, Carlen 1983, Stanko 1985, Hanmer and Maynard 1987, Edwards 1989, Walby 1990, Scott 1999). During the 1980s, sociology was criticised by feminists for its long standing gender blindness and for failing to examine the social causes, effects and means of preventing violence against women despite growing public attention to the issue (Edwards 1987, Kelly 1987, Walby 2011, Walby 2014). While class had been of central concern for sociologists since the 19th century, feminist researchers noted that gender and its intersections with class were not scrutinised with sufficient rigour or considered of mainstream concern for the discipline (Ramazanoglu 1989, Roth and Dashper 2016). Further, the importance of micro- and macro-system power differentials within gender relations in sociological analyses of violence against women had been largely ignored (Hanmer and

Maynard 1987:2). The Violence Against Women Study group established during the British Sociological Association annual conference 'War, Violence and Social Change' in 1985 instigated 'the first major discussion of violence against women at an academic conference in the UK' (Hester 1996:1).

The theoretical concept of separate spheres discussed in Chapter Two provided a means of exploring the interplay between the different areas of women's lives: public and private. However, the limitations of an oversimplified two-sphere framework for exploring women's lives were recognised. Studies showed that this binary framework obscured the porous nature of the boundaries between the two spheres and the intersection of gender and class which was later illuminated by research into English and Scottish middle class and working class married life in the 19th and 20th centuries (Tomes 1978, Ross 1982, Hammerton 1992, Davidoff L. & Hall C. 2002, Hughes 2010). This work showed women's personal, social and economic lives traversed both private and public spheres. It also revealed the inherently antagonistic nature of patriarchal gender relations in marriage and family life, the commonalities of women's experiences of domestic abuse in private gender relations and the prevalence of such abuse across class, geography, time and both private and social space. Although separate spheres had become theorised as gendered concepts in the 1960s, Kerber had cautioned that they were,

> …primarily a trope, employed ….by historians in our own times as they groped for a device that might dispel the confusion of anecdote and impose narrative and analytical order on the anarchy of inherited evidence, the better to comprehend the world in which we live (Kerber 1988:39).

The limitations of the 'trope' of separate spheres as a basis for historicising women's lives and capturing the breadth and intersections of their experiences were being recognised. New approaches to the study of women's lives historicised gender and liberated it from the illusion that sex difference was permanent and static throughout history and offered an alternative device for analysing women's lives (Scott 1999). In Scott's critique, historians engaged in women's history had not sufficiently theorised how gender operated historically. Ten years after Scott published her closely argued case for a gendered analysis of history, Cannadine observed, "gender has destabilised class as a category of historical analysis" (Cannadine in Davidoff & Hall 2002: xxvi). New developments in feminist theories of patriarchy however were beginning to disaggregate the 'trope' of separate spheres in ways which retained gender as a powerful conceptual tool for historical analysis within more fluid theoretical approaches for examining women's lives in their contemporary context. This would have particular relevance for the study of men's violence against women.

Theorising patriarchy

From the 17th century, the classic model of familial patriarchy based on the dominance of the father became more generally reflected in political, religious, military and corporate organisational governance (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Puwar and Pateman 2002). However, patriarchy was redefined as a gendered theoretical concept in the 1970s and 1980s in work addressing violence against women (Brownmiller 1975, Rich 1976, Dobash and Dobash 1979, Walby 1986, Edwards 1987, Walby 1989). Rich defined patriarchy as,

> a familial-social, ideological, political system in which men - by force, direct pressure, or through ritual, tradition, law, and language, customs, etiquette, education, and the division of labor, determine what part women shall or shall not play and in which the female is everywhere subsumed under the male (Rich 1976:57).

By the later 1980s the term was being criticized for stagnating, being an 'undertheorized' and 'overly monolithic concept which is treated at a level of abstraction that obfuscates rather than reveals the intimate inner workings of culturally and historically distinct arrangements between the genders' (Kandiyoti 1988:274-5, Hunnicutt 2009). Others argued that feminism had abandoned the concept, refocussed instead on gender and in the process 'changed the focus entirely from macro-inequities to micro-inequities' (Crittenden and Wright 2012:1279; Ogle and Batton 2009). Bennett argued that historicising patriarchy was a means of ensuring women's history was reconnected to the feminist aims of understanding women's oppression in the past and in the present and for identifying change and continuity in women's lives (Bennett 2006). For Bennett, 'the historical study of patriarchy deserves our intense and careful scrutiny' and recommended undertaking historical case studies which could highlight how patriarchy works in particular contexts and to guard against the depoliticisation of women's history (Bennett 1989:260-264). This had implications for the study of domestic abuse and violence against women. For Ogle there was a lack of coherence in feminist theorising about patriarchy which ranged from' simplistic liberal perspectives focusing on inequity as a function of limited opportunity to more complex ideas involving multiple, intertwined systems of oppression' (Ogle 2009: 173).

Walby used gender as the foundation of a 'new way of theorising patriarchy', a concept which she regarded as indispensable to any examination of current or past gender inequality (Walby 1990:1). By comparing theoretical debates, including a range of feminist analyses, with empirical evidence, Walby concluded that patriarchy is 'a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women' (Walby 1990: 20). She identified six constituent, inter-related but

autonomous patriarchal structures which traversed the private and public sphere. Housework, sexuality, violence, paid work, culture and the state, were important domains where, over time, women's inequality was established, maintained and contested. Her analysis provided a historical overview of continuity and change in English patriarchy with some comparative references to the European and North American contexts. Walby is clear that patriarchy is a *system* of power relations grounded in social constructions of gender but makes no assumption that all inter-personal relationships between men and women are typified by men's individual dominance of the women in their lives. She argues that theorising patriarchy in this way permits analyses which are not fixed in time or place, reflect the dynamic nature of gender relations in private and public life, and account for resistance and change, continuity or regress within and between the six component elements.

Walby argued also that the patriarchal system was fluid and adapted to its wider social, economic and political context. She maintained that it had formed a particular synergy with capitalist modes of production since the late 18th century, which adapted to changing times but continued to have an impact on the lives of western women into modern times. For Pateman too, the classic form of patriarchy based on rule by the father and social models adapted from it began to change in the nineteenth century to a modern contractual form of gender property relations. 'The conventional view in political theory is that contract won out and defeated the classic type of patriarchy. I argue that classic patriarchy was transformed into the modern type' (Puwar and Pateman 2002:122). Walby identified two significant moments when the locus and degree of women's inequality shifted from private towards more public forms of patriarchy in Britain. The first coincided with the extension of the franchise to all adult women in 1928 which conferred full political citizenship (Walby 1994). The second came in the decades following World War Two when the economic position of women changed as educational and employment opportunities expanded (Walby 1990) and legislation was introduced to support women's equality.

For Walby, this process in Britain marked a contingent shift from private (focussed on the household), to public (external employment and the state) patriarchy from the 19th to the 20th century in parallel with the development of modern British capitalism. She argued that this shift was a result of a combination of political, social and economic factors, women's social movements and the fluctuating requirements of industrial production for women's labour during and following two world wars (Walby 1989, Gordon and Breitenbach 1990, Breitenbach and Gordon 1992, Breitenbach and Mackay 2001, Breitenbach 2012). Of the six micro- and macro-level social structures in Walby's patriarchal system, the consistently high incidence of domestic abuse and violence against women into the late twentieth century however suggest that this form of violence against women, as a form of private patriarchy was particularly resilient over time. Conceptualising violence in marriage,

intimate relationships and the family within the wider patriarchal system offered a theoretical basis for explaining its extent and longevity in gender relations in late twentieth century Scotland. Close examination of oral history narratives offered an opportunity to explore the links between public and private patriarchy in the lives of late twentieth century Scottish women. This would help determine the extent to which the private patriarchal control of women by their husbands was relinquished in favour of more public forms in the wider system. However, examining oral narratives in their contemporary context, as this study aimed to do, required a nuanced approach to the analysis of lived experience. An investigation of the private and public power differentials within the patriarchal systems also benefited from post-modern approaches to the continuing development of gender theory.

Developments in gender theory coincided with those in post-structuralism to offer an alternative means of analysing human society through what has been described as a linguistic or cultural 'turn' (Abrams 2010). This 'turn', described as 'attempts to preserve meaning by locating it in the social practices and literary texts which man produces' (Rabinow and Dreyfus 1982:xv) also offered new directions for the further development of feminist theory. Post-structuralist theory, based on the work of Foucault, centred on language and culture. Theorists argued that the meanings derived from 'texts', defined as the products of human communication (including visual art, literature and music, artistic and cultural expression, social interactions and discourse, artefacts, the spoken and written word, public and private records), were the means by which social hierarchies of power were created (Foucault 1972, Rabinow and Dreyfus 1982). Encapsulated within emerging epistemological theory, this 'turn' identified discourses as the politically dynamic processes central to the formation of hierarchical power relations around which human life was organised over time, across cultures and across public and private space (Foucault 1972). By offering a radical perspective on the inherently political conflicts within human social discourse, this approach extended the range of source material available for study and opened up new ways of identifying and analysing the linguistic and cultural codes embedded within them. This challenged the traditional periodization and narrative approaches to social and economic history. Post-structural analyses proved helpful in feminist analyses of gender relations by deconstructing social power relations at macro- and micro-social levels and locating them within wider power discourses.

However some feminists challenged the ultimately reductive, abstract and de-politicised shift of post-modernism to 'an individualised idealist world of representations and texts (which are what women's accounts of their experiences of oppressions are taken to be), to be deconstructed through notions of subjectivity, identity and discourse' (Hester 1996:9). This critique cautioned that the 'denial of a unified subject...will trivialize women's (collective) experiences of oppression, thereby

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constraining the possibility of meaningful political action' (Stapleton 2000:463). Feminist challenges to post-modernism called for empirical research which 'not only acknowledges previously unacknowledged diversity of meaning but also closes off total interpretive realism' (Burman 1992:45, Hester 1996). Burman encapsulated the strengths and limitations of post-modernism for feminist theory and empirical research and suggested a way forward to ensure it could continue to be utilised for social change – a guiding principle of feminist research. 'What we need is a feminist realism that does not resort to positivism, that ties discourses to politics and that makes politics more than the discursive' (Burman 1992:45). Feminist historians and others had argued that traditional theoretical approaches to the study of women's lives in context had been blind to gender dynamics and relations in marriage and family life over extended periods of history (Rowbotham 1977, Walby 1990, Scott 1999, Barclay 2011:4). By focussing on gender power hierarchies in public and private life through a closer examination of historical sources, the means by which power was maintained through the dominant discourses of public and private life could be identified. In her survey of feminist research activity since the 1970s, Ogle observed that while there was a general consensus that the key focus was women's oppression, agreement about causes and solutions remained contested (Ogle 2009:165). Hunnicutt argued that there was a lack of theory in feminist research due to its roots in social activism and despite the movement's success in bringing the issue to public attention. In her view, a wider understanding of women's oppression required the continued development of feminist theory focussed on the role of gender and on the wider function of patriarchy in that oppression, 'although feminist political action is essential, we have not yet fully developed a gender-centred theory of violence against women' (Hunnicutt 2009:553). It has been shown that the development of feminist theory in the twentieth century has been grounded in women's accounts of their lived experience, none more so than their experience of male violence. The link between feminist theory and praxis working to bring about social change in the position of women in western society is closely focussed at the interface between lived experience of violence and patriarchal hegemonic power discourses and practice.

Gramsci's term 'hegemony' described the organisational and connective function of the dominant groups in civil and political society used to exert control over society as a whole. In his analysis, hegemony supported dominant power structures through the active or passive consent of the population or through coercion or enforcement where consent was contested or withdrawn (Gramsci, Nowell-Smith et al. 1971:12). Foucault's analysis of the social exercise of power discourses echoed Gramsci and drew the analysis more closely to the ideological workings of power in gender relations and in wider culture (Foucault 1990, Foucault 2012). By applying a gender lens to Gramsci's and Foucault's analyses of western social power and control hierarchies, the cultural characteristics

of patriarchy as understood in the late 20th and early 21st centuries become evident. Foucault posed a question about discourses of sex and power relations, which offered a means of conceptualising domestic abuse historically:

> In a specific type of discourse on sex …appearing historically and in specific places around violence…what were the most immediate, the most local power relations at work?   How did they make possible these kinds of discourses and conversely…how were discourses used to support power relations?…We must immerse the expanding production of discourses on sex in the field of multiple and mobile power relations…rather than referring all the infinitesimal violence exerted on sex…to the unique form of a great power (Foucault 1990:97).

Foucault is thus historicising violence within the context of contemporary patriarchal discourses, power relations and hegemony. For Scott, Foucault's analysis ended '…such seeming dichotomies as state and family, public and private, work and sexuality and it would pose questions about the interconnections among realms of life and social organisation now treated quite separately from one another'. Scott argued for an approach to history which could focus on 'women's experience and analyse the ways in which politics construct gender and gender constructs politics' (Scott 1999:26-27). According to Foucault, negotiations over power whether in personal or social relations lie at the heart of human society, take place in cooperation, in conflict or in parallel with others and make up the warp and weave of human life (Rabinow and Dreyfus 1982, Foucault 1990, Foucault 2012).

Gender discourses are thus inherently political creations at the heart of the hierarchies which define the power relations between men and women. These form the basis of the ideology or hegemony of a patriarchal system (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Power, according to Barclay in her discussion of patriarchy, 'involves conflict with the rights or wishes of others…is an inherently antagonistic, if frequently non-violent process'. However, she goes on to argue that power can be exercised in interpersonal relationships and interactions 'by forcing your will through violence or threat of violence, withholding access to economic, family or community resources and…the removal of individual freedom' (Barclay 2011:5). Similarly, Stark and Johnson's modern research on domestic abuse, also called coercive control or intimate partner terrorism, identified the gendered exercise of power and control in this way as the removal by one party in the relationship (usually the male) of the basic freedoms of their partner (usually female). In the past, as now, these struggles were central to the way power was negotiated or contested within intimate gender relationships and also between parents and children or between siblings. However, it has been argued that these extend beyond the private sphere, across social space and throughout the life-course (Stark 2007, Johnson 2008). This fluidity of patriarchal discourses within and between private and public space raises further theoretical

questions about the central dynamic in these movements and how these affect human motivation and action, particularly in the context of antagonism, conflict and the use of violence and abuse in gender relations.

As Gramsci and Foucault observed, individual choice and agency can be constrained by the limits placed on people's behaviour by hegemonic discourses. This can also be observed within gender relations at individual, micro- and macro-system levels and in the 'back stage' places where sexual conflict takes place out of sight of social controls on violence discussed in Chapter Two (Buss 2011, Landini and Dépelteau 2017). As Walby illustrated, within the six structures of the patriarchal system, the space available for individual or collective choice or action can vary due to changes in the external conditions. However, although the systems approach addressed criticisms of patriarchal theory as being essentially static and under-theorised in its application to society as a whole, limitations in its value as a tool for explaining violence against women specifically were identified. Hunnicutt argued that although the concept had, in her view, stagnated, patriarchy still held 'promise for theorising violence against women because it keeps the theoretical focus on dominance, gender and power. It also anchors the problem of violence against women in social conditions rather than individual attributes' (Hunnicutt 2009:553). Her review of patriarchy as a concept for analysing violence against women acknowledges that it is a problematic concept which changes shape across time, settings and societies. However patriarchy remained salient for Puwar and Pateman who observed that 'insofar as these regimes involve any kind of power of men over women, whatever form it takes…I cannot see why different senses of patriarchy cannot capture that. Has anyone got a better concept? That is the question - what is an alternative concept to patriarchy?' (Puwar and Pateman 2002:124). Similarly, Hunnicutt argued that violence against women 'is a product of patriarchal social arrangements and ideologies that are sustained and reinforced by other systems of domination.' In arguing that we would do better to consider varieties of patriarchy, she suggests that 'what is needed is theory construction that allows for variation in degrees, types and dimensions of dominance, power and resistance' (Hunnicutt 2009:568).

Twenty-first century critiques of the value of patriarchal theory for examining lived experiences of violence against women in the twenty-first century suggested that 'there was very little work on conceptualizing or operationalizing patriarchy, and the work that utilized patriarchy as a variable at all, tended to use it as an undefined given' (Crittenden and Wright 2012:1279). It is generally agreed that patriarchy has two key aspects: male domination over women, both as individuals and as a group and institutionalized male domination across every sphere of social life (Ogle & Batton 2009). However, manifestations of male dominance are neither universal, timeless or site -specific and patriarchy's conceptualisation as a static form of public/private social arrangements

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obscured its many historical shapes, absences and dimensions across settings. Patriarchal theory needed adequately to explain why individual men and women did or did not use violence against each other, other adults or children. It also needed to be robust enough to acknowledge the intersection of gender with other social, economic and political power hierarchies such as those involving age, disability, race, class, social status or sexuality on victimisation and perpetration (Hester 1996, Hunnicutt 2009, Hague, Thiara et al. 2011). While this presented challenges to patriarchal theory in relation to violence against women in general, new ways of operationalising patriarchal theory began to emerge. Staying true to the feminist tradition of researching outward from women's lived experiences, Hunnicutt recommends that mapping varieties of patriarchy in qualitative research with women could help researchers to 'observe micro- and macro-systems in play…' (Hunnicutt 2009:568).
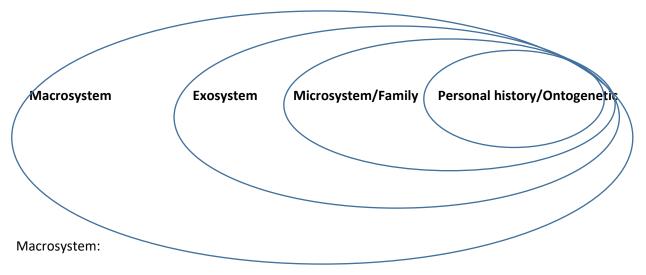
Mapping varieties of patriarchy as a means of rehabilitating the concept suggests a revival of the need for taking what the Dobashes called a 'context specific approach' to the study of domestic abuse within a particular society at a particular time (Dobash and Dobash 1983). The continued importance of adopting a historical stance could account for the varieties and degrees of patriarchy and the interplay of gender and other power discourses in particular historical periods and contexts (Dobash 1979, Hunnicutt 2009, Ogle and Batton 2009). Such an approach addresses Leneman's concern that,

> Violence against wives and attitudes towards it are complex, and though they are part of a continuum they are also very much part of a particular era and culture. To look only at the continuum and to ignore the era and culture provides an overly simplistic view (Leneman 1997:51).

Operationalising patriarchal theory

A conceptual model for examining 'the era and culture' of domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland was devised for this oral history study which benefited from ecological approaches developed in the social sciences for examining violence against women in modern society. This model facilitates a closer examination of individual lives in the context of their immediate family and of the wider social environment on their learning, behaviour and gender identity. Ecological systems theory offered a means of reconciling often competing theories explaining the complex interaction of individual, family, community and social factors which influence individual behaviour. The importance of environmental factors to human development and behaviour throughout the life course was highlighted. The model can illustrate the interactions between the individual, psychological (ontogenetic) level within the family (microsystem), with other microsystems (mesosystem), community (exosystem), cultural and political (macrosystem) contexts (Bronfenbrenner 1992, Edleson

1992, Dutton 1995). Heise adapted the ecological framework for exploring the aetiology of violence against women and argued for its value as a heuristic tool to synthesise a range of multi-disciplinary research activity and learning focussed on violence against women. Heise and others argued for the validity of integrated approaches to multi-disciplinary research on violence against women (Heise 1998, Levendosky and Graham-Bermann 2000) (Figure 1). However, it can also further nuance the conceptualisation of patriarchy proposed here by offering a means of addressing domestic abuse within the wider social ecology of Scotland in the period under study. Deployed as a heuristic tool, the framework can illustrate the 'distinctions which relate to the different interconnections between the elements of patriarchy and their relative significance in different eras' (Walby 1990:93).

Macrosystem:

- Male entitlement/ownership of women
- Masculinity linked to aggression and dominance
- Rigid gender roles
- Acceptance of interpersonal violence
- Acceptance of physical chastisement

Community/Exosystem:

- Low socioeconomic status
- Unemployment
- Isolation of women and family
- Delinquent peer associations

Microsystem

- Male dominance in the family
- Male control of wealth in the family
- Use of alcohol
- Marital/verbal conflict

Personal history/ontogenic

- Witnessing marital violence as a child
- Being abused oneself as a child
- Absent or rejecting father

Figure 1: Nested Ecological Model: Risk Factors related to violence against women at different levels of social ecology (Heise 1998: 265)

Heise operationalised patriarchal theory in the development of her aetiology of violence against women by identifying the potential micro-, macro- system and cultural risks in each domain. Similarly, criminologists Ogle and Batton have operationalised patriarchal theory by devising a similar series of indicators of male dominance which facilitate the identification of patriarchal practices, structures and ideology at play at the micro- and macro-system levels: in the family, religion, education, economy, government, the criminal justice system, media and medicine (Ogle & Batton 2009). Further developments by Crittenden and Wright examined whether class or social status, family composition, demographics and religion were predictors of patriarchal endorsement by individuals and across communities. Their study which combined neighbourhood and census data with interview data from 3,407 individual respondents found that individual and community level factors were influential and that, in particular, familial characteristics and dynamics do influence the endorsement of patriarchal views' (Crittenden and Wright 2013:1267). These developments provided a theoretical approach to analysing the narratives. Patriarchal discourses and practices in intimate relationships could be identified and the extent to which these created conducive contexts for domestic abuse explored. The opportunity to examine the influence of public discourses and practices of gender, violence and power on those risks thus became feasible. Further, by operationalising patriarchal theory in this way, the opportunity arose to analyse the narratives for evidence of changes to private and public discourses and practices of gender, violence and power over time. Given the study's focus on domestic abuse (which includes physical, sexual, emotional and financial abuse) in intimate relationships, participants were free to reflect on and describe their lives from a chronology of their choosing. Their resulting narratives extended the original time frame of the study and offered insights into family discourses and practices across three generations. This provided a unique opportunity to examine family and wider cultural norms of gender and gender roles and their influence of gender, power and violence on children's socialisation over a longer time frame.

Operationalising patriarchal theory in this way provided an opportunity to examine patriarchal discourses in family histories over three generations which resonated with the work of Davidoff and Hall (Davidoff and Hall 2013). Their historical approach to the analysis of generational change provided a means of historicising shifting discourses of gender and gender relations in the family and wider community context. The theoretical framework for this study benefited from this approach in a way which would frame the close examination of the narratives across more than one generation. As Davidoff and Hall's research showed, an inter-generational approach revealed social learning in action as children and grandchildren were socialised into gender roles and norms; this highlighted continuities and change, as well as the uptake or rejection of existing or evolving forms. The impact of

social change on individual and social life and attitudes can proceed incrementally and often unevenly. Taking an inter-generational approach across the various domains of the contemporary social ecology can show the pace or evenness of change as revealed in personal narratives and offer insights into the impact of local and structural factors such as family environment, class, race, geography, politics, the state or cultural hegemony on its progress. The study's approach also offered a means of examining different women's lives down the lens of generational time and also across similar temporal contexts to test for what Bennett describes as a 'patriarchal equilibrium' whereby 'changes which undermined the force of patriarchy in one sector could be countered by responses in other sectors' (Bennett 1996:10). The life narratives in this study span almost fifty years and offer first-hand accounts of private life across the generations in individual families. They provided an opportunity to take an inter-generational and cross-generational approach to compare micro- and macro-level changes in attitudes, behaviour and the impact of wider discourse on individual lives over the period under study. Comparisons would allow commonalities and differences to emerge, to bring fresh insights into the way everyday lives were influenced by prevailing attitudes to gender, power and violence in the contemporary cultural context and whether these changed over time. A more nuanced yet simultaneously holistic picture of living with domestic abuse during the period under study was therefore possible. Both Gramsci and Foucault observed that individual behaviour can maintain hegemonic, in this case patriarchal, power structures through active or tacit consent. Ogle and Batton also note that while 'individuals are more likely to contribute to the maintenance of the status quo if their cultural orientations and understandings about gender roles support it…it is also through the actions of individuals that changes in social structures and the organization of society occur' (Ogle and Batton 2009:174). Oral history narratives provided a unique opportunity to identify personal actions and decisions and to gain narrators' perspectives on their individual motivations and influences in past contexts.

Walby's argument that women's lives in twentieth century Britain have been affected by a shift from private to public patriarchy, as a result of women's increasing involvement in the economic life of the nation has been outlined. The oral history narratives were examined for evidence of any shift from private to public patriarchy in the women's lives in late twentieth century Scotland by focussing on domestic abuse which, as one form of violence against women, was one of Walby's six structures in the patriarchal system. This common form of violence against women which feminists argued was a key element in women's oppression, has been a feature of women's lives for centuries. Historically, a patriarchal public/private alliance of individual men and state structures, legally and culturally legitimised domestic abuse as an ultimate sanction to maintain the social control of women. The nested theoretical framework created for the study merged Ogle and Batten's suite of patriarchal

indicators with Heise's ecological risk factors and Walby's six-factor patriarchal system (Table 1). This provided a structure for identifying indicators of patriarchal norms and risk factors during the analysis of the narratives and other contemporary source material.

By analysing the narratives using this framework, any changes in the patriarchal influences or controls over the women's lives could be observed. The extent to which these changed from private to public forms and the role of domestic abuse in these processes could also be identified. This approach provided the means for noting any links, interactions and tensions between individual experiences and the wider social and cultural milieu of the period. Using the narratives to explore the socialisation of children and particularly their social learning about gender roles in their family, community and cultural context, allowed an analysis to be undertaken of the influence of dominant patriarchal discourses of gender and gender power relations in individual chronologies. Overall this theoretical approach to the study's research questions allowed an examination of the structural, functional and ideological role of domestic abuse in gender identity formation, in the construction of gender roles, gender relationships and in women's wider social inequality in late twentieth century Scotland. Further, the extent to which it continued to be regarded as a 'legitimate' feature of intimate relationships over a longer time frame could be assessed.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the feminist theoretical approach taken to the analysis of the oral history narratives which emerged from historiographical developments and recent re-evaluation of the concepts of separate spheres and of patriarchal theory. Feminist analyses of women's experiences have emphasised women's lived experience as a starting point with theory development being undertaken by a community of historians, social scientists and activists. Women's subordinate position in western society was regarded as historically grounded in their traditional status in marriage and the family. The classic patriarchal family structure placed women's reproductive and servicing roles at the heart of their function in the family. This provided a template for defining female gender roles over the centuries. Male gender roles were similarly defined within the classic patriarchal family model as heads of household with privileged access to women's bodies and the services they provided. Social constructions of the patriarchal family from early modern times evolved into the ideology of the private *family ideal*. This private realm dominated by the patriarchal leadership of the father was codified in laws governing family privacy and autonomy in the organisation of its affairs and in the control and discipline of its members. New approaches to the historicisation of women's experiences of domestic abuse emerged which were grounded in patriarchal family economies, structures, gender roles and norms. Feminist theorists observed that classic patriarchy had evolved into a modern form

by the nineteenth century as a result of its particular synergy with modern capitalism. The legal right of Scottish husbands to chastise their wives and children, which ended in the late nineteenth century, was part of a private/public patriarchal alliance closely linked to a wider socio-economic context which maintained women's structural inequality. This legitimised male control and the use of violence in the family in its widest sense. The public/private dichotomy of separate spheres has been a key feature of historical research into women's lives. However, while the porous boundaries of women's experience across the divide have been identified, particularly in relation to gender, class and property relations, this has not completely reduced their conceptual value for the examination of women's lives. Domestic abuse is a case in point. Domestic abuse has been an enduring feature of patriarchal marriage and gender relations into the late twentieth century. This examination of the private/public alliance which legitimised domestic abuse required a theoretical basis which could explain its longevity even through periods of substantial socio-economic change. Developments in gender theory stressed the more fluid nature of the spheres in social organisation and gender relations. The guiding principles of feminist research were political and linked to the feminist movement for social change. Feminist research aimed to theorise women's lived experience and to challenge the social control of women embedded in patriarchal hegemonic discourses and social, economic and political structures. Patriarchal theory was revisited in the 1990s and in the early decades of the 21st century and its value for analysing and explaining violence against women and domestic abuse was once more acknowledged.

A revision of patriarchal theory acknowledging patriarchy's more fluid nature as a social system emerged from these developments and offered new theoretical approaches to the study of women's lives in the present and in the past. Notions of patriarchy as a unified concept were rejected and varieties of patriarchy across the patriarchal macro- and micro- systems were identified. These accounted for differences in the nature and extent of patriarchal structures and norms over time and settings, for their intersection with other forms of domination, for the varied rates of change and the impact of strategies of resistance on the whole. These revisions have proved valuable for examining violence against women and domestic abuse and for operationalising patriarchal theory in more recent empirical research. They are also highly applicable to this study's key questions. Walby observed a move from private to public forms of patriarchy over the six key structures, including violence, of patriarchy in English society from the nineteenth century until the early post-WW2 decades. However, a close examination of domestic abuse as a form of violence against women and as a feature of Scottish life in the late twentieth century can illuminate the extent to which this was observable in the individual lives of a sample of women living in Scotland at that time and the extent to which a 'patriarchal equilibrium' was maintained. The purpose of historical analysis is to illuminate

continuity and change in aspects of human society. Domestic abuse has been a common feature of Scottish married life and gender relationships for centuries. However, the extent to which it remains legitimised in public and private life may be linked to the complex of socio-economic and legal factors which affect public disclosure. An ecological theoretical framework combining feminist, patriarchal and gender theory can help examine the narratives for those factors which influence men's private use of violence against their wives/partners and children and public responses to it. Examining the narratives from this theoretical basis permitted an analysis of a group of women's experiences and disclosure patterns, of policy and professional responses and allow an assessment of changes in the meaning of domestic abuse as both private and public discourse and as a lived reality in Scottish life during this period.

TABLE 1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK - NESTED PATRIARCHAL SYSTEM: INDICATORS AND RISK FACTORS

Ecological systems theory:	Individual/ Ontogenic	Family/Microsystem	Exosystem	Macrosystem; State, Economy, Society and Culture
		Mesosystem - Interaction between microsystems		
	Private Sphere		**Public Sphere**	
Patriarchal System (Walby 1990)	**Sexuality; violence against women and children.**	Housework;	**Paid work**	**State; Culture; Violence.**
Patriarchal Indicators (Ogle and Batten 2009)		Patriarchal practices in the familial division of labour; Evidence of patriarchy in family decision-making and authority; Discernable differences in the responsibility for child rearing; Family relationships (i.e., parent–parent, parent–child, child–child) characterized by the existence of hypermasculinity and hyperfeminity.	**Education:** Patriarchy may be manifested in the curriculum; patriarchal structures and practices that govern extracurricular activities at all levels of education; gender differences in levels of educational attainment. **Religion** - Within religious doctrines, are the roles of men and women equally	**Government**: the extent to which political power is dominated by men in key decision making positions; the existence of legislation for regulating women's control over reproduction; the existence of laws requiring equal treatment for men and women in civil society. **Society and Culture**: Male entitlement/ownership of women; aggressive & dominant masculinity; rigid gender roles; acceptance of inter-personal violence and physical chastisement.

			represented and valued? The actual treatment and position of women in the church.	**Economy:** horizontal and/or vertical job segregation by gender; gender pay differential for equal work; workplace power/seniority gender differential.
Risks Indicators for VAW (Heise 1998)	Individual factors; personal qualities; the influence of childhood experiences and socialisation on attitudes; perceptions and social interactions linked to experiencing/perpetrating VAW.	interpersonal factors in intimate, personal, family & social relationships e.g. patriarchal attitudes/practices, sexually aggressive peer/social groups.	Factors in neighbourhoods and community structures: schools and colleges, workplaces, health, police & social care services, workplaces which increase the risk of VAW;	**The wider context:** National and global, social, legal, political, & economic systems which accept, reject or condone inequality and VAW;
Risk factors for VAW (Heise 1998)	Witnessing marital violence; Being abused oneself as a child; absent or rejecting father.	Male dominance in family; Male control of wealth in family; use of alcohol; marital/verbal conflict.	Low socio/economic status; unemployment Isolation of women & family; delinquent peer associations.	Society and Culture: Male entitlement/ownership of women; aggressive & dominant masculinity; rigid gender roles; acceptance of inter-personal violence and physical chastisement.
Forms of Violence	Domestic abuse: Physical violence, rape and sexual assault, emotional abuse	Domestic abuse: Physical violence, rape and sexual	Rape, sexual assault, sexual harassment,	

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| against women | of women and children, stalking, harassment, murder. | assault, emotional abuse of women and children, stalking, harassment, murder, coercive control, financial abuse. | stalking and harassment, commercial sexual exploitation including prostitution, pornography. | |

CHAPTER 5

GIRLS GROWING UP IN SCOTLAND 1945-1985

Introduction

> I've got two older brothers. Very traditional…I was the oldest girl, I was expected to be the carer, the babysitter, the helping of Mum while the boys went out to play …on their bikes with their mates and stuff (Elaine b. 1957).

Elaine's recollection of the tasks she was expected to undertake in her family suggests that she began to learn from an early age that the division of labour in her family was gendered. The theoretical framework being used to investigate the study's four research questions provided a means for exploring individual lives in their wider contemporary ecological context. The study recruited participants willing to share their experiences of abuse as adults and/or as children. The time frame of this study set out to focus on the period 1979-1992, however longer family histories emerged as women chose a life-story approach to contextualise the experiences of abuse they would go on to share. While not all of the women had experienced domestic abuse as children, all of their narratives nevertheless offered the opportunity to explore family life between 1945 and the 1980s to determine the extent to which patriarchal influences may have been sustained over a longer time period echoing Davidoff and Hall's inter-generational approach. The study's theoretical framework was applied across a longer time frame. This facilitated a close examination of changes and continuities in the micro and macro social factors within the patriarchal system which may have influenced the participants' childhoods. This chapter explores the oral history narratives seeking evidence of the influences of patriarchal discourses on the way children were socialised and whether violence played a role in that process. Firstly, this chapter examines the extent to which gendered assumptions about work, gender roles and identities permeated the women's socialisation when they were growing up. Fifteen of the sixteen women participants who went on to describe their adult experiences of domestic abuse provided accounts of their childhood and/or their adolescence. The women were born between 1943 and 1966: four were born in the 1940s (Vickie, Evelyn, Dot and Eve); four in the 1950s (Geraldine, Carol, Mhairi and Elaine) and eight in the 1960s (Andrea, Lynne, Sarah, Shona, Theresa, Laura, Denise and Linda). Laura who, experienced abuse and domestic abuse as a child, did not experience domestic abuse as an adult. Eleven of the women grew up with both biological parents (Geraldine, Dot, Vickie, Carol, Mhairi, Elaine, Sarah, Theresa, Laura, Denise and Linda, Eve, Evelyn). Two lived with their mother and stepfather (Shona and Andrea); Lynne was orphaned at an early age, separated from her two siblings and brought up by her grandmother; Denise was raised by her mother who had separated from her husband early in Denise's childhood. Family sizes were provided by some but not all of the

women: Elaine and Sarah grew up in large families of six and seven children respectively; Mhairi, Linda and Denise were only children; Andrea, Dot, Carol, Geraldine, Laura, Eve and Vickie had one sibling, Theresa had two siblings. The narratives offered a unique opportunity to explore the women's early family lives in search of commonalities and differences in the way they were socialised. Abrams and Brown maintained that 'In the smallest aspect of daily life, in the smallest ritual or rite, is to be found an imprint of the whole of culture' (Abrams and Brown 2010:45). These rich reflections on childhood and family life, school, work and the women's aspirations for the future afforded an opportunity to search for the 'imprint' of patriarchal culture on women's everyday lives at that time.

The theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Four (Table 1) was used to analyse the individual narratives in the context of socio-economic and cultural changes which were taking place in Scotland during the period from the 1940s to the 1970s when the women were growing up. Crittenden and Wright found that 'families play important roles in patriarchal endorsement both at the individual and the neighbourhood levels' (Crittenden and Wright 2013:1285). The framework provided a lens through which to examine the participants' accounts of family lives and communities for evidence of a 'patriarchal legacy' in their socialisation. The interaction of features in the family setting within the wider macro-system was examined for evidence of how they shaped what women learned about their gender role and status in the family, in intimate relationships and in society more widely. The chapter reveals what it was like for the women growing up in in post-war Scotland including those who lived with domestic abuse. The chapter argues firstly that Scottish society during the period 1940s-1970s continued to be a conducive socio-economic context for the survival of patriarchal practices in some Scottish families and communities. This will be discussed specifically in relation to paid and unpaid work, housing and living conditions, the division of labour in the home, childcare and education. Secondly, the chapter argues that strong indicators of both implicit and explicit patriarchal attitudes and practices in the women's immediate and extended families and local communities influenced their socialisation into their gender roles and identities. Thirdly, the chapter argues that particular intersecting practices of control and domination exercised in the family and other contexts created contested hierarchies of power between men and women, between parents, between other adults and children, between older and younger children, between boys and girls and between girls. Finally, the chapter argues that while social learning in this context created and enforced behavioural boundaries for the children, there were particular lessons for girls about women's place in gendered hierarchies, in intimate relationships, friendship groups, educational and workplaces settings and in wider society.

Children's lives in context – post-war and late twentieth century Scotland

As they grow and develop, young children absorb many lessons from their immediate family environment about who they are and how the world works. Their interactions teach them a great deal about their place in the family, about family relationships and how they should and should not behave. As they grow and their social circles widen, children absorb new lessons about themselves and the world from their experiences of school, friendship and play. Young people take these lessons into adolescence and adulthood as they interact more widely with their social and economic environment and as new relationships and life circumstances emerge. A key part of children's development is what they learn about being a girl or a boy, 'being identifiably male or female involves one in particular ways of being, and specific kinds of positionings in lived and imagined narrative structures' (Davies 2003:141, in Hagemann-White 2012:5). Children's socialisation into their respective gender roles, and how each relates to the other is fundamental to the development of their individual identities. According to Hagemann-White:

> Overall, gender socialisation is a multi-layered, complex process taking place in groups and interaction settings. Slight differences in the average dispositions, potentials or inclinations of girls and boys are magnified by being practiced in group settings when gender-normative behaviour is elicited by adults, the peer culture or the community (Hagemann-White 2012:4).

As a key aspect of children's socialisation, family and social constructions of gender exert a powerful influence on an individual's sense of self and are shaped by a range of factors extant in the wider social and cultural environment. Lundgren and Schenk argued that gender is a lifelong constructive process, a 'gender constitution…within each individual and their interactions with others'. They distinguished between 'regulative' and 'constitutive' rules and norms which govern gender construction. 'The former being more obvious and flexible and the latter hidden and resistant to change' (Lundgren and Schenk 1995, Kelly 1996:629, Hagemann-White 2012). An exploration of the gender constitution of wider Scottish society in the late twentieth century provides a useful contextual starting point.

Scotland throughout the course of the twentieth century has been described as an 'intensely patriarchal society' (McIvor 1992:138) with the position of women in the last decades of the century still less than ideal (Breitenbach 1989, Browne 2007). The links between the elements of the patriarchal system and the position of women were discussed in Chapter Four. By the later twentieth century and despite UK legislative changes such as the Equal Pay Act of 1970[9] and the Sex

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[9] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1970/41

Discrimination Act of 1975[10], women workers in the UK struggled for equal recognition in the workplace and in wider society. In Scotland, women were involved in a number of industrial actions and campaigns seeking equal pay, improved working conditions, challenging factory closures, public sector cuts (McIvor 1992), and resisting attempts to limit women's rights to abortion previously established in the Abortion Act of 1967 (Browne 2014)[11]. This confirmed Breitenbach's assessment that, by the end of the 1980s, despite the leadership of Britain's first female prime minister Margaret Thatcher, women's position in society had 'been scrutinised and found wanting' (Breitenbach 1989:174) and that, for most women, the decade's government policies were a 'regressive force' (Purvis 2013:1018).

> Ideas of patriarchy and male control had a very long history and the importance of controlling women and maintaining male status were significant factors in determining how culture defined men and women in relation to the workplace (Simonton 1998:263).

Gendered perceptions about the meaning of women's work since the nineteenth century had segregated women horizontally in occupations most reflective of their domestic role. Skilled, higher status and higher paid occupations were largely the preserve of male workers with pay set at levels intended to be sufficient to support a family where women's were not (Hemming 1985, Gordon and Breitenbach 1990, Clark 1995). This maintained women in an economically subordinate position in the family economy by inhibiting parity with men's pay, reinforcing the predominance of the breadwinner/homemaker model and the idea of the family wage in women's economic lives (Simonton 1998: 263). According to Simonton, 'for much of the last 300 years women have been defined first in terms of domestic responsibilities. They were working *women* not women *workers'* (Simonton 1998: 241). Gendered constructions of married women's economic and social role in the family informed the lower pay levels of all women, married or not. Employers justified paying low wages to all women with reference to the gendered expectations of married women's lesser economic role in the family and their dependence on their husband's wage (Cox 1989). William Beveridge, designer of the British post-war welfare state 'accepted uncritically the idea of 'the housewife''(Summerfield 2002:60) and the male provider/female homemaker family model. Under his state benefit system, single women were treated the same as men for the purposes of benefit claims. However, 'through marriage a woman's *identity* would change and with it her right to financial support from the state' (Kelly 2011:8). State benefits for married couples were claimed by the husband and reflected the male breadwinner/female homemaker model which calculated the needs of the whole family under the husband's claim. By the early 1980s, 31% of single parent families,

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[10] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65
[11] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/87/contents

mostly comprising female heads of households, were living below the poverty line (calculated as income below 60% of the median) and 50% were on Supplementary Benefit (Knox 1999: 261). With childcare and care of the elderly regarded as part of women's role as homemaker, their domestic responsibilities restricted their options in terms of the hours they could work and thus the employment opportunities that were available to them. As Cox observed, these economic structures restricted both men and women from breaking from the expected gender roles of breadwinner and homemaker respectively (Cox 1989:5).

The influence of the wider patriarchal system on the women's family economies and employment was evident in the contribution of paid work to family life, in the domestic division of labour and in the contemporary education system.   Thirteen of the women self-identified as working class (Vickie, Evelyn, Elaine, Dot, Eve, Carol, Mhairi, Andrea, Lynne, Sarah, Theresa, Laura and Linda), two as middle class (Shona and Denise) and one as upper class (Geraldine). Where the information was provided, their fathers included skilled workers in manual trades, manufacturing, the RAF and the merchant navy, unskilled or casual workers, a senior factory manager, a psychiatrist, an academic and one with inherited wealth. The biographies and current employment of the women from working class families showed significant upward mobility in their adult lives. Changes to Scotland's economy from the 1960s resulted in a shift from manufacturing towards a more service-based economy and from manual towards non-manual occupations (Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004, Peden 2012). During the late 1970s and 1980s, a number of changes hastened this process. The Conservative government's economic policy, the withdrawal of foreign investment, privatisation, the loss of nationalised industries, the changing nature of public sector employment and new technology led to the loss of thousands of jobs. This accelerated a collapse in Scotland's industrial economy at a rate faster than in England (Breitenbach 1989, Dickson 1992, Devine and Finlay 1996, Knox 1999). The closure of factories and mines dealt further blows to the already declining manufacturing and industrial sectors in Scotland and led to dramatic rises in male unemployment (Devine 1999, Knox 1999, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004, Macdonald 2009), particularly among low-skilled male workers (Gregg, Macmillan et al. 2012).   In the 1950s and 1960s, Scotland's overall unemployment rate grew to twice that of the UK as a whole with 25% of the population classified as 'long term unemployed' by 1961 (Knox 1999). Unemployment rates from the early 1950s to the end of the 1970s show an overall rise with periodic reductions which reflected the vagaries of the Scottish economy and economic policies. From rates of around 3% in the early 1950s, unemployment rose to around 6% in the 1960s and peaked at 14.6% in 1983 with a sharp fall to 9.4% in 1989. Definitions of 'unemployment' were also subject to repeated and retrospective changes with five changes in definition noted for the period 1976-2000 as governments linked unemployment more closely to benefit claims (Knox 1999:260,

Brown 2010:29). Male employment in Scotland dropped by 183,000 between 1975 and 1985 (Breitenbach 1989:185). As a result of changes to pension entitlements and the abolition of the married women's lower rated national insurance stamp, the numbers of married women registering for employment also increased. However, by the 1980s, women with children faced the 'availability for work' test and had to verify that they had adequate child care arrangements in place should they be offered work otherwise their benefits would be denied. Women's caring responsibilities could therefore severely restrict their access to work and benefits (Breitenbach 1989, Land 1985).

The economic transition from the 1960s to the 1980s was also marked by increasingly tense industrial relations in areas where men's jobs in manufacturing and heavy industry were disappearing and factory closures increasingly common. This affected the women's family lives during the 1960s and 1970s. Carol from Paisley recalled her parents' financial struggles during this period when her welder father was involved in strike action in the Clyde shipyards. Both Theresa's and Laura's fathers lost their jobs in 1981 following the closure of the Chrysler factory in Linwood, Renfrewshire, which employed workers from a wide catchment area including the industrial towns and villages of north Ayrshire. The nearby Garnock valley in north Ayrshire was further devastated by the closure of the local steel and textile works in the early 1980s. Laura's mother lost her job in the local textile factory and with her father and other male members of her extended family now redundant, 'things were really nasty and that's when there was a lot of violence….late seventies early 80s things got much worse' (Laura b. 1964). Following his redundancy, Theresa's father resorted to a range of ways, legal and illegal, to fulfil his role as breadwinner.

For the women from working-class families, some of their fathers had to work long hours or away from home to support their families. Sarah's father worked long shifts as a factory manager to support his family of seven children. In all of the two-parent families, the women's fathers or stepfathers were the main breadwinners. Although her Mum occasionally worked part-time, Elaine, from a family of six, described hers as a traditional household, 'my Dad was the breadwinner and my Mum did you know, ad hoc jobs….' (Elaine b. 1957). Working as a self-employed bricklayer Elaine's Dad was away from home a great deal of the time. While men's unemployment was increasing from 1950-1970 and securing employment increasingly precarious, the period was also characterised by a substantial increase in the numbers of women, particularly married women, entering paid employment whose participation in the paid workforce in Scotland rose from 23.4% in 1951 to 62% in 1981 (McIvor 1992:142). The majority of part-time working women were married with most working in low-paid sectors. Women also represented a substantial proportion of the 'hidden unemployed' due in large part to their unpaid caring and domestic responsibilities. While only a quarter of all registered unemployed were women, it was estimated that of the one million unregistered

unemployed in the UK, the majority were women (Cox 1989: 21). However while the unpaid work of women in the home was not classified as economic activity in national statistics of women workers, opportunities for women's employment, particularly part-time work, grew with married women entering the workforce in increasing numbers (McIvor 1992, Knox 1999, Brown 2010). With many women's paid employment necessarily organised around their domestic and caring responsibilities Bruegel argues that this was the main reason for the rise in the numbers of women, particularly married women, in part-time employment since the 1950s. Their numbers added substantially to their proportion of the national work force, rising from 12% in 1956 to 40% in 1977 (Bruegel 1983:133). In Scotland, women's employment rose from 65,000 in 1979 to 109,000 in 1982 (Breitenbach 1989) mainly in part-time and temporary jobs; part-time was defined as under thirty hours per week (Crompton 1997, Brown 2010, McIvor 2010). By comparison, at this time only 7% of Scottish men worked part-time. The expansion of low skilled production line processes in light engineering, electrical and electronic manufacturing sectors attracted unskilled women workers. Large numbers of women worked in the financial, business and public sector services (McIvor 1992:140-142). Skilled and semi-skilled work in catering, cleaning, shop work, clerical and hairdressing employed over three quarters of women by 1981 (Breitenbach 1989, Knox 1999, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004). In the professional fields, large numbers of women trained as nurses, teachers and social workers (Cox 1989, Knox 1999) doubling the numbers of women nurses and teachers in Scotland between 1951 and 1981 (Knox 1999). Men tended to work mostly full time in manual manufacturing, management, legal and administration, transport, professional science, engineering and construction (Knox 1999, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004). Vertical and horizontal gender segregation in employment concentrated women in part-time, low status and low paid work compared to men.

Since the nineteenth century, while Scotland overall has been characterised as a low wage economy, women's work was further typified as being 'synonymous with low pay' (Gordon and Breitenbach 1990, Knox 1999:91).   This characterisation continued into the late twentieth century. The employment sectors where women worked and the types of jobs they did were occupationally segregated by gender and pay differentials continued to disadvantage women (Breitenbach 1978, Breitenbach 1989, Breitenbach 1990, McIvor 1996, Simonton 1998, Paterson, Bechhofer et al. 2004). In 1973, prior to the Equal Pay Act, the 60% of employees in the UK in the six lowest paying jobs were women despite women's jobs comprising only 37% of all jobs (Bruegel 1983). Despite the Equal Pay Act of 1975, overall, women's wages remained lower than men's. In the 1980s, the Trades Union Congress's measure of low pay was less than two thirds of national average earnings – £90 per week in 1982. That year, by this measure across the UK, 50% of women working full time earned less than that compared with 10% of men. The hourly pay of full-time working women was 74% of men's and

their average weekly pay was 66% of men's; 80% of part-time women workers earned less that the hourly equivalent of £90 a week, £2.30 an hour (Cox 1989:23-25). In the early 1980s Scotland was described as 'the worst region in Britain for its disproportionate share of all low paid workers', however Scottish women made up a significant majority of those on low pay: 28.5% of male workers compared to 60.8% of women workers earned less than £85 per week (Knox 1999: 258). When men were employed in traditionally female dominated occupations such as nursing, shop work and teaching, their average weekly wages however were still found to be higher than women's in a 1982 UK New Earnings Survey (Cox 1989).

Housing and living conditions

The impact of Scotland's low wage economy is revealed in the women's accounts of their childhood housing and living conditions. The location and type of homes women grew up in were linked to their father's occupation and earnings. With over two thirds of Scots living in towns of over 5,000 inhabitants by mid-century, Scotland's and particularly the west of Scotland' s enduring legacy of overcrowding, poor housing and lack of sanitation was exacerbated in the post-war period by homelessness following wartime destruction, housing shortages and troop demobilisation. Housing became post-war Scotland's 'greatest priority for social action…and…one of the most important indicators of change to the lives of the Scottish people' (Brown 2010: 35). As a small child growing up in the early 1950s, Dot remembers moving with her parents into her grandfather's small house but having to move out again when her homeless aunt arrived with three children and her parents being told 'you've only got one child, you'll have to go.' Dot's father went back to live with his parents while Dot and her Mum moved into a Nissan hut in Duddingston Village near Holyrood, 'half the Nissan hut was one room and a stove and I think a sink but no toilet and no laundry facilities' (Dot b. 1949).

The post-war Scottish house building boom which began in the 1950s was typified by an expansion in state-subsidised house building which by the 1970s housed half of Scotland's population (Brown 2010). These trends are evident in the women's narratives describing the type of housing they lived in and the changes in the quality and availability of family homes during this period. As children, the majority of the women lived in council or privately rented accommodation with three living in privately owned houses. Although later in her childhood the RAF provided Dot's parents with a tied house, their tenure was insecure and the family struggled to survive on her father's low wages. Laura grew up in a new council house scheme in the Garnock Valley built in the 1960s. However, even with both parents working, in homes with improved amenities, overcrowding persisted into the 1970s. Sarah from Lanarkshire grew up with six siblings and her parents in a packed three-bedroomed council house. Lynne and her grandmother were rehoused from tenements in central Glasgow to a new two-

bedroomed multi-storey flat in the late 1960s. However, Lynne recalled her uncle, his wife and young son moving in soon after due to housing shortages in Glasgow at the time. Now sharing a room with her grandmother, Lynne was 'devastated' when she was asked to move out. Sixteen-year-old Lynne had to find a job and move into a bedsit without completing her education. Even with adequate housing, Andrea's description of growing up in a poor community in Lanarkshire in the 1960s is bleak. With her stepfather and mother on low incomes and insecure employment, Andrea and her brother were frequently hungry with the gas and electricity supply often being cut off.

Family economies – paid and unpaid work

With the exception of Dot and Geraldine's mothers, mothers' wages made an essential contribution to the family income with paid work carried out in addition to housework and childcare responsibilities. Their mothers had a variety of jobs: skilled and unskilled, full and part time, temporary and permanent. In the Strathclyde region in the west central belt of Scotland, 72% of female employees worked in the service sector in occupations traditionally associated with women: shop and office work, in catering, laundries, pubs, as cleaners, hospital ancillary workers, nurses and teachers (Breitenbach 1978, Nelson 1983). Most of the remainder worked in manufacturing.

> The nature of the work is often menial and tedious and the level of wages low, and no doubt the economic advantage to the employers in employing women is largely responsible for the emergence of increased female employment over the past twenty years (Breitenbach 1978:2).

This occupational segregation is reflected in the working lives of some of the women's mothers who worked in shops, factories and as cleaners: there was a seamstress, a yarn winder, a teacher and an office worker. In some cases the mothers had more than one part-time job. Many of the women remembered hard-working parents on low wages and precarious family finances. Their mothers generally found it difficult to cope with their domestic chores and paid work on insecure incomes exacerbated in some cases by occasionally absent or irresponsible husbands. Elaine's father worked away and would send money home, however he was a gambler and she recalled that, 'quite often there wisnae money came home you know? My Mum struggled' (Elaine b. 1957). Others observed their mothers being constrained in their own ambitions and having to give up work when they were married or had children. Sarah described her mother as an 'intelligent woman… when they got married she had to give up her job…I think she was frustrated at times and who can blame her?' (Sarah b. 1961). When Mhairi was born, her politically active Mum, '…decided to take a back seat in terms of politics… My Dad was a communist councillor in the Renton so…' (Mhairi b. 1955).

Managing paid work, housework and children was a struggle for many of the women's mothers at times. Theresa and Laura's mums had no alternative but to take them to work when they

were sick or it was too early for school. Paid work was secondary to women's domestic responsibilities and women had to find ways to accommodate the demands of both. This 'double burden' was recognised as a 'specifically feminine phenomenon' reflecting the findings of studies carried out elsewhere in the UK (Summerfield 2002:63). Laura's mum was a cleaner who started work at 6.00 a.m.: 'so me and my wee sister always got up early and sometimes we went with her' (Laura b. 1964). There was an expectation among some of the women's families that the girls, especially the eldest girl, however young, would assist their mothers when required. There was evidence from the narratives that, as girls, they were learning about the nature of women's role in the family economy, the lower importance of women's paid work and the priority given to women's domestic and childcare responsibilities. Aged five, Laura was accompanied to school and back once and thereafter went on her own because her mum was working. Laura also had domestic responsibilities violently thrust on her at an early age by her mum,

> I was a wee lassie [laughs], … maybe seven and you'd have homework to do and sometimes you'd forget to peel the tatties or tidy up or dae the dishes and you know I'd get beaten up for that (Laura b. 1964).

As Dot, Theresa and Laura entered their teens, they took part-time jobs, mostly in shops or cafés, to supplement the family income much as their mothers did. Their accounts reveal the intersection of gender with the family economy. For teenage Dot, in the 1960s, with her airman father now retired from the RAF through ill health and her mother his full time carer, a clear gender dimension influenced family solutions to stretched budgets,

> I'd had lots of holiday jobs and Saturday jobs. My brother never had to, I did. I used to pay my own fares to school, buy my own clothes in the summer, he never had to do anything (Dot b. 1949).

Laura started work young in the 1970s, 'The rules for kids working wirnae as eh strict or as ridiculous as they are now [laughs] and so I worked in the chippy that first summer when I was twelve' (Laura b. 1964). At fifteen in the 1970s, Theresa's father, now in and out of employment following the closure of the Chrysler factory in Linwood, demanded more and more 'dig money' from her part-time earnings in a local chip shop, 'he was making sure that I didnae have any money' (Theresa b. 1963). Expectations that children should contribute to the family income as soon as they were in paid work were common in working-class households. However, Dot's experience suggests that in some cases boys were exempt from this. The control exercised over the young women's earnings and the expectations that they also contribute unpaid domestic labour to the running of the home

differentiated their role in the family economy from that of their brothers or younger siblings.

These narratives illustrate the intersection of dominant gender roles with the family economy during the women's childhoods. They show the continued dominance of the patriarchal model with the husband/father as the main breadwinner and their wives and daughters as homemakers whose earnings were nevertheless vital to the family finances. Simonton maintained that the separation of work and home into public and private realms was inadequate to describe the experience of working families in the nineteenth century. Rather they were sites of 'gendered cooperation and conflict' (Simonton 1998: 261) between men and women, maintaining the upkeep of their households. Her arguments appear to still hold true in the women's reflections on their own and their mothers' lives in the late twentieth century and support Walby's identification of unpaid work in the family and paid work as key elements of the patriarchal system. These glimpses of late twentieth century family life and the women's socialisation reflected changing patterns of male and female employment at the time. Their accounts show how constructions of gender intersected with the financial and personal dynamics of the patriarchal family and influenced the women's early employment options and choices. With increasing opportunities for even very young women like Dot, Laura and Theresa to undertake part-time paid work in areas of high male unemployment, their essential contribution to the family budget did not reduce the requirement for them to undertake unpaid domestic work at home. Constitutive practices continued to reinforce the young women's subordinate status in the family hierarchy as they began to move into adulthood while regulatory gender rules and norms in relation to women's paid work were responding to external changes. For the women born in the 1950s and 1960s their schooldays came at a time when significant changes were taking place in the Scottish education system.

Education

Girls' education, particularly for working class girls' had traditionally been gendered and aimed at preparing them for their roles as wives and mothers (Corr 1983, Davis 2012). Whilst a broader and less overtly gendered educational curriculum became available to Scottish girls during the 1970s and 1980s and their attainment levels rose, the cultural impact of prevailing discourses of gender roles at the time created tensions for the young women contemplating their futures. Although MacPherson observed that by the 1970s in Scotland, 'there was no longer any need to encourage or to tolerate the under-attainment of women. Nor were women themselves as likely as in the past to accept traditional expectations' (McPherson 1992: 99) other observers disagreed. In the 1970s, feminist commentators observed the persistently gendered nature of girls' education beyond the teaching of domestic science. One remarked on 'the characterization of some subjects as male and some subjects as female…in the content of some disciplines which emphasize male rather than female endeavour, or

which take for granted the existing position of women in society' (Deem 1978 in Davis 2012: 46.).

According to Hemming, the roots of gender occupational segregation lay in continued gender segregation in education, 'girls take languages, biology and domestic subjects and boys take maths, physics, chemistry and technical subjects. Scotland is exceptional in having approximately equal sex ratios for maths but this makes no difference to occupational segregation' (Hemming 1985:5). Evidence from the narratives reflects this more complex picture with accounts of young women often struggling with school regimes and culture, the competing demands and expectations of parents and teachers, contested gender roles and relations and the educational and career options becoming available to them.

Scottish primary and secondary schools were strictly hierarchical establishments with widespread and often harsh disciplinary regimes and structures enforced by the regular use of the 'Lochgelly' or 'tawse' – a long three-pronged leather strap – which teachers used to beat children on the hands. Scottish schools - key elements in the mesosystem - were characterised by highly gendered patriarchal power discourses and practices which were maintained by officially sanctioned violence against children. While the belt was mainly, but not exclusively, meted out to boys, all children were learning in a context where physical assault by adults was the likely consequence of indiscipline or perceived misdemeanours. One study by the Scottish teaching union the Educational Institute of Scotland found 84% of boys and 57% of girls at secondary school had been belted in primary school during the post-war period (Paterson 2003:122). A harsh lesson was being learned by young children about their place in the adult world. Evelyn, who had enjoyed a nurturing home life, received a big shock on encountering the violent culture in her local primary school in the 1950s,

> I was at school at a time when teachers were the bullies not the other pupils. It wasn't your friends at school, children didn't bully each other really but the teachers did all of that...school was…a bit of a nightmare... The teacher bullied us…there was the belt as well and it wasn't just the boys that got the belt. You got the belt for looking out the window, and for having spelling mistakes, oh...it was just hideous, hideous in so many ways… (Evelyn b. 1947)

A ruling against the practice by the European Court of Human Rights in 1982 led to legislation finally banning 'the belt' in 1986. The culture of the playground could also reflect these hierarchies and were in some cases enforced by bullying among the young people. Sarah, coping with a distant mother and fearful at home, was isolated by other girls at secondary school in the 1970s because she was clever – something she still found hard to talk about:

> Yeah I was bright and all that but em… oh gosh some of it is hard to talk about really… I think it's fair to say that it wasn't easy being bright, looking back you know. To be a girl and be smart

wasn't cool really…I got a prize at the end of first year… it got up a couple of girls' noses and out the blue they didn't want to be my friend any more…[becomes upset]…It was a clever girls' school you know that was the kind of… I think there was jealousy there but at the time you don't know that (Sarah born 1961).

Thereafter Sarah felt inhibited about showing her cleverness at school. 'I think part of me kind of gave up and then hid it a bit…. I did ok, I could've done better…yeah, definitely…as you can see it's still a sore spot' (Sarah born 1961). However, this contradicted the high standards expected by her parents and this confused her…

If you came home and you got nine out of ten then it was "why didn't you get ten out of ten?"…my brothers and sisters who had gone to…the first four had all gone to university. There was kind of a split in the family. The big ones and the wee ones and the big ones all went to university but funnily enough the wee ones didn't (Sarah born 1961).

Shona, who moved as a teenager to Scotland from England, struggled with her sense of her own identity during her early years at secondary school in Stirling,

I was English and I was overweight and I was new and eh…I got a hard time for that when I was at school. So I did a lot to try and fit in, to try and make friends, adopted a Scottish accent at the time …and really wanted to fit in, wanted to have friends, wanted to feel like I belonged… and getting in with a crowd that were quite em…cruel to me, would make friends with me and then would turn on me and being a bit confused about where I fitted in and that kind of thing (Shona b. 1963).

By contrast, for Laura and Theresa, being abused and assaulted at home, school offered a welcome escape. Theresa recalled her first day at primary school,

I remember being happy and wondering why everybody was crying. They were leaving their parents obviously and I was so happy about learning and I was like "Oh what are they all crying for?" (Theresa b. 1963).

Laura also loved school as an antidote to her violent home life. 'I worked really hard at school…I made some early decisions, very early on [laughs] when I was five, that the safe place for me…[was school] … 'cos I never felt safe as a child ever.'. With a love of literature and showing early promise as a writer Laura had a female English teacher who 'bullied me at school and bullied ma sister and bullied quite a lot of people at school' (Laura b. 1964). The women were learning new lessons about power hierarchies between siblings, sisters and brothers, between older and younger siblings. Once they started school and began to move outside the family, they learned about other hierarchies and

practices of power in school between teachers and pupils and also between the young people themselves. All of these also intersected with strongly gendered messages that for some were strongly reinforced by living with violent fathers.

Overall, nine of the women who participated in the study left school at sixteen and trained as nurses, hairdressers, office or shop workers, one worked as a nanny and six went to university. In the UK in the 1980s, 3% of apprentices were girls and most were in traditional female jobs like hairdressing (Cox 1989).   Although the narratives reveal a widening of the educational and employment opportunities available to young women in the 1960s and 1970s, the jobs or training they undertook and their experiences of workplace cultures continued to reflect gendered occupational segregation and wider gender norms.   Changes to the way women were educated were a necessary first step towards women's access to further and higher education, the professions, wider participation in the workforce and full citizenship (Simonton 1998, Paterson 2004).   According to Simonton, the key barriers were gender, status and cultural tradition (Simonton 1998). From the early 1960s, changes in Scottish education included a focus on achieving equality of access and attainment, the abolition of intelligence testing and the introduction of the comprehensive secondary school system after 1965. Raising the school leaving age to 16 in 1973 resulted in growing numbers of young people staying on at school. This also made the 'O' Grade and the revised Standard grade syllabuses and nationally administered certification universally available to all pupils (McPherson 1992). This has been credited with the improvement of attainment across all social classes in Scotland and a narrowing of gender differences in attainment as girls' levels of attainment began to rise (McPherson 1992, Paterson 2004). By the late 1970s with more young people staying on longer at school under the comprehensive school system, girls quickly began to overtake boys in pass rates in Higher Grade examinations (Paterson 2004:156). The abandonment of pupil selection using the qualifying test for entry to secondary school, the establishment of the area comprehensive school and the raising of the school leaving age to 16 years in 1973 meant that by the end of the 1970s 'girls were leaving school better qualified on average than boys' (McPherson 1992:99, Paterson 2003).

The women's experiences of education, in the context of tight family finances or tension at home however reveal conflicts between the opportunities available to women through education, its potential value to their future lives and the influence of gendered expectations on the choices they made.   Laura described how she struggled to study for her exams whilst coping with her violent home life, her job and bullying from a teacher, 'it was absolutely dreadful …I really had stress at school and my Highers and dogging[12] classes to try and escape a wee bit and what not' (Laura b. 1964). Others

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[12] The term 'dogging' is used by children in some parts of Scotland to refer to playing truant from school.

also found their education suffered from conflicting pressures at home and in school. Sarah struggled with the prevailing expectations of her peer group, her parents' aspirations and the educational opportunities available to her. She was bullied by other girls because she was clever, 'it's women doing it to women…what are we doing to girls to make that not ok to be smart? Why does it single you out as being different?'(Sarah born 1961). Despite her older brothers and sisters going on to university, Sarah did not, 'I think it was kind of sub-conscious rebellion against the 'this is what you must do, this is the only path in life.' (Sarah born 1961). Lynne was forced to make big decisions at sixteen and grew up with her grandmother's limited expectations of her as a young woman. She left school without qualifications:

> I lived with my grandmother who was very, very old… as far as she was concerned I could read and write so I would go far [laughs] (Lynne b. 1961).

In 1963 when the Robbins Report recommended a major expansion of higher education in the UK, 7% of girls entered higher education in Scotland. However, the numbers entering higher education doubled from 23,448 in 1960 to 52,315 in 1970 (Paterson 2003). By the 1980s, the numbers entering post-compulsory schooling in Scotland continued to increase with girls entering higher education in the same numbers as boys (McPherson 1992, Simonton 1998, Paterson 2004). Iain, a retired Procurator Fiscal recalled his days at Glasgow University in the 1970s,

> The percentage of male to female undergraduates I am sure would have been roundabout 80: 20% or even higher 85:15%. By that time even during the course of me being at university you could see the changes coming in (Iain).

Aside from teaching, which traditionally attracted mainly women to primary education, according to Simonton, 'the need to preserve exclusivity contributed to restrictions on women entering many professional fields' and women had first to 'obtain the right to higher education and to the same education as males was the first step' (Simonton 1998:241). This is confirmed by Iain who reflected on the increasing numbers of women studying law, their gradual progression into the legal profession in the 1980s and 1990s, and their impact on the male dominated culture of the profession:

> There were more women studying law and that worked its way through the 90s. In the 80s it was very much, predominantly a male bastion, the shreval bench and the number of female Sheriffs was very, very low (Iain).

Although the narratives reveal a gradual widening of the educational and employment opportunities available to young women in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, their choices were influenced by prevailing gender norms, expectations and occupational gendered segregation.   Sarah left school and embarked on a relationship with an older man who effectively put an end to her university prospects by ensuring she prioritised her relationship with him over her career aspirations,

> Yeah I tried uni …I really didn't engage with it and looking back on it, I think… having already been caught up in this relationship jeopardised my chances 'cos he was very controlling, very jealous of everything that I did and anybody that I spoke to (Sarah b. 1961).

However, Shona aged seventeen stuck to her ambition to go to college, despite her boyfriend's wishes that she prioritise their three year old relationship, telling him, 'I'm going to college and when I go to college I don't want to go dragging a relationship with me' (Shona b. 1963). Dot had shown early promise at school but found her subject choices at university limited:

> I was really quite clever…but struggled to adjust to being away from home for the first time at Lancaster University, …my best subjects were maths and art …I didn't get to do what I wanted…I couldn't hack it and had to come back here (Dot b. 1949).

Laura faced class and gender discrimination as an undergraduate at the University of Edinburgh in the 1980s. 'I got this room with a lecturer and his wife but I was kinda treated as a babysitter …God the abuse never stops...' (Laura b. 1964). When Laura told her Director of Studies that she wanted to study English literature, his class and gender prejudice was clearly stated:

> He said that would be too much for my pretty little head because I came from a low IQ working class background. And it was the first time I knew that! (Laura b. 1964).

The lecturer was eventually sacked for '...sexism…racism...oh [sighs] where do you start..?' (Laura b. 1964). These narratives provide evidence of the continuing influence of gendered social and economic norms on the women's lives. These have been shown in occupational segregation, in the domestic division of labour and in the educational and employment opportunities and choices available to the women and their mothers. Whilst the women's lives show a widening of the educational, career and employment opportunities available to them, compared to their own mothers, these accounts show

that gender remained a consistent factor influencing the paths available to them. The impact of these external factors on the internal dynamics of family life will now be explored for implicit and explicit indicators of patriarchal practices.

Patriarchy in practice

Family dynamics

The narratives provided rich detail about the dynamics of family life with strong indicators of patriarchal practices, including a clear demarcation of gender roles in family decision-making and authority, financial control and responsibility for child rearing. Nine out of the sixteen women (Vickie, Dot, Geraldine, Elaine, Andrea, Sarah, Theresa, Laura and Denise) lived with domestic abuse as children; the fathers or stepfathers of five of those women (Vickie, Dot, Andrea, Theresa and Laura) were also violent and abusive towards them as children as well as towards their mothers. Five women (Eve, Evelyn, Andrea, Sarah and Laura) had domineering mothers and Andrea and Laura's mothers were also violent towards their children. All of the women's experiences of family life were characterised by patriarchal family practices, clearly defined gender roles and expectations in some cases going back two previous generations. There were examples of companionate marriages with kind and loving fathers and mothers. In these families, fathers were the heads of the households and mothers, some of whom had paid jobs, had overall responsibility for housekeeping, child rearing and in some cases the discipline of children. Some women had fond childhood memories of their parents. Carol described growing up in Paisley as a perfectly happy and sheltered childhood with loving parents, 'very safe, very comfortable you know' (Carol b. 1953). Dot had 'a wonderful mother'. Others described fathers, grandfathers and uncles with strong personal, political or religious values in companionate marriages who were loving towards wives and children similar to Abrams' more nuanced picture of particularly working class fathers who were by no means on the 'fringes of family life' (Abrams 1999, see also, Young 2010, McCullough 2017). Eve's father was a Church of Scotland elder who was loved by his family and popular in the community, 'probably one of the sweetest gentlest men' (Eve b. 1949). Mhairi recalled a happy childhood where politics, second wave feminism and gender equality were regular topics of conversation with her political activist parents in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The examples above demonstrate examples of 'benign' patriarchal family dynamics and companionate marriage. However, other women revealed a range of parenting styles and practices with implicit and explicit gendered power dynamics in the behaviour of their mothers and fathers. According to Pleck, a recognisable feature of the patriarchal family can be the delegation or

assumption by the mother of responsibility for disciplining and punishing the children while the father maintains his status as overall head of the household (Pleck 2004). While the narratives suggest that most of the women's mothers did not assume responsibility for punishing the children, some did. With the exception of Eve's, those mothers who were domineering or abusive to their children, were also being abused by their husbands (Andrea, Sarah, Laura). For some of the women growing up in two-parent families, their mothers had full responsibility for caring for children and often struggled with the pressures of housework, paid work and maintaining order. Thinking of her mother Sarah recalled, 'I think it was hard for her having all those children really' (Sarah born 1961). For Elaine too, 'she was a typical woman …left with six kids to bring up while he goes off and he doesnae have that…' (Elaine b. 1957). With some fathers often either working away or working long hours, mothers were responsible for disciplining the children. For Eve, whose father was in the merchant navy, 'my father never raised his voice to us…my mother was the person within the household who very much held it together' (Eve b. 1949). Similarly, for Sarah, her mother was the one who kept the peace and she saw that her older siblings 'got hit a lot' by her mother. When asked if she herself was hit she observed, 'Not so much but the fear was there you know' (Sarah b. 1961). Eve's Dad had to 'kinna do as he was told….my Mum was quite a dominant person' (Eve b. 1949). Recalling her childhood relationship with her mother and reflecting on her own marriage Eve concluded, I moved from one domination to another, 'my Mum was quite a dominant person with me' (Eve b. 1949). Sarah too recalled her mother being very dominant 'I do remember her when I was wee and she could be quite nippy' (Sarah b.1961). Eve also described her mother as very controlling, 'In all sorts of ways I was quite afraid of my mother. I mean she wasn't physically abusive with us but…she was pretty scary' (Eve b. 1949). While these examples suggest a number of different family dynamics and styles of parenting, they combined to convey to the children a sense of their place in the family with hierarchies of fathers over mothers or mothers over fathers and overall between parents and children.

Mothers' responsibilities could take their toll on them and on their little girls growing up. While some narratives reveal dominant and violent mothers, others describe mothers who were struggling to cope alone with emotionally demanding family circumstances. Eve recalled her strict mother's lack of affection towards her growing children with some poignancy,

> See if you were a baby…? She'd cuddle ye but see as you got older no she didn't. All I wanted my Mum to do was just give me a cuddle and say 'you're alright', but she never, ever, ever did it (Eve b. 1949).

In later life, Eve's father suggested that his wife may have suffered post-natal depression. Eve's two-year old sister died when her mother was pregnant with her younger brother. With Eve's father away at sea, her mum had to cope alone. Similarly for Sarah, the youngest of seven children born when her

mother was thirty eight and with her father working long hours: 'I don't think my mother had much time for me you know, really to be honest, poor soul' (Sarah born 1961). Despite the mixed messages offered to girls about who wielded power in family life, they learned from both parents about hierarchical family power dynamics, about gender roles, the place of children and of girls in the family pecking order. However as these accounts have revealed, this often came at the cost of a close relationship with their mothers. Other early lessons were also being learned about marital relationships as the young girls observed how their parents behaved towards each other.

Carol and Geraldine remembered tense family atmospheres and learning how to deal with conflict from their parents' example. Carol recalls her otherwise loving parents' completely avoiding dealing with conflict and the lessons she learned from observing their tense silences following an argument, 'I think I probably learned from them just to keep quiet' (Carol b. 1953). Geraldine described an 'absence of love' between her parents. On holiday with another family for the first time aged twelve, Geraldine was surprised to see that her friend's parents held hands,

> The vision of it really, really stuck with me. The way they were affectionate towards each other and talked to each other and consulted with each other... I never really saw my parents talking to each other. They existed in the same house. He was away most of the time. He was away with these other women and she was surviving (Geraldine b. 1951).

Growing up with domestic abuse

For some women, while childhood recollections suggested often difficult dynamics and conflict between their parents they remain unsure about whether there was domestic abuse or not. This reflected the partial perspectives and understandings children often have of grown-up relationships and also, potentially, the parents' attempt to keep the abuse hidden from their children. Geraldine described her father as a 'rich Scot' who brought her mother to Scotland from London 'he showed her off and then basically stuck her in a cottage...I think he was probably quite abusive of her. He had a lot of other women in his life and neglected her at least' (Geraldine b. 1951). Elaine described a great deal of conflict between her parents but although she did not witness her Dad being violent to her Mum, she described their relationship as 'stormy'. However years later, although Elaine's Mum confirmed that her husband had often hit her, Elaine maintained that her Dad 'wasn't really a violent man' (Elaine b.1957). When asked if her father was violent, Sarah was similarly ambivalent, 'I don't think so, but I think she kept the peace' (Sarah b. 1961). The women's accounts of their childhood socialisations were infused with discourses and practices conveying hierarchies of power and gender.

Geraldine, Elaine and Sarah, who all recalled tensions between their parents, had little direct evidence of domestic abuse until later life when their mothers disclosed abuse to them. The narratives

of seven of the women (Laura, Dot, Vickie, Andrea, Denise, Theresa and Geraldine) describe living with fathers or stepfathers whom they observed behaving in a number of violent and controlling ways to their mothers. Six of those women (Laura, Dot Vickie, Andrea, Denise and Theresa) directly witnessed the abuse of their mothers and were also themselves directly abused by their fathers/stepfathers as children. The women provided disturbing accounts of what they witnessed and experienced as children and its impact on them. These offer valuable insights into childhood experiences of living with domestic abuse from the 1950s to the 1970s which echo the findings of twenty-first century research into children's experiences of domestic abuse and its impact (Mullender, Hague et al. 2002, Humphreys, Houghton et al. 2008). Then, as now, children were often present during their father's abuse of their mothers and felt helpless to intervene. Some assumed a protective role to towards their mothers and younger siblings, were isolated from sources of safety or support and felt overwhelmed and distressed by what they witnessed. The women recalled witnessing violent assaults on their mothers, the impact this had on their mothers and the consequences for them. Dot's parents 'were always fighting and arguing' (Dot b. 1949). Vickie's mother, 'got many a doin'[13]...Ah had tae stand and watch that. I tried to interfere but of no avail. He used to shove you out the way' (Vickie b. 1943). Theresa's father regularly beat her mother up in front of her,

> It was as if he was punishing me even more [showing her] this is what I can do to your Mum, you know. And I'd be lying there, you know, [sighs] trying to stop them you know ...so...when I say trying to stop them I just remember curling up and crying I couldnae do much (Theresa b. 1963).

Laura experienced a great deal of violence from her father and her mother and from her father directed at her mother and stated that she never felt safe as a child. Laura kept her father's violence a secret, telling no one, even after a particularly violent incident she witnessed aged seven when her Dad 'smashed my Mum's head against the cooker… knocked her out you see, unconscious and then left the house'. Laura did not know what to do,

> 'My Mum …didnae like mess and I'd get beaten up for messing things up and no' daen things right so I'm trying to clean the blood….Seven and I'm trying to clean the blood up…(Laura b. 1964)

Immediately following this incident and after regaining consciousness, Laura's mother tried to kill herself with an overdose. Laura ran to neighbours who called an ambulance but told them nothing about the reasons for her mother's attempted suicide. At times Theresa's mother's injuries were so severe, her father hid her from Theresa and her brothers, 'He'd beaten her that badly she couldnae

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[13] A doin' – doing – is a term used in Glasgow for a beating.

see out of her eyes… we sneaked in to see her. She just put her heid out the covers, she went "you need to go!" and eventually they took her away to hospital' (Theresa b. 1963). Having to assume an early safeguarding role for younger siblings can be a common experience where there is domestic abuse. Protecting her little sister was a priority for Laura, 'We'd hide in our bedroom and then I'd go and check and see what was happening and tell her not to leave the bedroom' (Laura b. 1964). Denise's parents split up due to her father's violence towards her mother. Although she recalled only one or two violent incidents, on one occasion aged six she remembered seeing her mother coming 'out of the bathroom with blood pouring down her face when he broke her jaw… ' (Denise b. 1966). However, in later life Denise's Mum told her the full story of her marriage and why she left her husband, 'Now I know how much she went through and it was horrific you know' (Denise b. 1966).

These harrowing accounts of witnessing extreme violence by their fathers as children convey the participants' vulnerability and terror in the face of events beyond their control. Their accounts of their reactions to living in almost perpetual fear, the capriciously violent behaviour of their fathers, their helplessness in the face of their mother's pain, despair and, for some, attempted suicide, describe children living a deeply traumatic existence. The adult descriptions of their reactions to the violence and abuse suggest they were deeply affected by their experiences. Enforced secrecy, failing to protect their mothers, being prevented from seeing them and looking on helplessly and frightened during vicious assaults were common experiences. The similarities in their descriptions of fathers using violence to wield complete power over their wives and children who were cut off from any means of escape, safety or assistance with few avenues of resistance are stark. However, the women, growing up with the ongoing abuse of their mothers also described the impact it had on their own relationships with their fathers, the lessons they absorbed about the gendered nature of power and control and their status in the family.

The women who had abusive fathers found it difficult to understand and to cope with their parents' decisions, the abuse and its impact on daily life and family relationships. Andrea remembers the family dynamic changing abruptly when at age six her father left and her mother's new partner moved in. Her previously stable and comfortable life with her Mum and Dad ended without explanation, she remembers one day aged six coming home from school and meeting her father carrying a suitcase saying he was going to the laundrette: 'and that was the day our lives changed. The following day there was a step-father [name] arrived at the house and immediately he arrived alcohol became a big factor in the house' (Andrea b.1960). Apologising for her language Andrea went on to describe her stepfather as:

A bad bastard. He was bad to her and it didn't allow her to be able to parent. She couldn't do anything for fear…. [Stepfather] was a binge drinker and my mother was never without a

black eye. We all lived in fear e' [stepfather] (Andrea b.1960).

For Laura, her father 'was never somebody I ever felt comfortable with or could trust or em... always had a sort of like terror over me' (Laura b. 1964). Theresa described her father's tactics of targeting the things his children loved such as pets and Theresa's cherished collection of Irish dolls, a common pattern among domestic abuse perpetrators (Febres, Brasfield et al. 2014),

> I loved my dolls, he chewed all the heads off my dolls…ripped all my drawings up, destroyed everything that was in my bedroom, destroyed everything (Theresa b. 1963).

Theresa's terrified little brother ran away with his pet rabbit and was missing for two days,

> He battered that wean and the wean ran away …and it took the polis two days tae find him….He threatened to kill his rabbit. And we found him and …he's like "Mammy don't let him kill ma rabbit" (Theresa b. 1963).

The narratives also reveal children's conflicting emotions when describing their relationship with their fathers. Even as young girls they recognised that their fathers' masculinity was a composite of private and public features reflecting their status as heads of the family and family provider. Theresa learned about the literal and figurative boundary which separated her private family sphere from the public sphere outside. 'You know there was always this respect thing and people weren't really allowed down the path and I wasn't really allowed to be with other people in case other people 'hurt' me, was the words he was saying, you know he was hurting me… (Theresa b. 1963).   Theresa's ambivalence was apparent as she recalled her father's more positive qualities:

> He couldn't read or write and eh but he could make anything with his hands...[crying]...We used to go out and have to dig the garden and all that so he was a bit of an outdoor man too. He'd a lot of good elements that he taught us but the other ones… (Theresa b. 1963).

Dot also recalls that even as a child she tried to rationalise her conflicting emotions about her ailing but abusive father:

> I actually felt that at that age I had to learn to love my father because it wasn't his fault and so I had to grapple with that for rather a long time (Dot b. 1949).

Laura recalls her father being

> unable to, you know in a sense be emotionally there for anybody, including himself…I just have no memory of being, ever having been cuddled by my Dad of doing anything with him. My Dad has taken no responsibility for any of his violence (Laura b. 1964).

Theresa described her very violent father terrorising and humiliating his young sons and also making

public displays of dominant masculinity and violence linked to his role as father,

> He taught me and my brothers how to fight…taught us how to sneak up and kill people. Cut their throats, we stood at the door, threw knives at our feet, knives round about us …teach us not to be frightened...[crying], that's what he did. 'No fear, never lie down' he says. My Mum would say '[father's name] you're hurting them'. But he would wrestle, he says he was teaching us how to survive sometimes he'd make us do it in front of his friends when they were sitting drinking (Theresa b. 1963).

Theresa's memories of her childhood highlight the mixed messages she received. While living with an abusive and controlling father and being socialised into her gender role by her mother she was also indulged by her grandparents: 'I enjoyed being loved by my Nana and my Papa and cos I was my Papa's favourite...I was his wee princess' (Theresa b. 1963). The conflicting emotion contained in these accounts of the women's relationships with their abusive fathers was clear. The masculinity the fathers expressed to their daughters reflected dominant men whose private cruelty and selfishness could coexist with public displays of physical strength, prowess, respectability, criminality and indulgent fatherhood. The girls were receiving strong but complex messages about gender roles and relationships, the often bewildering dynamics of their parents' relationships and also by their extended families and the wider community who, the girls were learning, often retained a clearly demarcated distance from the violent aspects of private family life. In some cases, the domestic abuse at home was exacerbated by alcohol misuse which compounded the abuse and, in some cases, further entrapped the women and children.

Alcohol

While excessive alcohol consumption occurred in some of the women's families, it was by no means a necessary component where there was domestic abuse. Some fathers could be abusive whether they drank or not. Vickie's violent father 'maybe had the odd pint at the weekend but my Da was never drunk' (Vickie b. 1943). For other women, alcohol misuse and domestic abuse were common features of family life. Alcohol consumption exacerbated the unpredictability of family life for Laura and her sister,

> They both drank too much. It's like when the tea's no' ready on time or this isnae done…you could never, ever predict what would be a trigger. It could be anything…and just em and shouting and em and screaming and hitting her and whatnot…(Laura b. 1964)

Some recalled their fathers encouraging their mothers to drink as a means of controlling them often with disastrous consequences for their mothers, the children and for family life. Theresa described how,

He poured drink down my Mum's throat, my Mum wouldn't drink. He turned my Mum into an alcoholic… She didn't go out, my Mum didn't drink till she was thirty odds (Theresa b. 1963).

Similarly, once Andrea's mother became involved with her new stepfather her mother's alcohol habit became established and the impact on the young children was profound. She recalled, 'my mother was an awful one for going away on benders…like a binge…and she would disappear for days' (Andrea b.1960). On Andrea's birthday, her mother went out to buy her a party dress ' she came back about two weeks later…and I sat that night, waiting to go to that party that I never went to. There was always let downs, always disappointments' (Andrea b.1960). Andrea attributed her mother's many attempted suicides to the violence she was experiencing. Andrea was usually left to cope alone:

We would come in from school and find her lying on the couch with an overdose. You went up to the street and got an ambulance, she would be carted away and I would have to look after my brother. I was about ten then and I used to cook, wash, do all the household chores (Andrea b.1960).

The longer term impact of Theresa's father's control and encouragement of her Mum's drinking was similarly profound:

Ye didn't know what you were going home to. If my Mum was going to be in fae her work…, if she was lying drunk, or if she'd been beaten… that was what started happening and I presume he liked it that way. She went missing for days …she didn't take us we'd get sent to find her. (Theresa b. 1963).

Laura, recalling her mother's attempted suicide remembered her mother being 'just very depressed…she's always worked hard' and assuming the role of caring for her mother, 'I was probably her mother for many, many years' (Laura b. 1964). With her parents prioritising their own needs together with their heavy alcohol consumption Andrea remembered severe neglect,

They always got paid on a Thursday …the money was gone, there was no food left in the house by a Sunday and basically we were starved (Andrea b.1960).

Andrea's memories of her childhood and the impact of violence and heavy drinking on her mother are bleak,

My mother became alcoholic, she died of alcoholism and my stepfather was very violent. He was a gangster and …he almost, on a regular basis, Thursday and Friday…there would be assaults to my mother. We didn't know what that was about. It was always drink included…em…he got involved in crime. (Andrea b.1960)

Child sexual abuse

Until the 1980s little was known about the extent of child sexual abuse and incest in the UK or the US (Herman and Hirschman 1977, Nelson 1987). A study carried out in 1983 in London estimated 3 in one thousand children had been sexually abused (Mrazek, Lynch et al. 1983). Criminal statistics, in Nelson's view, falsely suggest an insignificant social problem with low reporting and conviction rates in a context where an estimated 50% of sexual crimes overall were unreported (Nelson 1987:30). Two of the women in the study described being sexually abused as children by their fathers who were also abusing their mothers. Dot described her father as violent towards her and her mother and also sexually abusive to her: 'From a very young, very young age'. (Dot b. 1949). Dot described how she remembered the abuse:

> I know things happened when I was three because of the house we moved into… I've got memories of that house. And eh…it was years and years before...as an adult…before I made sense of things that happened (Dot b. 1949).

When asked if her mother knew about this Dot said, 'no, she's a complete innocent, you've no idea'. (Dot b. 1949). Theresa's account of her early years describes being sexually abused by her father and local practices involving the sexual abuse of children. Theresa herself was sexually assaulted as a young child by her cousin: '…I was only a wee girl so eh, he gave me the money to stay quiet…So my Mum said, "where did you get the pennies Theresa?" And I remember saying, "I've not to tell you it's a secret me and my cousin have got a secret" (Theresa b. 1963). Her mum reported her abuse to the police but no further action was taken. Theresa also recalled being abused by her elderly child minder's son, '…obviously in they days she wisnae registered…one of the brothers, he'd sit you on his knee and he'd put his hands in your pants... ' (Theresa b. 1963). Theresa's father also sexually abused her. With some difficulty, she recalled how it happened on one of the occasions when her mother had left her father leaving the children behind,

> Theresa: …he was crying and all that and I was cuddling my Daddy...I think about ten, eleven, round about that time... …He told me to stop crying but I would wake my brothers up. I remember going into the bathroom and washing the blood off my legs and couldn't comprehend what he did.
>
> Anni: Are you all right talking about that? Take a wee minute.
>
> Theresa: [crying] I used to think I imagined it. I used to think I had imagined it… [crying]...excuse me. I used to think I had imagined it… [crying] (Theresa b. 1963).

Theresa also described seeing her father with a young woman resident at a local Catholic care home

where he worked as a gardener.   These characteristics of two of the women's fathers are reflective of descriptions of incest perpetrators as typically 'family tyrants who tend toward abuses of authority of every conceivable kind' (Herman and Hirschman 1977:7) and where sexual abuse can coexist with domestic abuse and child abuse in the family (Forman 2004). Herman and Hirschman contextualise the incest taboo within a patriarchal system which regulates men's sexual access to women's bodies. They argue however that because the taboo was created and largely enforced by men and takes place in private, 'it may also be more easily and frequently violated' (Herman and Hirschman 1977:6).   They and others identified father/daughter incest as the most common form with the eldest girl the most vulnerable (Mrazek, Lynch et al. 1983, Nelson 1987). These two accounts support this view.   Herman and Hirschman offer a feminist analysis of sexual abuse. They argue that incest and sexual abuse further socialised girls into the patriarchal order by means of 'the realization that she is not only comparatively powerless as a child, but that she will remain so as a woman'. Thus a sexual function was added to a girl's role as her mother's surrogate within the patriarchal family (Herman and Hirschman 1977, Nelson 1987).

Extended Families

Grandparents and other extended family members often played a positive role in the women's lives. Many of the women described having strong relationships with extended family living nearby which for some, mitigated the impact of the violence they were experiencing at home. Denise was raised by her mother alone 'but my grandfather and my uncle were fantastic men who treated women with a lot of respect' (Denise b. 1966).   Lynne, orphaned at age six, was adopted by her seventy-year-old grandmother with whom she had a very close relationship. Some grandparents and extended family members were a great source of comfort for children and some offered a welcome break from the discipline they experienced at home. Evelyn recalled being, 'very loved and very nurtured' by her grandparents, 'whenever I wasn't happy at home with my mother, my Gran was across the road…. they knew what my mother was like so they over-indulged me'   (Evelyn b. 1947). Young Laura enjoyed visiting her uncle, a widower and single parent whose home was a place of love and fun when things were difficult at home, 'when my Mum was hitting me he tried to stop her and he couldn't stop her' (Laura b. 1964).   Laura recalled that her uncle had been abused and abandoned as a child himself and she suggested that, as a single father, he was an unusual man in the Garnock Valley because he cooked, looked after his children and later his young nieces while working in the local steel works.

Other women painted less than rosy pictures of extended family and described previous generations whose lives were dominated by loss, violence, abuse, and poverty or alcohol abuse. In those families, lessons about male control were more explicitly transmitted down the generations.

Speaking of her grandparents, Laura only remembered 'two silent folk who looked as if they hated each other, had nothing to say' (Laura b. 1964). For Vickie, 'My Dad was violent but I think his father was like that too' (Vickie b. 1943)(Vickie b. 1943). Speaking of her Gran, Andrea recalled, 'She used to work but she also had her own issues with my father's father. He was a drinker as well.' (Sarah born 1961). Sarah recalls learning that her paternal grandfather had a reputation as a drinker and a fighter and that his home was 'not a happy place' (Sarah born 1961). Laura reflected 'my father's family are psychologically wounded, all of them. My mother also had her own wounds because of her own sense of shame and anger' (Laura b. 1964).

Community hierarchies of gender and power.

A wider culture of bullying was also evident in some of the women's childhoods. Women recalled being bullied by brothers, older sisters, cousins, other children or adult relatives and the impact this had. Sarah's sister, 'made my life quite difficult throughout my childhood' (Sarah born 1961). Similarly Dot also recalled, 'It was tough and my brother was violent as well...my nose has been broken three times. Twice by him, once when I was three and once when I was fifteen' (Dot b. 1949). However, her brother's privileged position in the gender hierarchy of the household meant he escaped censure,

> My mother was scared of him. He found that being in a huff with her worked. She felt so guilty she showered him, and that was the whole, his whole life …. I mean if she didn't give him money he'd hit her when he was a teenager and they didn't have money 'cos my father couldn't work properly (Dot b. 1949).

On one occasion Dot found herself protecting her brother despite his violence towards her and described her confused feelings about reporting to the police, making the incident public and her divided loyalties,

> My Mum wanted to call the police …and I wouldn't let her and it sort of gives you an understanding of how women are thinking and…I remember how I felt…this was my brother that I loved and…I didn't want something horrible happening to him. There were all those sort of weird feelings eh...also I didn't want police coming in and looking at my face and seeing me with no teeth and the blood and…(Dot b. 1949).

Leaving an abusive husband in the 1960s and 1970s

Leaving an abusive husband in Scotland during this period was challenging, ,

> The majority of women in our society remain economically dependent on husband, parental family, or the state. This is true whether they work as full-time unpaid housewives or combine this with some form of wage labour since their domestic commitments and the expectation

of domesticity means that women's training and employment is inadequate to ensure financial independence (Madigan 1983:141).

The main barriers for women attempting to leave abusive husbands were financial dependence, divorce law, housing, childcare, fear of losing custody of their children and the social stigma and isolation affecting single mothers. In 1978 only 23% of households in the UK had a female head. With the majority of women living in households with a male head, women were largely 'housing dependent' (Madigan 1983:142). Women seeking to separate from abusive husbands faced significant barriers to independent living particularly if they had children. Prior to 1981 married women had no legal rights to the marital home unless it was in their name. Over half of all houses in Scotland were publicly owned and rented and were allocated in the husband's name. While The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 outlawed discrimination against women, Scottish local authorities continued to discriminate against married women seeking tenancies in their own right (Hunter 1978, Madigan 1983).

The women grew up during the period from the 1940s to the 1970s. The first Scottish Women's Aid refuge was opened in Edinburgh in 1973 and by 1980 there were 23 refuges across the country with capacity to accommodate up to 80 women and their children in addition to a small number of temporary houses provided by local Social Work departments and other voluntary groups. However the women made no reference to refuge provision as a possible solution to their mothers' situations. Women seeking to separate from abusive husbands faced considerable obstacles in the 1960s and 1970s. It was not until the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 that Scottish women leaving abusive husbands were deemed a priority for rehousing. According to their own monitoring of the first three months of the new Act from April – June 1978, Scottish Women's Aid found that 'disputes (violent and non-violent) with a spouse or cohabitee were the commonest cause of homelessness, accounting for 38% of all applicants…In the first year just over half of marital disputes resulting in homelessness were violent' (Scottish Women's Aid 1980:3). Women also found it difficult to obtain credit in their own right and limited employment opportunities for women in Scotland's low wage and part-time employment sectors prevented them from earning sufficient to pay rent, obtain mortgages or support their children on their own (Hunter 1978, Scottish Women's Aid 1980).

The main grounds for divorce prior to the Divorce (Scotland) Act 1976 were irretrievable breakdown of the marriage as a result of adultery, desertion, insanity or cruelty. Until then, both defended and undefended divorce cases could only be heard in the Court of Session in Edinburgh and those seeking divorce had to attend in person with actions, at that time, costing between £200 - £400 (Scott 2014). These were significant barriers to low or unwaged women seeking to divorce on the grounds of cruelty. In divorce actions under the Matrimonial Proceedings (Children) Act 1958 in

Scotland, the interest of children were deemed to be as 'important as the question of divorce' (Kahn-Freund 1959:45). Child custody proceedings could be protracted, expensive and distressing and also required attendance at the Edinburgh Court of Sessions (Hunter 1978, Buchanan 1983). By the early 1980s there was a recognition by The Royal Commission on Legal Services in Scotland, the Scottish Child Law Group and the Working Party of the Association of Reporters to the Children's Panels of the need for reform of the system for deciding child custody (Buchanan 1983). The lack of affordable child care evident in the women's narratives of growing up in the 1960s and 1970s further limited the opportunities for women to work and gain a measure of financial independence. The UK social security system during this period based its benefit calculations on the family unit with husbands claiming and receiving support on behalf of their wives and any children. Women who claimed in their own right were subject to stigmatising visits and inquiries regarding their relationship status and were expected to reveal the identity of the father of any children. Identified fathers were visited and assessments made about their ability to contribute to his children's upkeep and contributions expected (Hunter 1978). For women who had left violent husbands this could reveal their whereabouts and increase the risk of further violence or intimidation, and non-payment by ex-husbands and fathers could further add to women's financial difficulties. These wider pressures on women who had left abusive husbands are evident in Falkirk Women's Aid Annual Report for 1977:

> It has become increasingly clear that the provision of temporary refuge for battered women and their children is only a small step towards alleviating the problems of matrimonial violence. It merely touches the tip of the iceberg…we are becoming more and more aware of just how difficult it is for a woman with children to set up house on her own: the psychological, emotional and especially financial problems are enormous. All too often a woman finds herself trapped in a large housing scheme and she suffers from major problems of social isolation…very few women wish to set up home on their own…many later decide to take their husbands back…The reasons for this appear to be complex and little understood at present but certainly social isolation is a predominant factor (Falkirk Women's Aid 1977).

These structural barriers and social stigma may have been significant in preventing their mothers leaving their abusive marriages. The women recalled their mothers rationalising why they should stay or concealing the abuse by telling their daughters a different story. Although Denise's father was violent she recalled that 'My Mum'll still say to this day, the reason she left my Dad was his affairs not because he beat her' (Denise b. 1966). Laura's parents never separated and in later life, her Mum blamed the violence on having had children,

> She would just tell us what we'd cost her in life. If she didnae have us she would be happier. She could have done this, she could have done this if she hadnae had weans and had had a

happier life...and wouldnae have to put up wi' a' this shit (Laura b. 1964).

Dot's Mum had always planned to leave her husband. However when her father was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease, her Mum's sense of responsibility as a wife took over,

> My Mum was always gonnae leave him , I mean she obviously hated him but when we got the diagnosis, she made the decision that it was her job to look after him (Dot b. 1949).

Theresa's Mum however, tried unsuccessfully to leave many times during her marriage. Her biggest barriers were fear of having her children taken into care, not having enough money or anywhere to live.

Until the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act transferred responsibility for the welfare of children and the prevention of child abuse and neglect to Scottish local authorities, the Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC) was the main national agency serving that purpose (Abrams 1998, Innes and McKie 2006, Clapton 2009). The Society's main functions were to intervene and investigate reported cases of cruelty and neglect and provide practical support to mainly poor working class families. Society inspectors also had the power to remove children from their homes and place them in temporary Society-run children's shelters or other establishments pending improvements in the family circumstances or the outcomes of criminal prosecutions. Their national network of branches meant that most areas had their own designated 'Cruelty men' (Inspectors) who were often well known for their surveillance and investigative activities and quasi-policing of families in local communities. They were also a point of contact for reporting child cruelty or for families seeking help. Although the 'Cruelty' was a key support agency for women living with domestic abuse, the agency's investigative focus on child cruelty meant women ran the very real risk of their children being taken into care if there was violence in the home. As a Woman Visitor with the RSSPCC in the early 1970s, I witnessed at first hand these practices and was involved in cases where children were temporarily removed from their mother's care, including in cases of domestic abuse, sometimes on more than one occasion. This caused considerable distress to the children and their mothers.

Theresa's mother struggled to find somewhere for herself and the children to live when she left her husband. Sometimes she moved into her mother's house, on one occasion she moved in with a man and left her children, on another she ran away with the children to Glasgow, then Edinburgh then London. However, without enough money, anywhere to live, and the threat of social services involvement in London she had to return to her husband. Theresa vividly remembered returning home from London on that occasion,

> The train journey back home felt like forever... Nobody was there to help us and he was sitting there at the window watching when we walked down the path as if he'd been waiting for us

the whole time we were away and it was weeks. We were away for weeks (Theresa b. 1963).

Theresa's Mum finally separated from her father when he was serving six months in prison 'for beating my brothers up…in 79'. Her mother secured her own tenancy and they enjoyed a happy time in the old house prior to moving,

> She got this letter and it says 'Well [mum's name] that's me I'll be home. The minute you're reading this letter I should be walking in the door and I'm looking forward to home-made poached egg and toast." And she looked at me and she went "[gasps]…Oh! He's coming hame the day". I don't know what made her, and she looked at the date and she went, well hen it's the morra, go and get that van… and everybody a' came into ma Ma's hoos that day and packed what we were taking…. but d'you know what she did? She left him a note, she left him a packet of eggs and a couple slice of bread and she went 'Aye make yer ain' poached egg and fucking toast! [laughs]…We never seen him for another year (Theresa b. 1963).

Overall, among the women who experienced violence and abuse in their families, the narratives suggest that there was a general silence about the abuse going on. On one hand there was the silence described by Geraldine, Denise, Elaine and Sarah whose parents may have hidden their fights or disagreements from their children. Of those where the abuse went on in front of the children, Theresa was the only one who as a child reported the abuse in her home to the police. Laura's Mum and Dad made it very clear to her that she should not disclose the abuse in her home to the health professionals treating her mother's injuries and following her mother's suicide attempt. While there is some evidence that extended families offered sanctuary and support to the children and to their mothers, there was no evidence in their recollections of anyone challenging the violent behaviour of their fathers or, in the few cases cited, of their mothers. These cultures of silence, contextualised within the wider discourses of patriarchal family privacy and hegemonic discourses of gender and power outlined in this chapter carried huge meaning for the young women about their role in the family, in wider society and about the opportunities for resistance weighed against any likely consequences.

Conclusion

The personal narratives in this chapter provide evidence that the 'patriarchal legacy' in its public and private forms remained extant in the daily lives described by the women participants growing up from the 1940s to the 1970s. It continued to influence the women's family economies in relation to paid work, the division of labour in the home, childcare and education. The narratives provide evidence that the patriarchal family model of male breadwinner and female homemaker remained dominant despite mothers' and daughters' increasingly involvement in paid work as more

opportunities emerged. These provide evidence of the flexibility of regulative gender rules and norms in adapting to the socio-economic changes taking place in late twentieth century Scotland. In their families, it remained common for the women's mothers to retain full responsibility for domestic chores, childcare and discipline whether or not they had paid work outside the home and whether or not their husbands were in paid work. With the exception of Dot and Geraldine's mothers, all the other women's mothers worked. Denise's mother, a teacher, worked full time and the others worked part-time, some in more than one job. Their experiences reflect what is known about the pattern of Scottish women's paid and unpaid work during this period and its concentration in low wage, part-time and temporary employment. The findings also show how the interaction between the meso, exo- and macro-system factors including schools, community settings and the workplace and the family dynamic contributed to the women's gender socialisation and what they were learning about their position in the hierarchies in the family and in wider society. The narratives provide insights into the everyday life and gendered practices of these Scottish homes. The women were learning about society's expectations of their future gender roles as mothers and homemakers within the patriarchal family and how that was being accommodated within changes to the nature of women's paid work. The strict hierarchies in Scottish schools were enforced by the use of corporal punishment. This placed children clearly at the lower rungs of the hierarchy in relation to the adult. This structure was also reproduced in the gendered playground hierarchies constructed by the children themselves. Even among girls, bullying practices demonstrate highly patriarchal features which downplayed girls' academic prowess and assessed their appearance. This had the result in some cases of demotivating the girls in their schoolwork or having them adapt aspects of their personality and their academic performance in order to conform.   These traditional gendered expectations persisted despite improved educational opportunities for girls in secondary, vocational and higher education, in employment and in the expanded career choices and employment opportunities which were becoming available to women during the 1960s and 1970s.

The dynamics of family relationships were examined. While the families all displayed patriarchal features, they varied in the extent to which dominant masculinity, abuse and violence were present. Overall, however, the narratives show the strong interplay between patriarchal features and practices in the wider economic, social and cultural environment with family life. These indicate gradations of dominance and abuse affecting the women's young lives and illustrate how facets across the patriarchal system interacted to convey strong messages about women's role in family and social hierarchies. The women's families demonstrated a wide range of parenting choices, styles and practices.   These included examples of benign and loving parents and grandparents, and companionate marriages where children were not physically punished.   There were examples of

dominant and cruel mothers who abused their children, some, but not all of whom, were also being abused by their husbands. There were fathers who abused their wives and children, and mothers who were being abused by their husbands who did not abuse or assault their children. Alcohol misuse was a key feature in the domestic abuse which Andrea, Laura and Theresa lived with which exacerbated the deprivation, neglect and cruelty they experienced. However, their mothers' alcohol consumption, in Andrea and Theresa's mothers' cases this was actively encouraged by their husbands, became a means of coping with the violence, reduced their capacity for action and ultimately had a devastating and long-term impact on their mental and physical health. For some women, who were bullied and abused by their siblings, extended family members and others, they were learning that there was a clear and differentiated hierarchy within and outwith the family with children in general and girls in particular at the bottom of the family and social order. Theresa and Dot were both physically and sexually abused by dominant and violent fathers who displayed hypermasculine features in private and in public, and who were also abusing their mothers. Theresa's narrative contained the only example where her father's violence towards his children was reported to the police and a conviction obtained. The only other examples provided of external agency involvement concerned Laura and Andrea's mothers who both required hospital treatment for their injuries or following suicide attempts. Only Theresa's and Denise's mothers successfully separated from their violent husbands: the former obtained her own tenancy following her husband's imprisonment and the latter had the resources from her income to separate and set up home independently.

Nine out of the sixteen women narrators experienced abuse in childhood. However, evidence from the narratives suggests that whether they did so or not, the women were being socialised within a culture suffused with constitutive hierarchical gender rules, norms, and patriarchal practices in the family and in the hegemonic gender culture in their local communities and wider society. Their early gender socialisation was such that the development of the women's gendered identities was closely linked to the performative aspects of their gender roles in relation to unpaid work in the home, low paid work and that young women's prospects were being directed towards gender segregated employment patterns and practices. There was also evidence that children absorbed cultures of patriarchal violence on a continuum across both private and public spheres. A parallel continuum of silence maintained family privacy, ensured secrecy about domestic, child and sexual abuse through a family climate of non-disclosure within the immediate and extended family and to outsiders about the violence and abuse going on in the home. This chapter provides evidence of the continuing strength of private patriarchy in some families and its close links with public patriarchy. In those cases, where the women experienced violence directly as children or where there was domestic abuse the violence overall reinforced hierarchical power relations with deeply gendered messages for girls. Rather than

a shift from private to public patriarchy, these narratives provide evidence of a continuum of patriarchal control across both spheres in some cases reinforced by violence. The effect all of these influences had on what the women learned about gender roles and relationship dynamics as they moved into adulthood, started dating and established their own intimate relationships will be discussed in Chapter Six.

CHAPTER SIX

LIVING WITH DOMESTIC ABUSE *CIRCA* 1960 – *CIRCA* 1990 – WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES

Introduction

This chapter directly addresses the first of the study's research questions: what was it like for women living with domestic abuse during the period 1960s to the early 1990s? This period reflects the ages of the women narrators and the periods in their lives when they embarked on the intimate relationships which became abusive. Building on the insights of the previous chapter, the narratives of the fifteen women survivors who shared their experiences of domestic abuse in their adult relationships from the 1960s onwards were analysed alongside observations from some of the professionals who were working in the field in this period. During this period, the women entered and established their intimate relationships. In all cases, the women's relationships described in the narratives ended ten or more years prior to the interviews taking place. The women described how they met and established their relationships, the onset of domestic abuse and its continuation through to final separation. Their collected interviews offered a unique opportunity to examine the full arc of each abusive relationship over time and to explore common thematic threads in their contemporary context using the study's theoretical framework (Table 1.). This presented analytical challenges. Participants' adult experiences extended across a period of thirty years from the 1960s to the early 1990s and contained a number of key themes, which in their presentation are asynchronous with the chronological flow of the women's stories. The analysis revealed rich, complex and multi-layered narratives of experience, interpretation, meaning and temporality derived from participants' memories, from their later reflections and conceptualisations of their experiences. The analysis also involved consulting contemporary archival material alongside contemporary secondary literature which developed its own arc during the period under study. This literature became part of a growing, substantial and multi-disciplinary body of work on domestic abuse which continues to evolve to the present time. Current literature was deployed to illuminate and support the analysis of domestic abuse which was a developing field of research in the 1970s and 1980s.

This chapter will show how male and female gender identities continued to evolve in the new relational contexts of their teenage and later adult heterosexual relationships. Dialectics of gender at the heart of the process were also identified and characterised by tensions emerging from the women's individual responses to men's expressions of masculinity. Insights also emerged about the women's interpretations and reactions to the abuse they began to experience and how private and public discourses influenced their thinking, decision-making and problem solving in the short and

longer term. The central role of domestic abuse in these contested areas and its links to the continued evolution of gender identities were also revealed. This chapter concentrates on what it was like living with domestic abuse in the private sphere encompassing the individual (ontogenic) experience in the family (micro-system) context (See Table 1). It goes on then to contextualise women's experiences in the public spheres encompassing those areas where micro-systems interact (mesosystem) with education, community structures, services and workplace contexts (exosystem) and more widely with elements of the state including law, policy, economy and culture. The narratives were analysed for evidence of patriarchal indicators and specific areas of risk of domestic abuse and violence against women more broadly. The chapter argues firstly that long-standing constitutive patriarchal gender rules and norms remained influential as individual gender identities continued to evolve in the new relational contexts of dating, cohabitation and marriage. Secondly, the chapter argues that physical, emotional and sexual abuse played a key role in maintaining patriarchal gender relations by enforcing the link between women's identities and the performative aspects of their gender roles as wives and mothers in the patriarchal family. The chapter concludes that while regulative gender norms and practices responded to the changing social and economic context of women's lives, domestic abuse, described by Lundgren as 'a paradigmatic case of gender constitution in action', proved resilient in the face of these changes during this period.   There is evidence of an apparent shift from private towards public patriarchy in late twentieth century Scotland in relation to women's paid work, due to legislative changes to women's social status. However, this chapter will show that this was not necessarily accompanied, in the women's cases, by a loosening of the grip of private patriarchal practices. Domestic abuse in private gender relations continued to play an important role in retaining patriarchal control over women's lives across a continuum of private and public spheres. Domestic abuse thus limited the women's ability to live independent lives free of violence and abuse. This provides evidence of the persistence and adaptability of domestic abuse despite changes to the wider patriarchal context of post-war Scotland.

Private worlds: dialectics of gender and entrapment

Dating and Courtship

The women provided background detail about when and how they first met their boyfriends, future partners or husbands. The women were born between 1943 and 1966: four were born in the 1940s (Vickie, Evelyn, Dot and Eve); four in the 1950s (Geraldine, Carol, Mhairi and Elaine) and eight in the 1960s (Andrea, Lynne, Sarah, Shona, Theresa, Laura, Denise and Linda). The women reached their mid-teens between the late 1950s and the end of the 1970s: Vickie, Andrea, Elaine, Linda, Shona,

Theresa and Sarah were aged between fourteen and sixteen years when they embarked on their relationships. Evelyn, Carol, Mhairi, Eve, Dot, Denise and Lynne were in their late teens or early twenties, and had started university, professional training or work. Andrea, Elaine, Linda, Eve, Shona and Theresa all embarked on relationships with boys who were a few years older than them; Carol, Mhairi, Linda, Vickie and Sarah started their first relationships with older men who had been married before; Dot and Denise met their boyfriends at university when they were in their late teens. Geraldine, previously married with two children, was in her thirties in the 1980s when she met her future husband, a younger man. The average age of first marriage for Scottish men and women was twenty five or over at the start of the twentieth century and continued to fluctuate around that age until the 1970s when it dropped to its lowest point at around 22 years for women, it then rose again to twenty five and over for women during the 1980s and 1990s (Jamieson 2010:82). Born between 1943 and 1966, Vickie, Eve, Linda, Andrea, Elaine and Theresa, who all grew up in villages, towns and cities across the central belt and Tayside, married in their teens, many to older men, much earlier than the national average age for women's first marriages during the 1960s and 1970s. The increased practice of cohabitation before marriage has been suggested as a reason for the increased age of marriages in Scotland and this trend is evident in some of the women's experiences (Jamieson 2010:81-82). Dot, Carol, Evelyn, Denise, Sarah and Geraldine lived with their boyfriends before eventually marrying and Lynne lived with her boyfriend for a short time before the relationship ended. Initially living with her student boyfriend in Lancaster in the 1970s, Dot was aware of the contrast between prevailing attitudes to cohabitation there and those in Edinburgh where she later returned to live with her boyfriend. Working in an Edinburgh office, she recalled a colleague quizzing her about living with her boyfriend,

> …they'd quiz ye, and at that point we weren't married and I was living with my boyfriend, 'Oh your poor mother [laughing] (Dot b. 1949)!

She went on,

> We started thinking about having a child and I said [to her boyfriend], 'Look, I'm in my home town with the family, and it's difficult enough', because nobody was really doing it publicly, living with… but I said "Really I'd rather be married" (Dot b. 1949).

Living in the Paisley area in the mid-1970s, Carol recalled her father's reaction to the news that she and her boyfriend had moved in together:

My father said 'Oh when are you getting married?', 'cos that was the expectation. So I was telling [her partner] this and he said, 'Well will we just get married?' So we got married in August 1976 (Carol b. 1953).

By the early 1980s, however, Denise and her new boyfriend (both students) had 'moved in together really, really quickly' for convenience. Since the early seventies, the number of marriages had been falling and the trend continued between 1979 and 1986. However, the rising divorce rate, the increased proportion of marriages where one or both partners had been married before and the growing practice of cohabitation prior to marriage suggest that trends in marriage conceal an increasingly nuanced picture of how couples were organising their relationships in the 1970s and 1980s. More men than women tended to remarry in this period (Breitenbach 1989:182) and this is reflected in this group of women, with five women marrying divorced men and only one of the women in the 1980s marrying for the second time.

The women's accounts and interpretations of the early stages of their relationships contain many common and highly gendered features, with men initiating the relationship in all cases, and targeted, often persistent pursuit accompanied by extravagant romantic gestures. These suggest that there was a common acceptance that the man was expected to take the first step in courting. The women's responses also revealed some common features, ranging from those who were less confident, initially sceptical or reluctant to those who were flattered and reciprocated. While in all cases the relationships eventually became established, the personal and social influences on women's decision-making offered insights into the centrality of gender relations to women's and men's gender identities in these processes. Elaine, aged fifteen, was taken aback by the forcefulness of the attention she was receiving from her brother's friend while she was dating someone else:

I was on the phone to my boyfriend and he [her brother's friend] grabbed the phone from me one night and told this other boyfriend that I was now going out with him…he told me later on that he'd kind of set his sights on me and that was it as far as he was concerned. But of course as I said, I was coming up for my sixteenth birthday, I thought that was all exciting stuff you know (Elaine b. 1957).

Lynne, Sarah, Linda, Theresa, Carol, Eve, Shona, Denise, Geraldine, recalled being confronted by their future boyfriends' dominant often chivalrous and mature masculinity, social class, worldly experience and public displays of wealth. Some like Carol, Linda, Theresa and Shona also recalled feeling that

they lacked life experience and independent resources, at times expressing a sense of inferiority in relation to the men. Carol, recalled her attraction aged twenty years to her new and older boyfriend,

> He seemed very worldly, he had done a lot of things, he had travelled, and for me, I had lived all my life in Paisley, quite a sheltered upbringing, very safe, very comfortable you know…eh…and this was just such a draw to me (Carol b. 1953).

Shona was fifteen and still at school in the late 1970s when she met her boyfriend, who was a few years older and working, '…he made a beeline for me. So we would sit at school and then boys would turn up, these guys in leather jackets, some of them wi' motorbikes would turn up to see us outside the gates…' Shona found herself being pursued until she finally agreed to go out with him:

> He told me he loved me after we'd been going out for about a week, said he was in love with me…he was just really, really full on right fae the word go….It was overwhelming but in a good way because I hadnae really had that kinda experience before (Shona b. 1963).

Linda, Denise, Theresa, Lynne, Eve and Geraldine described being swept along by romantic gestures and gifts. Linda was 'just a young lassie that ta'en up wi' this older man that was lavishing gifts on me. So, I suppose I was under his spell. I don't know if you want to put it like that' (Linda b. 1967). Geraldine met a man who treated her like a 'goddess… He sort of put me on a pedestal and …absolutely enchanted me to the point when I became quite obsessed with him' (Geraldine b. 1951). Elaine recalled social class being a factor in her new relationship:

> I have to say he came from a middle class background which also had an influence on my decision-making because…to my mind he was better than I was. What would he be interested in, in somebody like me?   I'd lived in …horrible places throughout Dundee and here was this man who was very well brought up, middle class, his Mum and Dad had their own house…d'you know what I mean (Elaine b. 1957)?

> For young women like Andrea, Sarah, Elaine, Theresa and Linda, their new relationships offered a means of escape from difficult home lives and the lack of alternative options for them at the time.   Andrea was attracted to a vision of family life quite unlike her own,

> I met my husband-to-be at fourteen and I went into his family… he had seven brothers and sisters …and I thought this was wonderful and I fell in love with this family life and it was like roses round the door. I wanted this, I wanted this husband and this family. This was never gonnae happen (Andrea b.1960).

Similarly, Sarah, being bullied at home, described why she needed to escape, 'Loving as my mother was…she wasn't able to protect me…if you don't know that you can ask, if you don't have that sense of, you know, entitlement it doesn't occur to you' (Sarah born 1961). Thinking back, Sarah believed her situation at home and the abuse in her family had made her '…vulnerable to… somebody who was gonnae take advantage of that'.   She began a relationship with a much older man and moved in with him, 'we lived together for a bit and then we got married. We had our first child very quickly after that' (Sarah b. 1961).   The difficulties the women faced making decisions about their future in the context of their youth and vulnerability could be further compounded by the reactions of other family members or the wider community to their new boyfriends. These fed their own unexpressed concerns about aggressive aspects of the men's behaviour, wider financial considerations and the pressures of prevailing gender norms. Linda's prospective mother-in-law advised her not to marry her son and sowed doubts in her mind about him: 'she obviously knew what kind of person…he was the kind of black sheep of the family and had already been married and she obviously knew what type of life I was gonna have' (Linda b. 1967). Linda ignored other voices confirming this:

> Don't go there, he's not a nice person, he's a bit of a nob really' and I just thought 'well I don't see it', I'm getting a' these flowers and I'm getting a' these gifts… I think I was just blind and I fell pregnant I have to say - and I couldn't tell my Mum and Dad so that was me. Make my bed and lie in it (Linda b. 1967).

Linda explained the lasting impression the phrase, 'Make my bed and lie in it' had had on her thinking since childhood and how it confirmed for her the path she felt she had to take. Despite the competing messages Linda was receiving from others about her boyfriend, this phrase was dominant in her decision-making:

> I heard it years ago when I was young because I always remember… I was still at my Mum and Dad's, I was expecting and I knew in my heart that I didnae want to marry him 'cos I remember writing him a wee letter saying 'I just canny go through wi' this', but I couldnae go and tell my Mum and Dad so I was stuck. So I ended up I just made my bed and [laughs] that was that (Linda b. 1967).

In Scotland, this familiar and oft-repeated phrase condensed a great deal of meaning, influence and instruction into its few words. It was used by many of the women participants in the course of the interviews. The phrase condenses age-old notions of the 'bed and board' basis of gender property and sexual relations, the close link between women's identities and their roles and responsibilities as wives and mothers in patriarchal marriage, the importance of having a male provider for herself and her child and the irrevocability of the marital state for a woman in her situation.   These were rolled into

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an influential and highly gendered public story embedded in both private and public discourses which clearly had a great influence on Linda's personal decision-making. The impact of such long-standing public stories on individual private lives can be profound as Jamieson observed:

> Public stories about personal life are both a cause and consequence of a lack of separation between public and private life. Cumulatively, pervasive stories are inevitably consequential for both private and public life.' (Jamieson 1988:11).

The strength of 'male provider' discourses also overcame Theresa's Mum's suspicions of her new boyfriend. She was convinced by his spending power and earning potential that he could provide for Theresa and her baby,

> I was sixteen and of course I ran away with him and my Mum was doon kicking up a shite aboot it and then he bought me clothes, then he became my boyfriend and I fell pregnant. She didnae want me going wi' [her boyfriend]. But when she seen he was buying me stuff she thought "OK" (Theresa b. 1963).

Elaine, recalled how her reaction to her new boyfriend, who was controlling from the start, was influenced by the abuse in her family and the gendered nature of her socialisation, 'because of how I'd been brought up, there was an acceptance of that.' Elaine described an occasion when her boyfriend 'headered'[14] her in company…'I must have been about seventeen…I was scared and I started to try and get away from him after that'. She went on to describe the external pressure and internal conflict she felt,

> It was an on-off relationship but we got married when I was 18 in 1976. Em…it was a volatile relationship. I tried to leave him a couple of times … he would wear me down you know and say that he loved me and that he couldn't live without me and I was wonderful and you know everything that a woman wants to hear basically [laughs] you know what I mean (Elaine b. 1957)?

Elaine had weighed her options and described the doubts, pressures and choices she and other young women faced at the time, combined with the dominance of 'male provider' and social class discourses:

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[14] 'headered' is a Scottish expression, a verb, which describes a method of assaulting someone where the assailant uses their head or forehead to assault the other person's head or forehead.

And you don't have the belief in yourself that you would be able to attract another worthwhile boyfriend. Your friends have all got boyfriends in fact in the 70s …women from my…socio-economic background would be getting married before they were twenty, if you werenae married before you were twenty you were on the shelf. There was no other expectation for ye (Elaine b. 1957).

She went on,

All my pals were married and had babies…sixteen, seventeen, eighteen they were having babies you know 'cos that was the expectation that that's what you would do so you know, here was I trying to get away from this man who was declaring undying love to me (Elaine b. 1957).

Eventually Elaine agreed, 'He asked me to marry him you know so we got engaged and I got a lovely ring and it was all wonderful you know' (Elaine b. 1957). During their first year of going out together Eve too described her boyfriend's approach, 'A pearl ring for my birthday… an opal and kinda diamonds for my engagement …I did marry him, rose coloured, tinted glasses and you think you're in love and all the rest of it' (Eve b. 1949).   Many of the women thus shared common experiences of being single-mindedly pursued, courted and flattered by overt displays of chivalrous masculinity, romantic gestures, gifts and rings. These examples suggest that the men's behaviour symbolised, to the women and their families and the wider community, their economic potential as family providers. However, any concerns they had about the men's behaviour were overcome by a combination of intersecting and often conflicting interpersonal, social, economic and cultural factors and social class. The men's dominance enacted through gestures of romantic masculinity were often mirrored by the women's delight at being the focus of such attention. The women described being pursued and won over by the men who held the initiative in the relationship. In some cases, this was matched by, or grew into their own romantic attachment to the men and any doubts were overcome. For others like Linda, Andrea, Sarah and Elaine and Theresa, alongside additional asymmetries of age and social class, their reasons for marrying included a chance to escape difficult personal circumstances, poverty or other social factors which reflected the limited options available to them outside marriage. Linda, in her early teens, dating a seemingly unsuitable man, pregnant, living with her parents and afraid to tell them had, in her own words, 'made her bed'. Andrea, Theresa and Sarah were seeking escape from unhappy home lives and Elaine made her decision after observing the limited options available to her as a young working class woman despite her boyfriend's early violence towards her. This heady mixture of the women's youthful hopes and dreams for love and marriage absorbed dominant 'male provider' discourses and public stories alongside perceptions of social class and contemporary gender

and social norms. In all of these examples, the men initiated the relationships and went on to reveal courtships practices redolent of gender property relations within the male provider/female homemaker form of patriarchal marriage. However, expectations about sex, relationships, marriage and the social stigma of pregnancy outwith marriage were also identifiable in the mix of factors.

Sex, Monogamy and Marriage

These descriptions of the early stages of women's relationships show similarities in both the aims and features across the period from the late 1950s to the early 1980s. Securing commitment to a monogamous relationship or marriage continued to dominate the process. Their accounts suggest that across the period of late 1960s to the early 1980s when the women reached their late teens there remained an expectation that they would marry and have children echoing research in England which found that marriage remained popular with young women from the 1950s through to the 1970s in England (Donnelly 2005:123). Vickie, born in the 1940s and Sarah, Elaine, Linda, Theresa, Denise and Andrea, born in the 1960s, all married older men in their teens, earlier than the average age of first marriage as previously noted for the period 1960s to 1970s in Scotland. Women continued to fear the social stigma arising from public knowledge of their sexual behaviour and/or pregnancy outside of marriage. However there is also evidence that having sex with a woman carried claims of male 'ownership' of her and secured her monogamy as Shona suggested: 'I think that once we'd had sex he had some sort of ownership over me' (Shona b. 1963).   As Linda, Theresa, Elaine and Eve's narratives showed above, it was important also for the men to gain the women's families' and wider public acknowledgement of the match. This was achieved in their cases by publicly demonstrating their fitness as a prospective boyfriend, husband and provider: these overt gestures of chivalrous masculinity were aimed at winning the woman's commitment and removing her doubts arising from any evidence or gossip about previous indiscretions, a poor track record in his previous relationships or an otherwise unsavoury past. Pregnancy could accelerate the claim of ownership. The narratives also show that by the 1970s and 1980s, while some young couples were having sex whilst dating and others cohabiting, the dominant social expectation that young women would marry and have children remained strong with women's monogamy central to heterosexual gender relations.

Writing in 1975, Ruth Adams observed that in the 1960s, the working class 'teenager' emerged in the US and the UK with more money in their pocket and their own youth culture of music and dress. While teenagers, defined as 'young people eager to spend a significant proportion of their wages on common goods such as cosmetics, clothes, magazines, records, motor cycles, cinemas and dance-halls' (Perkin 1997:223) were not solely a late twentieth century phenomenon (Fowler 1995, see also Perkin 1997), the 1960s sexual revolution brought a new dimension to teenagers' lives. Notions of 'free love'

focused on sexual fulfilment, less conventional sex lives and the increased availability of oral contraception for women, on the surface, appeared to challenge traditional sexual mores. However for Dot, her experience of the sexual revolution during this period did not feel so liberating for girls: 'all men were interested in in the sixties was sex and at that point I was terrified you know, I'd never met anybody that liked just me so I was a bit confused' (Dot b. 1949). According to Adams, teenage girls 'could do it all' in a period during which males outnumbered females and there was a 'mild shortage of girls' (Adams 1975: 257-260). However, while the increasing sexualisation of teenage girls was apparent in popular culture, song and fashion, the narratives suggest that these changes placed young women at some personal and cultural disadvantage in relationship to the men, particularly older men. There is evidence that for some of the women, traditional patriarchal discourses and practices remained in place. The women's expectations of their new relationships continued to reflect traditional patriarchal forms: the gender power balance in the new relationships and cultural expectations appeared slower to change.

The changes in men's expectations of young women's sexual availability were at odds with the women's preparedness to respond. Most of the women in this study were young teenagers (Linda, Elaine, Theresa, Sarah, Shona and Andrea were under sixteen years) when they embarked on relationships with older boys and men. By the early 1980s, Lynne was just as confused as Dot by the mixed messages she was receiving from men,

> I just don't know how many times…men would say to you 'But I can't…I can't help it', as they press you against a wall. This madness that you think 'Oh God…I better let him…'cos he's getting angrier… or he'd tell you that you were a prick teaser, 'cos you'd led them on. Christ only knows, it's all very confusing, very confusing (Lynne b. 1961).

There is evidence from the narratives that Dot's and Lynne's confusion, separated by almost two decades, was common throughout the period. Women's fear of pregnancy, the social stigma surrounding sex outside of marriage and the fear of unmarried motherhood continued to dominate the women's lives from the 1960s through to the early 1980s as Linda's dilemma on becoming pregnant showed. The narratives provide some evidence of a continuing conservatism in Scottish private life and public discourse as in England where, 'the more permissive climate of the sixties therefore took some time to feed through into behaviour and attitudes' (Donnelly 2005:123). The permissive climate of the 1960s included the liberalisation of attitudes to sex in the context of 'free love' outside of marriage, the growing acceptance of cohabitation, the legalisation of abortion, the development of the oral contraceptive pill and the promise of more sexual parity between men and

women. However the pill's promise of freedom from the risk of unwanted pregnancy was limited to those who could access it and did not slow the upward trend in the percentage of births to unmarried women in the UK from 4.7% in 1955 to 8.4% in 1970 (Adams 1975:260) and could also unwittingly signal women's sexual availability (D'Cruze 2010). In Scotland, availability of the 'pill' was limited to married women through Family Planning Clinics and the Brook Advisory Clinics which made it available to unmarried women mainly in Scottish cities but with restricted opening hours. Liberalisation of the provision of the oral contraceptive pill proved culturally and politically contentious in Scotland and met resistance from politicians and civil servants, the Catholic Church and also from men who were reluctant to relinquish control of contraception to their wives and girlfriends (Davidson 2012). Making the pill available to young unmarried women proved especially problematic. Its use could prove stigmatising for young women but not necessarily for men due to the continued lack of parity between cultural expectations of women's and men's sexual behaviour outwith marriage. While not all of the women described their early sexual encounters, their accounts do suggest that while sexual relations were taking place during their teens and early twenties and before marriage, the use of contraception was not necessarily routine. A few of the younger narrators (those born in the 1960s) suggest that sexual relationships occurring among teenage girls and their boyfriends were not always accompanied by close emotional bonds (what Jamieson and others have described as 'disclosing intimacy') and were unencumbered by caring and practical ties. The women described how they 'fell' or 'got' pregnant and married early or moved in with their boyfriends in the late 1970s and 1980s with pregnancy following quite soon afterwards. The fear of social stigma and the potentially negative economic impact for young women known to be sexually active outside of a stable relationship continued to hold great fear for them. Neither the ambitious sexual expectations of men during this period nor the hesitantly changing sexual behaviour of young single women were matched by the widespread availability of contraception or parallel changes to the prevailing and still highly conservative public gender norms of respectability. The following accounts show that in their minds the young women's sexuality continued to be closely linked to public perceptions of their respectability, and the need for young women to keep their sexual behaviour secret.

In the late 1970s, teenage Shona's concerns about prevailing taboos influenced the way she approached the prospect of sex with her first boyfriend who was older than her: 'we didn't sleep together until we'd been together about six months' (Shona b. 1963) and the need for secrecy:

When I confided with one of my pals that I was sleeping with [boyfriend's name]… she went "Oh my God I'm sleeping with my boyfriend as well."… we were all so afraid of being labelled

as being a slut or a cow or whatever…her and I had this kinda secret and it was quite nice and we used to talk about it and have a laugh about it (Shona b. 1963).

When Shona's friend shared their secret with others at school she reflected on the differential impact of exposure on her and her boyfriend in the context of the close links between contemporary discourses of gender, sex and respectability,

It was like this cold feeling went over me…and everybody knew … that was a horrible feeling …and he was just like "Och, what does it matter anyway.", and he didnae know what a big deal it was which fair enough, he wisnae at school, he wisnae in that kinda atmosphere where you felt….[Shona's sentence trails off] (Shona b. 1963).

The symbolism of the sex act as a rite of passage for women into monogamous commitment in dating, marriage or cohabitation is strongly conveyed. Shona, aged sixteen in the late 1970s, recalled thinking, 'I'm not gonnae be able to be wi' emb'di else after that, I mean I've had sex wi' this guy that means that him and I are gonnae be thegither for ever' and…that this was gonnae be it' (Shona b. 1963). Some of the narratives suggest that the symbolism of the sexual act was very closely linked to confirmation of their entering into a monogamous relationship. In Scotland during the 1970s, overt sexual behaviour by young women continued to be regarded as 'dysfunctional unless controlled and deferred into the socially acceptable, heterosexual contexts of marriage and family formation' (Adams 2010: 267). Further, 'the economics of the permissive society still favoured the breadwinner system' (Adams 2010:267) and female incomes other than in professional occupations were generally insufficient to support a child as a lone parent if pregnancy did occur. By the 1980s, efforts to implement public sex education in Scotland reflected these contradictions in sexual discourses of the period:

[These] remained constrained both by political expediency and by the moral ideology of senior civil servants, who were all too conscious, not only of the wider divisions within Scottish civil society over the issue, but also of the immense risks in trying to formalize what had hitherto been 'a hidden, furtive, taboo-ridden, even unconscious area of learning'. (Davidson and Davis 2005:245-246).

These contradictions echo the findings of a report on US public attitudes to the sexual revolution between the 1960s and the 1980s. This showed that overall shifts in public opinion were

less consistently progressive over time, were more locally and demographically nuanced than revolutionary and that attitudes took a distinctly conservative turn during the mid-1980s (Smith 1990). Whilst the narratives suggest a similarly varied and more nuanced picture of Scottish social attitudes to sex and relationships between the 1960s and 1980s there remained clear cultural traces of the Victorian ideal of a woman's respectability being tied closely to chastity before marriage and monogamy within it (Kelly 2010). As the women's new relationships became established, it became apparent that female and male gender identities continued to develop in the context of their new relationships. The cultural traces of traditional patriarchal gender roles became further embedded into more explicitly hierarchical gender orders as the women's relationships matured (For a discussion of gender regimes and gender order in the family see Connell 1987:121-125).

Patriarchal gender identities and domestic abuse

Gender regimes and sexual abuse

For the interviewees, as their relationships developed, gendered domestic practices began to emerge alongside the growing dominance of the men's viewpoint, opinions and behaviour. These were increasingly expressed in forms of domestic and sexual abuse and were closely aligned with the way masculine and feminine identities continued to be constructed. The women's narratives demonstrate how they gradually deferred to these stances and learned that challenging them risked undermining their partners' manliness which could in turn lead to unpleasant or even violent consequences. The men often pre-empted resistance by creating atmospheres of fear which also alternated abuse with kindness in a cycle of violence. The women's narratives illustrated the intimate workings of gendered abuse in their marriages and its close association with gender identities as it gradually became a common occurrence in their everyday lives. The women also described the profound impact its nature and consequences had on their sense of themselves and how their relationships with their husbands changed following marriage. For Vickie, married in the late 1960s, and Linda, in the early 1980s, powerful messages of patriarchal ownership and control marked the difference between courting and being married,

> We went out for quite a while, a year, two years. Course I thought there was nobody like him but the minute the ring was on the finger it all changed… (Vickie b. 1943)(Vickie b. 1943).

> Well I got married in 1981 and what he said to me was, which I thought was a joke, "That's you bought and paid for." That was my marriage licence (Linda b. 1967).

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These messages were reinforced as were their cumulatively negative impact on the women. As Andrea recalled, the performance of her role in the home came under increasing scrutiny and criticism: ' I was looking for why it was my fault 'cos I wisnae a good wife and I wisnae this and I wisnae that and I couldnae ha' been a good mother and I didn't know what I wisnae da'en right…' (Andrea b.1960). Others saw also their partner's attitude to sex change dramatically once they were dating, married or began cohabiting. These examples reveal strong indications of male sexual dominance, ownership and access to the women's bodies. For Shona, her teenage boyfriend's attitude to her quickly altered leaving her very confused:

> He didnae like that I liked sex. He got angry with me… he didnae like that I liked it so he had quite, I think, quite traditional ideas in his head about what women were meant to be like and how they were supposed to be (Shona b. 1963).

She observed further changes to her boyfriend's behaviour after they started having sex and how she was now able to interpret them:

> He'd seen it as being a conquest and once he'd achieved it he was beginning to lose interest. It changed after we started having sex. He started to get much more … aggressive, vicious in the way he spoke to me, quite nasty…I loved having sex but he didnae like it. That was something he was supposed to be controlling and clearly in the build up to us having sex he had had the control then you know (Shona b. 1963).

Lynne was previously unaware of her boyfriend's aggressive sexual behaviour,

> I didn't know anything about it until I moved in with him and I just remember that sinking feeling when I thought, 'this guy's fucking sick' and then he started to get rougher with sex and the more I refused it the more he tried and the more he enjoyed the fight (Lynne b. 1961).

Ten of the women described relationships characterised by rape and sexual abuse as well as physical and emotional abuse. Their accounts also support the view that during this period the boundaries between normal sex and abuse were shifting (D'Cruze 2010: 45). Their narratives reflect contemporary views that the sexual revolution, whilst promising gender parity in sexual relations, in fact facilitated men's sexual liberation at the expense of women's for whom it was found to be a mixed

blessing (Grant 1993, Williamson 2017).   Some women became very upset whilst recounting their memories of often distressing experiences but all were clear that they wanted these aspects of their relationships to be included in their narratives. It is testament to their courage and to their recovery that they did so.

Rape, and particularly rape in the context of marriage, became a highly contentious issue and the focus of much feminist and political campaigning in the UK from the 1970s through to the 1990s (Maitland 2009, Brown J.M. 2012, Williamson 2017). Feminists argued that the marital exception in rape cases was a function of women's historically subordinate status in gender property relations and in law and reinforced their economic dependence on men. The rape crisis movements in Scotland and across the UK and other organisations such as Women against Violence Against Women and Women Against Rape (WAR) argued that 'Women's financial dependence on men in a family situation…means…that men—and we ourselves—are moulded and trained: they for domination, we for submission' (Williamson 2017:392). By identifying the links between rape, women's gender identity in marriage and their dependent and subordinate social and economic status, activists contextualised rape in marriage within the broader continuum of the sexual violence women faced in everyday life, which privileged men's sexual access to women's bodies (Kelly 1987). Vigorous campaigns carried out during the 1970s and 1980s were countered by accusations that the difficulties of proving rape in the context of marriage, the possibility of wives making false allegations and the likelihood that a wife's allegations of rape would effectively end the marriage threatened the very institution of marriage itself. These arguments against outlawing marital rape appeared to cling to the customs and attitudes if not the legality of long-gone legal privileges of *jus mariti* in Scotland and *couverture* in England, whereby husbands had property rights over their wives' bodies and were entitled to sexual access. However feminist campaigners and legal reformers were ultimately successful in challenging the dominant legal and cultural discourses which upheld the marital exception in criminal rape cases – it was abolished first in Scotland in 1989 and then England in 1991 (Painter 1991, Bourke 2008, Williamson 2017). A challenge to the change in England brought before the European Court of Human Rights was denied as the abolition of the exception was found to be compatible with the European Convention on Human Rights (Williamson 2017). During the 1980s, the extent of marital rape was unknown in the UK due to the marital exception, a hostile legal and cultural climate for those contemplating reporting rape to the police, the estimated under-reporting of rape crimes more generally, lack of corroboration and the generally low conviction rates for all rape cases. Surveys and estimates of the extent of marital rape in the US suggested that between 8 and 14 % of women reported being raped at least once by their husbands (Bourke 2010: 320). A survey of women in London carried out for WAR found that 14% had been raped by their husbands and showed that

'areas of people's lives that had been hidden and taken for granted were actually out there in the open' (Hall 1985 in Williamson 2017:396). Working as a procurator fiscal in Scotland during the 1980s, Iain reflected on the attitudes and dominant discourses which both influenced and precluded contemporary thinking and practices in relation to the prosecution of marital rape,

> The notion of sexual violence within that domestic setting never attended anything that was reported to…us. I don't think we would ever have thought of that as being, that was even darker, you know, that was, if a woman said 'he raped me', 'you're his wife, sorry it disnae count you know' (Iain).

These contemporary findings of research into everyday rape in marriage were echoed in the women's experiences – a majority (ten out of fifteen) of them experienced sexual violence by their boyfriends and husbands. The women commonly describe rape and sexual abuse taking place within the threatening and frightening context of other forms of domestic abuse in their relationships. Painter's research carried out in London in 1989 found that 70% of the 1,007 wives surveyed who had been raped by their husbands had also been assaulted by them and 56% had been threatened with assault (Painter 1991:22). The women in the study described sex being used as a straightforward expression of male dominance and power, being coerced into having sex against their wishes, consenting to sex to avoid being assaulted, having their resistance regarded as a sign of consent, being made to feel abnormal for resisting and being raped in the context of a violent assault. Linda was asleep in bed beside one of her children when her drunken husband returned home: 'he pu'ed [pulled] me through and raped me and flung ten pence at me…[crying]' (Linda b. 1967). Denise's husband ' took a pair of scissors and held them to my throat and then raped me so…[becomes upset] sorry…So the way it felt to me was as if he'd got the ring on my finger and he could do what he liked and I didn't dare question' (Denise b. 1966). These brutal acts confirmed to the women that their husbands felt that they were entitled to sexual access to the women's bodies with or without their consent.

In her history of rape, Bourke asserts that 'rape within marriage is the most common and most frequently excused form of sexual violation' (Bourke 2007:306). Violence and the breach of trust inherent in the marriage bond further silenced and isolated women already experiencing other forms of abuse and exacerbated their distress and confusion (Painter 1991). Those women who describe being raped and sexually assaulted by their husbands and partners, convey the men's strong sense of entitlement and of aggressive, and at times perverted sexual behaviour to which the women also felt they had to succumb: 'If you said no to sex ….he didn't think you could rape your partner, your partner was there for sex and…we even spoke about that and he said "You can't rape somebody you live

with.", and I was saying "You're outrageous, that's…"[Lynne's sentence trails off]' (Lynne b. 1961). Lynne recalled her partner using the word 'rape' in the context of denying its relevance to their situation, however had stopped short of using the word to describe to her partner what had just happened to her. Denise did not conceptualise her experiences as rape at the time but accepted this as part of the marriage contract, 'It was quite traumatic so…at the time you don't really see it as rape because you think you're married so you don't really see…it wasn't until years later that I recognised that as rape' (Denise b. 1966).

The separation of sex from emotional attachment, the close association between male dominance and control, the co-existence of physical, sexual and emotional abuse, on a continuum of violence, and the objectification of women were all evident in the narratives. There is also evidence of the ways in which the women attempted to gain some control in situations where their husbands were exerting their perceived right to have sex with the women without their active consent. Elaine and Geraldine both described their reaction to unwanted sex.

> The lines are blurred aren't they for women because you know that it's a way of controlling them because it's a way of managing them and that how you use sex is to manage them and I suppose that's what I did you know. Is that rape? I don't know? I certainly wasn't always in the mood! But you oblige you know and it's the expectation, you're married, it's the expectation (Elaine b. 1957).

Similarly Geraldine, conscious of her sleeping children, would 'always be very placatory and compliant and quiet and you know, would do what he wanted sexually or anything else just to keep the peace' (Geraldine b. 1951). The men in these examples both privileged and manipulated their sexual demands in ways which further objectified and disempowered the women. Geraldine recalled this when her husband made sexual demands on her: 'when he was being very demanding and sexually quite demanding, there's a fine line between demand and abuse' (Geraldine b. 1951). By blurring the boundaries between mutually satisfying sex and sexual abuse, the men were effectively eroticising physical and sexual violence as Theresa's account suggests:

> One of the nights he actually smashed me to a pulp. My black eyes and everything...and he raped me and all the way through having this sex with me he kept saying 'You know I didn't mean to do that to you, you know, I'm sorry for doing that to you (Theresa b. 1963).

Mhairi's husband persuaded her that there was something wrong with her sexually because she was not meeting his sexual needs: 'he'd persuaded me that there was something really clinically wrong and had me seeking help through a clinic because there was something wrong wi' me…I was being

sexually abused' (Mhairi b. 1955). Shona described how she felt when her boyfriend ended their relationship immediately after having sex: '"we've just had sex, if you didnae want to go out with me anymore why did you do that?", "Well because I could…em…I'm not interested in you anymore… I realise I just need my freedom, I just need to be with my pals.", and he just got up and walked away. I felt used, it was a horrible feeling' (Shona b. 1963). Shona's boyfriend thus combined a clear expression of his male sexual privilege with sexually objectifying her in a way which left Shona feeling sexually 'used' as a woman.

Male Infidelity

For other men, monogamous commitment to their wives and partners was more fluid. Carol, Theresa, Eve, Dot and Elaine recalled their husbands having affairs with other women and Shona's boyfriend was openly dating other girls during their relationship. Carol, Dot, Elaine and Eve were fully aware that their husbands were openly living with or dividing their time between them and other women during their marriages and that the affairs began early in the relationship and, in Dot's case, during her first pregnancy. None of the women spoke of having affairs during their marriages. The timing and conduct of their husband's affairs was a demonstration of the men's rights to other women's bodies and a disregard for their commitment to monogamy.

> He started this affair when we went down to Manchester with this woman because I was pregnant. My husband moved out at eight months and eh…to see if he liked living with her more than me …I knew about it. And he came back after two months because he had exams but told me he was back to stay which was a lie (Dot b. 1949).

Their husbands' affairs shook their sense of self. Carol recalled how her husband's open infidelity affected her sense of self:

> He would spend time with her …and then come back home and spend time with me. I mean as I'm saying it to you now...I find it really hard to believe that I let that happen and that I had so little respect for myself even…We split up and [I] continued to see him because he loved me and he loved her blah-blah-blah oh….my God that was awful (Carol b. 1953).

Eve suggested that her husband's affairs combined with his physical and sexual violence affected her mental health,

> I could never catch him and he would tell me I was off my head and all the rest of it. He was having all these affairs and that was really cracking me up that he's battering me and then

going with other women and…coming back to have sex wi' me when I didn't really want it (Eve b. 1949).

These narratives suggest that masculinity was unaffected, and in some cases positively reinforced, by public knowledge of the men's infidelity.

Establishing the gender order

All of the women experienced domestic abuse and the early onset of abuse in all cases took place almost simultaneously with a male role change from romantic suitor to abusive husband/partner. The symbolism and visceral reality of these examples of sexual dominance and the women's responses confirm the findings of those who argued that, 'the subordination of women in all other spheres of the society rests on the power of men to intimidate and to punish women sexually' (Sheffield 1987:171). The similarities in these experiences of rape and sexual abuse in the context of domestic abuse occurred during a period of intense and ultimately successful public campaigning to criminalise marital rape. However, this evidence of the continuation of legal discourses and practices which supported men's entitlement to sex without partners' consent, suggests that rape in the context of domestic abuse sustained an important connection between public and private patriarchy. The narratives show that, for some, the requirement for male monogamy was more fluid with open infidelity in the context of domestic abuse compounding the women's distress. These descriptions of male infidelity highlight the contrasting private, public and cultural expectations on men and women. While sex was central to their relationships, women's monogamy and fidelity were paramount whereas this was not necessarily the case for men. Alongside the changing aspects of the couples' sexual behaviour was the development of relational practices which reinforced the men's increasing dominance in other aspects of their relationships.

Carol observed changes to her husband's behaviour once they were living together: 'I remember being aware that you know…he can drink quite a lot of alcohol and gradually noticing that wee bits of nastiness would come out you know…' (Carol b. 1953). Denise 'moved in really, really quickly' with her boyfriend. However within a short time things changed:

After about three months things started to look not quite right…it kinda deteriorated from then on …and if I tried to say what I wanted to watch on television, we just shared a room… There was one time he threw me on to the bed and punched into my back (Denise b. 1966).

Mhairi recalled her boyfriend's manner changing in the run up to the wedding and the difficulty she had rationalising it at the time. Denise, Eve and Elaine women similarly described how difficult it was

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to explain the men's abuse to themselves. They did so largely by privileging their partners' point of view over their own, recognising the pressures the men were under as sole providers or accepting blame whilst confused by the injustice of it all. Dot attributed her husband's abuse to his difficult childhood in much the same way as she had sympathised with her abusive and ailing father: 'I always sort of, bowed to his hard life, which was his excuse for being a shite basically you know' (Dot b. 1949). Eve could not understand her husband's abuse, his drinking and subsequent infidelity but also attributed it to his upbringing and the preferential treatment he received as a child from his mother which was strongly differentiated from that of his sisters: 'his mother would… if his sisters were having mince he would get steak…he was used to getting his own way so that was basically my life …he wanted everything his own way' (Eve b. 1949).   The women's explanations thus shared common themes. They were all linked to aspects of the men's masculinity and how these were perceived, by the men, to have been compromised. In these examples, the conflict was settled in the men's favour by his use of violence or abuse to enforce the women's acceptance of his sexual and physical dominance, privileged position or viewpoint in the matters. The examples also reveal the relational dynamics and how closely these were linked to the couples' respective gender identities. Dominant masculinity was being asserted to ensure that their wives accepted their subservient position in the relationship. The women's responses to these assertions of male dominance ranged from confusion, resistance, to deference and finally to acquiescence. These dialectics of gender, central to these contested aspects of gender relations, were apparent in Denise's reflections on her husband's attempts to construct a different form of masculinity for himself in the 1980s:

> He grew up in Greenock…typical west coast of Scotland place. But he wasn't like that…rejected all that side of things…he came from a kinda family background where his Dad was very… verbally abusive to his Mum…and the real west coast of Scotland…. "I'm a kinda Rangers supporter and I hate everybody else" type of background so he grew up with that and he'd kinda tried to reject it. Got himself to college studying social science - wanted to be a bit of an intellectual and read the *Guardian* newspaper and was a socialist and all that kinda thing. So he was just trying to be really, really different (Denise b. 1966).

Whereas on the one hand Denise's boyfriend appeared outwardly to reject the patriarchal working class masculinity he grew up with, his aspirations to be different were not reflected in his private behaviour. Denise was aware of this dissonance and despite experiencing abuse in the early stages of their relationship she was sufficiently reassured by the kinder aspects of his personality and behaviour to continue with the relationship,

Sometimes he was absolutely fantastic, really loving all the rest of it…and then for about six months he was just about perfect and the perfect boyfriend and told me he wanted us to get married. Right? So… I was like, well he's changed, everything's great, we'll get married (Denise b. 1966).

The men's contrasting behaviours and identities in private and in public were to become a common pattern in the women's relationships as time went on and was something they often struggled to reconcile. Young men in Shona's circle, for example, eschewed public displays of affection towards their girlfriends: 'Some of my friends were in relationships with guys and you know the guys werenae very nice to them in front of people and they didnae cuddle them or werenae tactile wi' them at all …' (Shona b. 1963). Lynne's boyfriend was, '…very plausible…very sociable…everybody really liked him, thought he was good fun, great cook, great host' (Lynne b. 1961). Sarah's husband had a congenial public persona: 'he was curmudgeonly…I mean he could be good fun and he was a good raconteur and he could be a good laugh and all of that but nobody ever challenged how he was with me' (Sarah born 1961). Dot's husband too 'could be, well they all can can't they, could be really charming and great father and all this sort of thing…Yeah but he was a nightmare, an absolute nightmare' (Dot b. 1949). Andrea's husband 'wis a quiet man and everybody used tae say "that's a great man you've got", "quiet man", "wouldnae dae any herm" ' (Andrea b.1960). Shona found it very difficult to watch her boyfriend's behaviour in public after he had assaulted her and described how she began to blame herself for not ending the relationship:

He would be holding court in the pub and I would be sitting on the side lines thinking "he's not suffering in any way at all from this stuff and it's me, I'm the one that's wrong because I keep going back with him" (Shona b. 1963).

Similarly, despite her best efforts, Elaine was at a loss to explain why the abuse was happening to her despite how well she believed her socialisation had prepared her for marriage, 'I could never understand it because I was always...I was always the good woman. I was always a good child, I was always biddable, compliant, I am a compliant nature and was always compliant…' (Elaine b. 1957).

In a 1988 review of the contemporary literature dealing with intimate relationships and their meaning, Jamieson contested the argument that in the late twentieth century, 'disclosing intimacy', based on the concept of 'getting to know you', was replacing necessity and the construction of families as a basis for gender relations among heterosexual couples. Jamieson argued that there was

insufficient empirical evidence about everyday personal and sexual relationships to show a wider social shift in the purpose of heterosexual gender relations from economic necessity to one where the relationship itself is the main driver. Jamieson argued that disclosing intimacy 'could only take place if participants worked to remove social barriers and transcend structural inequalities' (Jamieson and Jameison 1998:1) and relationships could not exclude negotiating and carrying out the practical business of living. While acknowledging the value of 'disclosing intimacy' she concludes that it is important that:

> ...couples work hard at how they treat each other and what they do for each other in practical ways as well as learning about each other through knowing and understanding. It is through the negotiation of their divisions of labour and the resulting adjustments in their practical activities that they know each other better, sustain their relationship and effect social change' (Jamieson and Jameison 1998:175).

Reprising her argument in 2010, in the context of the more common practice of cohabitation and more fluid forms of relationships, Jamieson observed that in the course of the twentieth century, '... a shift from emphasis on practical institution to loving relationship has occurred, but it has not been a total shift' (Jamieson 2010:96). These narratives provide some empirical evidence that any shift to 'disclosing intimacy' during the 1970s and 1980s, for these couples, was more apparent than real. The narratives suggest a more varied picture. For these couples the original foundations for their relationships appeared to be based on traditional patriarchal male romantic rituals demonstrating their potential as husbands and providers with women's expectations based on assessments of men as partners in companionate marriage. These examples reflect trends identified elsewhere in the UK during this period (Summerfield 2002). Two of the women's decisions to marry reflected the influence of traditional social and gender norms (Elaine and Eve). Five did so after a period of cohabitation (Carol, Denise, Dot and Evelyn, Geraldine and Mhairi); for three women, marriage was precipitated by early pregnancy (Vickie, Linda and Theresa) while two were desperate to escape difficult home lives (Andrea and Sarah). From these varied routes into marriage, traditional patriarchal gender property relations soon emerged and, reinforced by domestic abuse, appeared to destroy the women's early dreams of a loving relationship.

The consistent threads running through the early stages of the women's relationships were: the establishment of male dominance by physical, sexual and emotional means and securing the women's commitment to a monogamous relationship.   For many of the women the patriarchal symbolism and importance of sex in the early stages of the relationship continued to be a key feature

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of the domestic gender hierarchy. The regimes encapsulated the interplay of gender, power and violence in their relationships and families, privileged men and subordinated women and children (Morris 2009). The narratives provide evidence that the men and women's gender identities continued to be shaped by their roles and practices in their relationships. However, the arrival of children into the family created a new and contested arena as the couples adjusted to parenthood.

Children

While the arrival of children in the women's families at times created a lull in some of the men's abusive behaviour, an abusive context had already been established for all of those who went on to have children with their husbands. Dot, Carol, Sarah, Geraldine and Eve's husbands maintained a clear separation between their family and their social lives, leaving many of the women alone at home with their new babies and feeling extremely isolated. Carol's husband decided to go out, leaving her alone on her first night home from hospital with her new baby:

''Oh please…listen…please don't go out.'' [He said] "I'll only be maximum a couple of hours and then I'll be back." He never came back till the next day…and I just remember being absolutely miserable and she cried the whole night and I was breast feeding and sore and all that. All on my own (Carol b. 1953).

From their first pregnancies, it became clear that their husbands considered the care and rearing of children to be fully the women's responsibility. Fatherhood became absorbed into the family's gender hierarchy in ways which appeared to make few concessions to the new arrivals. The women provided many examples of non-involved or neglectful fathers. Elaine and Geraldine reflected on the tense atmospheres and abuse going on in the background of their children's lives: ' It's all the subliminal messages that they pick up isn't it?' (Elaine b. 1957). Fathers' non-involvement continued for some of the women as their children grew up. There were examples of men disappointing or failing to honour commitments to their children, women lying to the children about why their fathers had let them down and coping with the impact of their fathers' lack of concern for the children's needs or feelings. Eve's experience was common: 'when I think about all the rotten horrible things he's done to my children as well… he's not been there for his children' (Eve b. 1949). Eve and Elaine described their husbands' differentially gendered treatment of their sons and daughters, they described men who appeared to be jealous of the women's close relationships with their sons, young boys being threatened or punished for crying and girls being treated more kindly. Despite his cruelty toward her, Elaine observed, 'I never felt that he was ever a threat to [her daughter]' (Elaine b. 1957).

For Andrea, Eve, Denise, Elaine, Geraldine, Dot, Sarah, Theresa and Mhairi, their husbands' violence and abuse continued despite the presence of their babies and toddlers. Being incorporated very early into the family's gender regime, in most cases the children were immediately exposed to the abusive family context within it. Their presence could provide triggers for their mothers' abuse, were present while their mothers were being abused or were directly abused themselves: 'when the kids were young they started to see it as well. The first black eye I ever got I remember [son] was in the pram, he was just months old' (Andrea b.1960). Andrea, Eve, Denise, Elaine and Sarah's children were often aware that their mothers were being assaulted in other parts of the house despite deliberately being hidden behind locked doors. Andrea, Elaine and Eve's children regularly and directly witnessed their father assaulting their mother, often tried to intervene and in some cases succeeded in stopping the attacks. With the exception of Denise, none of the women provided examples of their husbands being directly violent towards their children. However, overall the presence of children appeared largely to have offered little disincentive to the men's patterns of abuse. The process of absorbing children into these abusive regimes involved showing children, like their mothers before them, the possible negative consequences of actions which might displease their father. The abuse of children in this context has been described as collateral to their mothers' abuse and designed to isolate children just like their mothers. According to Stark, domestic abusers create contexts which gradually reduce the control that can be exercised by their non-abusing partners or by any children (Stark 2017). Aggressive hypermasculinity and discernible differences in responsibility for child rearing together with children witnessing domestic abuse and male dominance in the family are all strong indicators of private patriarchy. These narratives reveal the development of highly gendered and increasingly controlling contexts. These began initially in the early stages of the relationships, continued into marriage/cohabitation and the subsequent birth of children thus creating complex intersections between gender roles, norms and performance and gender identities.

Refracting patriarchal masculinity

These descriptions of male dominance refracted through the women's memories of their impact share a common theme of oscillating and contrasting expressions of private and public masculinity. The assaults, abuse and controlling behaviour evident in the very early stages of their relationships established a pattern of male dominance which privileged their views and needs. Monica, a criminal justice worker, had observed the centrality of 'manliness' in abusive men's private and social relationships:

A lot of it is to do with men's idea of manliness and where they are in the world. I think that…in their head what one of the writers called 'the world behind my eyes', is the world that I inhabit and everybody else exists in relation to me and that notion of who I am as a man… I have to hold on to all the time (Monica).

The links between individual expressions of patriarchal masculinity and the control of women emerge from the narratives. They also reflect a continuum of men's violence against women which women experience in everyday public and private life (Kelly 1987, Kelly 2011, Kelly and Westmarland 2016). According to Tosh, these dialectics of male and female gender identities are discursively and relationally constructed and interconnected. He argues that the study of masculinity should not 'obscure the crucial relational quality of all masculinities' and, he argues, their links to women's oppression:

Men have seldom advertised the ways in which authority over women has sustained their sense of themselves as men. As a general rule, those aspects of masculinity which bear most directly on the upholding of that power are least likely to be made explicit (Tosh 1994: 179-184).

These narratives show that the relational aspects of masculinity were expressed in the early stages of the women's relationships through dominance and control in the men's use of rhetoric, abuse and violence. On their side the women were faced with the choices, often under duress, about whether or not to privilege the men's standpoints, acquiesce to male dominance, resist or conform to men's and to wider social expectations of their gender roles and identities. The narratives revealed the choices the women made and their rationales for making them. The women offered insights into the dynamic nature of male authority and how this provided the women with clear and explicit messages about how power was to be managed and maintained and by whom and the consequences of resistance. Conversely, the narratives also illustrate the role of the often contradictory aspects of masculinity in the construction and maintenance of private and public patriarchal power relations. The women suggested that the men saw no contradiction between the romantic, violent and controlling aspects of their behaviour. The consequences of men looking out from 'the world behind their eyes' appeared, for the women caught in their gaze, to be a range of seemingly contrasting forms of masculinity merged into one highly privileged, egocentric individual standpoint. Monica suggested that, for men, the process of reconciling these, at times, contrasting masculinities is achieved by regular reappraisals of individual 'manliness' to create a responsive, fluid and dynamic gender identity,

Manliness is something that men can never have enough of because it degrades. You constantly top up your manliness and keep proving how manly you are and you've got your bucket, and he might have a bigger bucket than you have so you've got to make sure that you've got as much manliness as he has in his bigger bucket. So men are constantly comparing themselves to other men…and it's not necessarily John Wayne and being big and tough and strong, it's about manliness. The things that define you as a man (Monica).

Living with Domestic Abuse

The narratives revealed common patterns of abuse beginning in the early stages of the relationship. These were intended to establish a clear demarcation of gender roles, a hierarchical power dynamic characterised by threatening, abusive and often violent behaviour used in a purposeful way. What the women described had all the hallmarks of a process of grooming and entrapment followed by what would be defined in twenty first century terms as domestic abuse, coercive control or intimate partner violence. Recent research on domestic abuse found it to be a gradual and highly gendered process of entrapment whereby flattery, courtship and romantic gestures are followed by increasingly violent, coercive and controlling behaviour by one partner over the other (Ptacek 1999, Stark 2007). The narratives show that abusive rhetoric, verbal and non-verbal communication such as threatening and demeaning language, looks and gestures, physically and sexually violent and threatening behaviour by the men began early in the women's relationships. This established male dominance and resulted in enforced compliance, a gradual reduction in the women's capacity for resistance and their freedom to control aspects of their lives. Sarah described very clearly how she came to accept this situation as time passed,

I was only about 18 or something, 19 you know so…but the physical violence, I don't know how long it lasted but it tailed off because I learned how to play the game…so he didn't hit me for… I don't know how long. It could have been a year maybe; it might have been a couple of years. I actually don't remember, but I know it did reduce if I you know… but I lived in fear then of him (Sarah b. 1961).

This extract and other examples show that the early use of physical and sexual violence grew to become a permanent underlying threat or potential consequence for non-compliance; as Sarah recalled:

You know that way you just get the look and that's it…shit you know. So by that time obviously I knew what the look was. … I remember this vividly and so that was it. Your stomach was just churning and you were just terrified really (Sarah born 1961).

The narratives described a wide range of physical and sexual assaults often used in conjunction with emotional abuse. These gradually restricted the women's freedom of movement, subjected them to surveillance, limited their access to social space and, for some, increased their social isolation. This had a negative impact on the women's sense of self and self-worth. In the words of Evan Stark, 'the abuser plants in the mind of his victim the price of her resistance,' (Personal email communication from Evan Stark to the author 2018). This occurred throughout their relationships and could vary in frequency and severity over time, sometimes with long periods elapsing without violence or abuse. Some of the women's experiences conformed to the stages in Walker's 'cycle of violence' (Walker 1979, Rothenberg 2003) whereby the abuse was followed by a 'honeymoon period' of remorse and apology before re-cycling (see Figure 3).
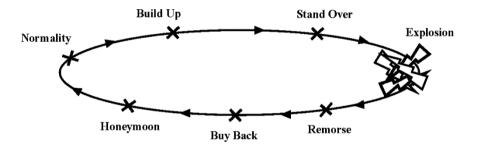

Figure 2. From The Cycle of Violence (Carrington 2014)

In her analysis of social structural theories, Connell, echoing Engels' analysis cited in Chapter Four, observed a general consensus that, historically, the establishment of kinship and the exchange of women together provided a basis for unequal gender property relations. However, she went on to argue that 'human practice always presupposes social structure…Structure is always emergent from practice and is constituted by it. Neither is conceivable without the other' (Connell 1987:94). The narratives provide evidence of the cultural circuits within which women described and interpreted their experience and of the close interconnection between macro- and micro-system structures, between private and public discourses and practices of gender, power and violence. For Davidoff, 'gender...operates as a fundamental organising category, but also at the level of social relations and the structure of personal identity' based on unequal power relations between women and men akin to 'that of master and slave' (Davidoff 1990:230-231). These narratives suggest that the patriarchal marriage form and its manner of structuring and gendering roles and identities continued to dominate

the women's relationships. However, in contrast and in parallel, while the sexual revolution had extended men's freedom to conduct sexual relationships with younger women, and to do so in cohabiting and non-cohabiting relationships this freedom did not appear necessarily to extend equally to women. Further, the blurring of the boundaries between consensual sex and sexual abuse evident in some of the narratives suggests that these practices of male dominance were taking place to the detriment of women's own emotional and sexual needs. The relationships described in the narratives retained strongly conservative and patriarchal features. The women offer little evidence that a shift from patriarchal marriage based on economic necessity and social conventions to relationships of equals was taking place (Summerfield 2002, Jamieson 2010). The processes involved in courting and in establishing intimate relationships continued to be largely patriarchal in contrast with the women's expectations for a more companionate form. The patriarchal influences and expectations embedded in women's gender identities were strengthened by the highly gendered and abusive practices they experienced. The most highly contested areas in the relationships were those where traditional complementary gendered identities were considered by the men to have been disrupted. As the women tried to negotiate, resolve conflict and defuse violent confrontations they did so from a position of considerable individual and social disadvantage. The processes described here had the purpose of establishing male dominance and female monogamy in ways which were closely linked to traditional constructions of gender identity which continued to prevail during this period. Irrespective of whether they were married, cohabiting or dating, these relationships retained the traditional gender power relations and roles common in patriarchal marriage.

Echoing Engels, Rowbotham argued that the establishment of monogamous relationships between men and women provided the first example of class conflict because of the unequal status of men and women within these relationships (Rowbotham 1973:68). These socio-economic and personal power imbalances in intimate and patriarchal gender property relations were regarded by feminists as the basis for women's long-standing social inequality within patriarchal societies in the west. These narratives provide evidence that in Scotland in the 1970s and 1980s, domestic abuse continued to be both a gendered and gendering phenomenon (Stark 2007, Kelly and Westmarland 2016) in male/female relations and a key factor in the private and social control of women (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Kelly 1987, Walby 1989, Hester 1996). The types and patterns of abuse women experienced reinforced gender identities, ensured the performance of roles characterised by hypermasculinity and hyperfemininity, and focussed on women's sexuality, labour and behaviour. Ptacek and Stark argued that physical assault used alongside coercive and 'control-based approaches' is a form of social entrapment which men use to isolate women, and that this is perpetrated in tandem with 'the indifference of powerful institutions, and in the cultural authority granted to men in a sexist

society' (Stark 1995, Ptacek 1999:9).   Also adopting Tosh's analysis, coercive control provided a medium for the private and public expressions of the relational imbalances of male/female identities. In her exploration of theories of masculinity Berggren observed a 'feminist theory deficit' and suggested fruitful avenues for developing a new synthesis between the discursive, linguistic focus of post-structuralism and feminist phenomenology grounded in the language and behaviour taking place in the complicated negotiations of people's lives. She supported Stoltenberg's argument, that men's socialisation is created from a dialectic of two opposing norms of masculinity: 'selfhood' - being just, protective and kind and 'hegemonic manhood', which focussed on physical strength, power and the oppression of women (Berggren 2014).   In this dialectic, the struggle between contrasting masculinities may explain why all of the men described in the narratives could be so amenable in public yet so cruel in private. The women observed how easily the men switched identities from ardent public suitor to private tyrant following the successful conclusion of courting activities thus revealing both highly controlled and controlling forms of masculinity.

These discursive tensions were also embodied in individual subjectivity, in lived experience and expressed through the repetition of cultural scripts and familiar stories 'in a regulated process of repetition that both conceals itself and enforces its rules precisely through the production of substantializing effects. In a sense, all signification takes place within the orbit of the compulsion to repeat' (Butler 1999:185). Interactive, gendered dialectics and practices can contribute to the maintenance of social values, norms and culture (Butler 1999, Berggren 2014) and also to changing them. Evidence from social norms research with perpetrators of domestic abuse suggests that 'males who have negative gender role attitudes and who also endorse the belief that violence is acceptable among peers are more likely to perpetrate violence' (Neighbors, Walker et al. 2010, Fenton, Mott et al. 2016:20). There is little evidence in these narratives of consistent, social practices involving mutually disclosing intimacy. While the relationships described here suggest a common patriarchal form they ranged from those traditional patriarchal marriages based on economic necessity, the legitimisation of children and women's sexual monogamy to those, like Shona's and Lynne's, which were based on sexual intimacy alone. This is not to say that elements of intimacy were entirely absent. The women did describe periods when the violence and abuse abated and life was relatively calm. However, their relationships and their punctuation by violence and abuse were largely characterised by the 'cycle of violence' (Carrington 2014) (Figure 2). The intersecting and contested areas in the women's relationships, sexuality, monogamy and domestic labour were infused with physical and sexual violence and emotional abuse. These enforced patriarchal behavioural norms and closely linked the performative aspects of gender roles to women's identities. The narratives also highlighted how

the use of violence and abuse in these highly gendered and gendering practices intersected with the contemporary macro-social context of the women's relationships.

Contested spaces: Domestic abuse and gender roles in context

During the years 1979-1992 in the UK, three successive Conservative governments were elected to power in Westminster led by Margaret Thatcher, the UK's first female prime minister, from 1979-1990. Her government's economic policies included the aim of reducing the size and cost of the public sector, supporting private sector growth and commodification (Hudson 2013). The impact of economic policies under Thatcher has tended to dominate assessments of the era (Tomlinson 2007). However, the ideological and religious rhetoric of Thatcherism and its social and cultural impact have also been examined (Sutcliffe-Braithwaite 2012). These have highlighted her attacks on the welfare state, on the political consensus, which had supported the post-war social contract, and her challenge to the progressive social trends of the 1960s and 1970s (Taylor-Gooby 1988, Beers 2012) typified by the so-called sexual revolution (Smith 1990). Commentators in the contemporary women's movement observed that Thatcher's status as the first female Prime Minister in the UK was not accompanied by any allegiance to feminism or support for women's equality more generally. Thatcher's neo-liberal politics have been described as 'profoundly patriarchal' (Campbell 2015:47) and ideologically based on her party's traditional family-centred values of moralistic individualism and traditional gender roles (Winkler 2005, Grimley 2012, Sutcliffe-Braithwaite 2012). The focus on individual rather than social responsibility and the reconceptualization of freedom and citizens' rights as consumption were summed up in her famous statement, '…who is society? There is no such thing! There are individual men and women and there are families and no government can do anything except through people and people look to themselves first' (Keay 1987), thus stressing the values of individual self-reliance, enterprise and thrift. Studies suggests that Thatcher's social and welfare policies had substantial and negative impacts on health and aggravated poverty and inequality in working class communities, among women and minority groups (Grimley 2012, Sutcliffe-Braithwaite 2012, Scott-Samuel, Bambra et al. 2014). The contradictions in Thatcher's own identity as a wife, mother and Prime Minister were apparent in a politician whose expressed views of the family were traditionally gendered, where domesticity and domestic consumption were glorified and where the home was prioritised as the primary sphere in which women's lives achieved value and meaning.

Family money

The impact of economic decline in Scotland in the 1960s and 1970s was exacerbated by Conservative policies in Scotland in the 1980s overseeing the further run down of the manufacturing, coal and public sectors and had a particularly negative impact on women in general including in

Scotland (Breitenbach 1978, Breitenbach 1989, Beers 2012). It has been observed however that the impact of and cultural resistance to these policies was significant in Scotland (Holliday 1992). There were highly visible public campaigns against the poll tax (Gibbs 2016); the national miners' strike had a direct and indirect effect on many communities in Scotland (Phillips 2012); the impact of social and economic policies on women led to public campaigning by the WLM in Scotland (Breitenbach 1990, Henderson S & Mackay A. 1990, Browne 2016) and there were popular campaigns against the sale of council houses in Scotland (Donaldson & Forster 1991). Elaine recalled the direct impact of conservative policies on her 'homemaker' status in the family,

> When Maggie Thatcher introduced the poll tax in Scotland I wasn't earning any money but I was going to have to pay this tax. How was I going to do that? He would have to pay it. Well, see when he discovered that? He had me up against the wall, 'You're gonnae have to earn your effing keep. Ahm no effing paying fur you.' But it did make me wonder, how many women up and down the country did that happen to? The men had control of the finances and weren't happy that they'd have to pay (Elaine b. 1957).

While women's employment rose during the 1980s, women's jobs continued to be characterised by low pay and concentrated in the semi- and unskilled manufacturing, administration, public and service sectors. Sex discrimination legislation passed in the 1970s had not led to any substantial reduction in the gender pay gap by the 1980s and the cost and availability of childcare restricted women's ability to work. In addition, married women were not entitled to unemployment benefit in their own right if their husband was working, and the 'availability for work' test required them to have child care arrangements in place prior to being made an offer of work (Land 1985, Breitenbach 1989:188). Married women's employment options were therefore often limited. One of the contested areas of family life identified in the narratives was the family economy, with abuse arising from tensions around the provider/homemaker binary specifically centred on income from paid work. This influenced decisions about the domestic division of labour, the care and parenting of children, and access to and distribution of family resources.

For some of the women (Vickie, Dot, Eve, Elaine, Andrea, Theresa, Linda and Denise) the early period of their relationships or married lives resembled the traditional breadwinner/homemaker model of their parents with the women taking part-time work organised around caring for their children to supplement the family income much as their mothers had done. In all cases, there was a traditional gendered division of domestic labour:

> When our youngest was a baby, [husband's name] was successful in getting a job with the ambulance service so that was him in a job set for life type of thing. At least he was in

employment em…you know I …at that time it wasnae worth my while working but I could do a bit of hairdressing (Elaine b. 1957).

For Vickie and Andrea, money began to cause problems very early in their relationships despite both they and their husbands earning. Vickie had a 'wee part time job': 'He worked in the ship…, before the shipyards closed. Oh he had good money. But I never saw it' (Vickie b. 1943)(Vickie b. 1943). 'I was married on 18th of the 8th 1978 and within months it was about money, it was about control' (Linda b. 1967). Dot described being deliberately kept short of money and being accused of being a poor manager of money: ' I was breastfeeding and so he didn't have to worry about the baby and he would be disappearing for days and not leaving me any money for food and if I asked him for money: '"what is it you need? How much is that?" and I said, "for goodness sake can you not just give me some money you know…" it was hard. It was more…the physical didn't really, it was more other ways, financial and emotional that it was bad' (Dot b. 1949). Eve's husband also strictly controlled the money despite having two jobs:

I didn't realise at the time that it was abuse, telling me that I couldn't manage money and what was I spending the money on and I said, 'Well I can't afford to buy you steaks and your child needs fed.' I was robbing Peter to pay Paul basically all the time. He was drinking it (Eve b. 1949).

Andrea relied on others: 'my Granny used to give me money for food and all that…people bought me messages, because I had no money, he controlled everything' (Andrea b.1960). Despite Eve's husband getting 'a better paying job in the bond …it didnae make any difference to me I was still getting the same money' (Eve b. 1949).

Social and economic policies were being introduced in the 1970s and 1980s which were to have an impact on the women's family economies and on their relationships. These included the provision of maternity pay and parental leave, improved access to education and training, the introduction of the poll tax in Scotland and the extension of home ownership with the introduction of the right to buy council houses. Improvement to maternity leave and pay arrangements followed the UK's entry into the European Economic Community in 1973. A ruling by the European Court of Justice led in 1983 to the UK amending its 1970 Equal Pay Act. This aimed to advance women's equality in the UK through the principle of equal pay for equal work of equal value, provision for their equal access to employment and training, protecting women's employment during pregnancy and their rights to maternity pay and parental leave (Singh 1994, Flower 2005). These developments were evident in both Mhairi and Sarah's situations: by this time both had full time jobs in the public sector where maternity leave and pay were available. Mhairi recalled 'very good mat leave arrangements.

We'd thirteen weeks paid which was incredible so I gave up work and took my thirteen weeks… I had to go back to work when she was thirteen weeks old. I wanted to go back on a job-share basis which I did. I loved it because I felt that it really gave me the best of both worlds' (Mhairi b. 1955). As she began to gain increasing satisfaction from her professional life after having her children, Sarah too was faced with tensions between her mothering and domestic responsibilities, her growing confidence and earning power as a professional contributing substantially to the family economy and the practicalities of fulfilling all of these roles.

> [Staying at home full time] wasn't financially viable probably but I felt conflicted about it because part of me felt really that I wanted to stay at home with the children because I thought that was the right thing to do, but it was…it never seemed to be an option and you know… I did really enjoy my job and had a good network of folk at work so it was a way out as well but I didn't feel good about it at times, I worried about it but I didn't feel I had a choice really (Sarah b. 1961).

However, motherhood did have an impact on Sarah's relationship with her husband and on how she was now regarded by her husband. He became more content and less violent as they both slipped back into the traditional private and public roles of male provider/female homemaker in ways which continued to reflect contemporary discourses and practices in the 1980s:

> Once you've got the label of mother somehow …it's a bit more respected in society. I felt I'd found my place a bit more and that people you know, it was partly how I felt about myself and how I felt I was regarded by others probably. I felt the heat was off a wee bit in terms of him feeling threatened. It didn't go away, and it was always there but no, I don't think he hit me again for quite a number of years. In fact I know I'm pretty sure that that was the case (Sarah born 1961).

There were similar, albeit temporary, changes in Mhairi's husband's behaviour when she had her baby and more traditional gender roles were restored: 'He was quite happy as long as everything was so tightly controlled and I was at home with the baby' (Mhairi b. 1955). However, the changing financial balance between the couple created a conflict between the traditional provider/homemaker roles and the need for both wages to contribute to the household budget. Mhairi was content to return to work on a part-time job-share basis; however, her husband insisted she go back to work full time. Her husband's reaction revealed a contradiction between his apparent rejection of the provider/homemaker model and his acceptance of her role as an equal earner in the family but

without any concession to the practicalities of managing a job and childcare, which Mhairi was fully expected to do. Mhairi found her husband's decisions abusive and illogical:

> …abusers, they'll tell you one thing and do something else and it never works oot sensibly. Every time ye try tae put a logic tae it they dae something else…. I remember him insisting that I go back to full time work. Because if he was working full time then why the hell should I not? (Mhairi b. 1955).

However, while these changes to women's patterns of employment and earnings put pressure on the provider/homemaker model, so too did improved access to education and training opportunities, tight family finances as a result of home ownership, consumer behaviour and social mobility. These often resulted in new areas of conflict and abuse in the women's relationships. The occasions for conflict, while related to external changes, gender norms, economic circumstances and the families' higher standards of living, were also linked to contested areas of gender identities. These were frequently resolved by threats, violence and abuse which was also financial in nature. Despite their improved earning power, women's childcare responsibilities could cause conflict and restrict their say in family decisions. When women's earning capacity increased they were expected to maximise their financial contribution to the family income by working full-time, but the expectation remained that they take full responsibility for organising their work patterns and paying for their childcare arrangements. Sarah described her continuing anxiety as she tried to balance her domestic role with her financial responsibilities, 'When you're working full time and you've got two young children, you know and we didn't have a lot of money 'cos, you know, you're paying child minders' fees' (Sarah born 1961). Eve, an auxiliary nurse, received no financial support for childcare from her husband and had to work and take her turn at the local playgroup for her youngest child while her older son was at school: 'I was working two nights night duty, split nights so I could cope. I was on playgroup duty' (Eve b. 1949). These accounts reflect what Hochchild and Machung, writing in 1980, described as 'the stalled revolution' and 'a friction between faster-changing women and slower-changing men…most workplaces have remained inflexible in the face of the family demands of their workers, and at home, most men have yet to really adapt to the changes in women' (Hochschild and Machung 1989:12-13). Expanding opportunities for women in other spheres of life were also creating tensions at home.

Elaine and Linda were keen to pursue their education as mature students due to the expanding opportunities for women returners. However their husbands preferred that they went out to work: 'I knew other folk like myself, late learners who had then gone on to do degrees and stuff and that's what I wanted to do but he wouldnae let me' (Elaine b. 1957). Linda was also keen to train as a nursery nurse but her husband was reluctant to pay for childcare while she was at college: 'I went

back and did my nursery nurse course but I wisnae allowed tae dae that. So he stopped giving me any money at all…I got daein' it for just a wee while, about a month or something' (Linda b. 1967). Women's ambitions also proved to be a contested area in some of their relationships. Sarah was keen to pursue her studies much to her husband's annoyance: 'I took a small bank loan and went to Jordanhill and did a course and then just got jobs and he hated it, he hated the fact that I was in a job, that I was beginning to blossom' (Sarah born 1961). Mhairi, much as her own mother had done, prioritised her marriage over her political work and reflected on the dissonance she experienced between her traditional gender role and identity in the family and the increasing opportunities available to her outside the home.

> As my horizons widened and when we decided to get married in 82, then the message from him had been "I mean what kind of relationship are we going to have if you're gadding about all over the country all the time?" which I was doing as a national union official. I can remember thinking that was quite a reasonable expectation that we should really you know, you should work at the relationship (Mhairi b. 1955).

The contested nature of women's access to learning and education was also more subtly linked to their intelligence. This was depicted in the 1983 film, *Educating Rita* written by Willie Russell. In the film, a working class woman's marriage comes under threat when she decides to study at the Open University and her husband begins to resent her newly acquired knowledge and ambitions beyond the home (Gilbert, Caine et al. 1983). Linda, Elaine and Dot's husbands tried to restrict their intellectual ambitions to return to college but Elaine recalled her husband's deeper reasons for this,

> I discovered I was an intelligent woman. It was really always a bone of contention as well between him and I. 'Cos he's no' the brightest button in the box. And he always *accused* [Elaine's emphasis] me of being more clever than him. But I think it was probably because I could always debate my point (Elaine b. 1957).

Arthur, who taught in further education colleges in the 1980s, recalled,

> When I worked in FE, it was staggering the amount of women who started doing lower level qualifications that introduced things like sociology, division of labour and came in on Mondays with black eyes and who left their partners…staggering (Arthur b.1960).

With women able to apply for mortgages in their own right from 1980 and their increased earning capacity due to full time work, opportunities for home ownership increased and social mobility was possible. The experiences of Carol, a nurse, and Geraldine, a teacher, both home owners

and the main breadwinners who were, by the 1980s, financially supporting their husbands, a musician and a post-graduate student respectively, reflected improvements in women's earnings and the emergence of a new economic balance in their relationships. However, this shift in the economic balance appeared to make little difference to the balance of personal power in their relationships. Carol's new husband decided without consulting her to give up his nursing job: 'he just decided that was it, he just gave it up, I was then the sort of breadwinner…well I was paying the mortgage anyway 'cos it was ma hoose' (Carol b. 1953). Geraldine recalled, 'of course he had no money, he never had any money so it was always my money 'cos I was earning' (Geraldine b. 1951). Geraldine revealed how conflicted she continues to be by this gender role reversal: 'I mustn't forget though I mustn't feel guilty about it [as] the person with the power in a way because I had the income, had the house' (Geraldine b. 1951). These experiences reflect relationships which were still traditionally constructed in practice even though men's economic dominance in the family was being replaced, in some cases, by the women's. While the economic balance of power was shifting, their husbands attempted to retain the relational hierarchy, by adhering to traditional patriarchal private and public practices. Geraldine and Mhairi both tried and failed to assert their right not to change their name on marriage, suggesting that this was an important public marker of patriarchal marriage for the men despite changes to the economic balance in private: 'I was quite happy to get married but I didnae want to take his name but there was an almighty rammy about that as well em.. and eh… and I backed down' (Mhairi b. 1955). It was also important for Geraldine's husband that she take his name against her wishes,

> So I compromised. I got very angry back actually so like 'how dare you?'…I would challenge him, disagree with him and there would be a point when I would think 'back off'. I changed my name on the utility bills and...you know the sort of public domain things, utility bills and the bankcards. The credit card, 'cos he was the first name on it – give him his status he wants to be the man, he was responsible for paying that off and I wasn't (Geraldine b. 1951).

For Mhairi: 'our finances were totally joined, I was married, we were buying a house, we had both put £3,000 into this house' but as the abuse continued Mhairi was aware of the implications of joint finances for her financial independence, which created shared obligations which would be difficult for women to separate: 'you know all the money went into one joint pot. The thought of trying to extricate myself and extricate myself safely… I couldn't work that out either. Where would I go, what would I do? I can remember thinking "do I want to go to a refuge?" and thinking "no"' (Mhairi b. 1955). Financial pressures on joint finances also added to Sarah's feeling of being trapped:

We got into debt…so the financial situation became a kind of function of the dysfunction in our marriage. I think the financial thing was a way of him trying to keep me locked into the situation. I think it suited him (Sarah born 1961).

Scotland has traditionally had low levels of home ownership compared to England however house purchase was increasingly becoming an option during the 1980s with new provisions for the sale of council housing introduced by the Conservative government and the availability of mortgages. Elaine and her husband bought an ex-council house however, as she observed above in relation to the newly introduced poll tax, her husband had become very anxious about money and he now insisted she start working. She recalled him saying: '"You need to get a job because we need you to earn money." I mean we were living on the breadline with three kids and although we didnae have a big mortgage but you know we were wanting to do other stuff to the house so…I got a job, it was almost like he breathed a sigh of relief you know' (Elaine b. 1957). However Elaine's husband retained sole access to their joint bank account and control of the family finances, 'Oh yeah, my wages went into it…he took all the money out of it…and left me wi' nothing basically…he was paying the bills because he didn't want to lose the house. He was always really anxious about money'(Elaine b. 1957). Eve and her electrician husband also bought a house but she recalled that the abuse '…got worse because the pressure of the money. He still wanted to do what he was doing, going out' (Eve b. 1949) . When Elaine became ill and had to give up work her husband '…couldnae see how ill I was and…he totally switched off from me, totally switched off. He put me out the bedroom, you know and used the lock on the door…he refused to speak to me' (Elaine b. 1957). This situation lasted for nine months. These examples of husbands' financial abuse and control of all family income and expenditure incorporate their sense of having sole ownership of the family home, despite the women's increasing contribution to the family budget. As Eve recalled:

I had money coming in. By that time we had bought the house [but] he was totally controlling me and whenever I wanted to do something…you know you can never forget that "this is my [husband's] money and this is my...my...[husband's] house and I can put you out at any time" (Eve b. 1949).

As the women's earning power increased and the couples were able to buy homes they did negotiate changes to traditional gender roles and norms around the provider/homemaker model. By the 1980s, the women described how their increasing involvement in paid work and further education, the increasing availability of external child care provision and changing patterns of social life and leisure increased women's independent access to social space in ways which put further strains on their marriages/relationships. The 1980s present a picture of contrasting trends effecting women's

lives. On the one hand, Conservative government policies of the 1980s aimed at encouraging a return to patriarchal 'family values' emphasised women's role in the home, they contrasted with the progressive legal and policy trends in improving women's equality initiated in the 1970s and the additional protections to women's employment and maternity rights following Britain's entry into the European Economic Community. In addition, legislation which had widened women's access to employment and to further and higher education gradually increased some of the women's qualifications and facilitated their entry into higher earning jobs. While the poll tax created additional strains on Elaine's marriage, the impact of Conservative policies of the 1980s, which enabled the sale of council houses and the increasing availability of mortgages for women on higher earnings can be seen in some of the women's lives. Carol and Geraldine owned their own properties while others were earning sufficiently high wages to enter into joint mortgage agreements with their husbands. This proved a double-edged sword for many of the women: with their earnings essential to the family budget, upward social mobility increased, however home ownership and undertaking home improvements also increased the family's overall debt. Eve, Sarah, Elaine and Mhairi provide evidence that these increasingly complex financial ties in the context of an abusive relationship created additional dimensions of financial abuse and control. Their narratives provide evidence that their husbands continued to assert male ownership of the family home despite their wives' contributions to the family income and their ownership rights through joint mortgages.

Isolation and Surveillance

Within this changing economic context however, some of the women recalled their increasing isolation from their own families and friends. They provide evidence of patriarchal indicators in the men's dominance in decision-making and in their assertions of authority and control over the women's movements and social and professional relationships. Women described how and why they were gradually coerced into conforming to their husband's wishes despite the emotional cost of losing close ties to family and friends with their access to social events being restricted. There is a common theme of men feeling threatened by the women's other relationships, with the men's own families tending to dominate the women's relationships. This was the case for Sarah:

> [Husband] didn't even like me seeing my family you know either… my Mum. My mother was diagnosed with breast cancer in the May and then she died the following January. And that was difficult in so many ways and awful. But I think maybe that's when he stopped hitting me now that I think about it… But even then he didn't really like me being around my family you know. I think he felt threatened by that but at least there was contact then. But it was a

shame, it took losing my mother for that to happen (Sarah b. 1961).

For Dot also, 'people I liked and got on well with stopped coming round. But one person that did keep coming was my brother's best friend that I'd known from school days…I got to a point where the only friends I had were this man and my mother' (Dot b. 1949). Elaine's husband 'wanted to know where I was and who I was with…even going to the shops you know…' (Elaine b. 1957). Andrea's life was similarly restricted:

> I wisnae allowed tae have pals, I wisnae allowed to have anybody in the house. He separated me fae everything. The only contact I had was his family and his sister-in-law. I wisnae allowed out… if we went out with them, we went out and then I was taken home. I was never allowed to the pub, I was never allowed out (Andrea b.1960).

Elaine offered her own interpretation of her experiences,

> They influence your thinking about your friends and your family because they know you and he was successful in doing that you know. So I didn't, I went up a couple of times to see my Mum and Dad you know but they never liked him either… there was nothing he [Elaine's father] could do about it you know - I was married and that was it and I wasnae going to leave him (Elaine b. 1957).

Geraldine reflected on the subtle way her partner gradually isolated her: 'I didn't realise at the time that there was something he was doing that was actually closing off my friends…In a very subtle kind of way but because the house became his…' However Geraldine still felt that she had 'colluded in a sense with keeping them at bay' (Geraldine b. 1951).

The over-riding purpose of this behaviour appeared to be to maintain the women's compliance within the relationships' gendered hierarchies and to preserve the private boundaries of the family. Subtle coercion was used to limit the women's opportunities to sustain family and social relations and control their access to work, educational and social spaces echoing later research into the dynamics of coercion and control in intimate relationships (Pence and Paymar 1990, Bancroft 2003, Stark 2007). Control of women's access to social space was also exercised by negative criticism of their personal appearance and behaviour in social space. Women's physical appearance, and particularly how they looked in public, was a particular focus for scrutiny and control and was linked to the men's sense of ownership and their jealousy: 'I had to show him everything I bought. If it wisnae good enough, I had to ask. If I was going out [I was asked] "What are you wearing?", and if he felt the party was going on and too many people were paying attention I was sent home wi' the kids' (Andrea

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b.1960). Shona's boyfriend also inspected her appearance before she went out with her pals, ' I was ready to go out and he gave me a hard time about what I was wearing, the fact that I was wearing make-up, that my clothes…because I was obviously going out to look for somebody else and I was gonnae leave him and it would all be a big drama' (Shona b. 1963).   The insults and humiliation accompanied by violence, which Eve, Shona and Denise faced, were often extreme, 'He looked over at me and he just said to me… "You're so ugly and you're so fat and…", he told me that hundreds of times that I was fat and ugly, even when I was 9 stone …and I was sitting in the corner of the settee and he came in and I think he must have knocked me unconscious' (Eve b. 1949).   Whilst in company with their friends, Shona became, 'the butt of his jokes and whenever I tried to talk to him about it we'd end up in a huge fight and his temper was…[trails off]' (Shona b. 1963).   Denise's husband's response to his assaults, added humiliation to her injuries: 'He would say, "But that was your fault…", but the weird one about that night was, I was crying because I was in so much pain and he started taking photographs of me and he seemed really proud of the fact that I was in tears' (Denise b. 1966).

These narratives suggest that expanding employment and educational opportunities for women in the late 1970s and 1980s challenged the boundaries of the traditional patriarchal family and the gender power dynamics within it and extended the range and pattern of abuse the women experienced.   The narratives have illustrated clear continuities with earlier periods in the way physically violent means were used to establish control over the women early in their relationships with the purposes of asserting male dominance and authority. This extended to controlling women's sexuality and access to public space, maintaining women's monogamy and subordination and reinforcing patriarchal gender roles, the gender division of labour in the home and responsibilities for parenting and childcare. The benefits to the husbands/partners of this gender order remained and were explicit: freedom of movement in public space, provision of domestic, childcare and sexual services, a privileged position in the family and deference to their authority. As the 1980s progressed, the women described having more opportunities to develop social and leisure interests through widening friendships. This, however, created a need for the men to extend control over their wives into the public sphere. Driven by patriarchal notions of ownership and monogamy the men began monitoring their appearance and jealously guarding and 'policing' their movements through using telephone surveillance during working hours, applying curfews and driving them to and from their places of work, education or social events. There were indications that while some, like Andrea's husband, enjoyed more home-based leisure with their male friends, this excluded their wives over whom they often exercised public control:

He had plenty of pals in the pub and then used to bring them over for card schools but as soon as they came in, I'd to get put to bed. Made sandwiches and do all that but I'd never to be seen. I'd never to be seen. I think it was all jealousy (Andrea b.1960).

Carol and Eve's husbands regularly carried on living like single men leaving their wives alone at home: 'He went out to the dancing, to the Locarno in Sauchiehall Street and all that kinda thing. He was living his life as if he was single but I was having to cope' (Eve b. 1949). Carol's husband also brought friends back to their home but she recalled the profound impact that had on her at the time:

I've got a baby and trying to keep this baby asleep and I remember clearly…I just had this feeling of being completely forgotten. That's what it made me feel like…like I didn't exist. You know he's there doing his thing and me and my daughter, we're no longer in his consciousness at all (Carol b. 1953).

These examples provide evidence that the men prioritised their own needs over those of their wives and children. Men were either carrying on their social lives outside the home or, like Andrea's and Carol's husbands, were using the home for their own male-only leisure pursuits. For others, their husbands asserted their sexual ownership of their wives in public by exhibiting strong patriarchal values and practices: 'I got a doin' 'cos his brother-in-law looked at me. And because I was talking to his brother-in-law, I mean I didn't need to do much to get a doin' you know he would just need to see me talking to somebody, I would be five minutes late in…' (Theresa b. 1963). Jealousy was a common reason women gave for their husbands' violence when in company, 'I was quite attractive when I was young em…and I got a lot of attention and of course I would be blamed for that attention you know what I mean, you don't have to do anything you know. Really jealous…yeah. I misinterpreted that as being that he loved me so much do you know what I mean?' (Elaine b. 1957); 'He was very jealous of everything that I did and anybody that I spoke to completely and utterly' (Sarah b. 1961). Sarah's husband assaulted her in a friend's home during a party in plain sight: 'I don't know how nobody saw, it was behind the sofa and he had his hands round my throat you know… he had me pinned down in somebody else's house when there was people around' (Sarah b. 1961). Also during a party at a friend's house, Shona's boyfriend 'threw an absolute bersy [short for berserk] because I was talking to somebody, a boy that I knew from school, and …ended up he punched a hole through the door.' On another occasion, Shona challenged her boyfriend's misplaced jealousy over a boy visiting Shona's friend: 'you're being ridiculous, he's here because he fancies her'… he was a big guy and I remember flying across the room and landing on my back on the carpet' (Shona b. 1963). Sarah's husband's jealousy became more extreme: 'we were staying with our friends and obviously he didn't like the way the evening had gone and I had gone to bed first and he came up and he sexually assaulted me

basically. Accused me of having had sex in the house with this guy…after I'd gone to bed I think he had gone to bed' (Sarah b. 1961). Theresa's husband was in the armed forces stationed abroad in the 1980s and the particular conventions of forces social life emerged from her account of her husband's jealous behaviour after she danced with her cousin:

> "They never asked me, they never asked me and… ", I says "That's my cousin I was dancing with." "You'll be the talk o' the battalion on Monday. You're nothing but a fucking whore" (Theresa b. 1963).

The narratives also show elements of husbands' surveillance, often linked to sexual jealousy, of women as they began to engage independently in different social and work settings. During his time working as a social worker in a male prison in the late 1970s, Dave had observed the way offenders continued to 'police' their wives from prison with the help of prison staff, prison social workers following the introduction of telephone access for prisoners:

> Most of the kind of so-called welfare problems were about men and their families…and sometimes wanting extra visits or sometimes basically wanting a woman policed…checked up on aye. They were wondering basically whether their wives were having affairs (Dave).

Eve became increasingly agitated when a night out with women friends went on longer than expected. 'It's one o'clock in the morning, [woman friend] dropped me off and he's standing waving at the window and I got in and I got a doin'…my whole night ruined' (Eve b. 1949). Linda's husband controlled her employment in his business: 'he decided to open another shop and that would spilt the two o' us but he was so jealous there was men that worked in the butchers – I always had to be in the same place as him' (Linda b. 1967). Sarah's husband would question her about who she had spoken to at work: 'I just couldn't go anywhere or do anything really'. After her first baby was born, she was anxious about a visit she had had from a male colleague,

> I really was absolutely, utterly petrified in that hospital… you just didn't conceal stuff, you had to tell and he was furious. But even in that time of happiness and all of that he… it was really vivid (Sarah born 1961).

Sarah, Eve and Linda found that their journeys to work and college were also controlled: 'He used to phone the college to make sure I was there' (Linda b. 1967). Being driven to and from work was not as innocent for Sarah as people believed: 'People would say "oh that's great, he takes you places and all that " but I knew why he was doing it' (Sarah born 1961). Eve's friends would say, '"D'ye know it's so nice, he phones to see if she's made it to her work." I says, "Naw he wisnae phoning to see if I'd

made it to work he was having somebody else in my bed!"' (Eve b. 1949). During a group work session with domestic abuse offenders, Dave recalled an example of controlling behaviour he offered to the group

"Let's say your wife goes to the bingo", to use one of these old-fashioned examples in a small Scottish town. "It's a wet night and you decide to do her a favour so you're gonnae drive round pick her up when she comes out the bingo and she's supposed to be very pleased…". I could see this guy making eye contact 'cos what he was doing was, when his wife was going out that night he was making sure that he was there to pick her up. And he was pretending that he was doing her a big favour but he knew and she knew that he wisnae really doing her a big favour, he was feart too, whatever else she might be getting up to when he wisnae there, policing her (Dave).

New means of undermining and controlling women were therefore emerging as their access to work and social space expanded. Professional and social opportunities were expanding women's space for action beyond the home in the 1970s and 1980s. By criticising women's appearance and intelligence, attempting to isolate them from family and friends, 'policing' or controlling their movements and using interrogation, surveillance, and displays of jealousy, husbands sought to maintain their control and ownership of the women. In contrast to the lull in violence when she was at home with her baby, Mhairi observed a change, 'The threat of physical abuse intensified after I went back to work full time' (Mhairi b. 1955). Rising incomes allowed access to technology such as cars and telephones which facilitated the men's need and ability to 'police' women's movements and behaviour. These patterns of abuse retained their core purpose of maintaining patriarchal control and traditional gender relations at a time when the wider social, cultural and economic context of Scotland was creating more scope for women in public life. Gender identities were also evolving in this context and new dialectics of gender emerged as women responded to new opportunities outside the home. The men appeared loathe to relinquish the power and privileges accrued from patriarchal marriage as they observed the historically placed boundaries on women's independent agency and freedom of movement being removed. Stark has argued that when patriarchy is being eroded by women's equality it is reproduced in the private sphere where men can maintain their privileges (Stark 2017). The similarities in the more nuanced techniques of control that the men were using in these examples provide evidence that the transfer of control of women from private to public patriarchy was limited where domestic abuse was present and evolving private patriarchal practices continued to be effective.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to examine what it was like living with domestic abuse. The narratives found evidence of indicators of patriarchal discourses, norms and practices in the marriages/relationships described. An analysis of the social reproduction of patriarchal gender identities and relations found evidence of highly patriarchal cultural scripts and circuits at play and that long-standing constitutive patriarchal gender rules and norms remained implicit. There was also evidence that the ongoing development of gender identities in the new relational context of dating, marriage and cohabitation in the late twentieth century maintained clear continuities with long standing, traditional patriarchal practices. The development of gender identities continued in the new relational contexts and, where there was domestic abuse, this served to sustain patriarchal forms of marriage and family dynamics. These findings provide evidence of the continued relevance, in late twentieth century Scotland, of Corr et al's conceptualisation of the ongoing historical evolution of gender identities in their contemporary context and their role in maintaining discourses of power in private and public life.

> Gender relationships are historical and fundamental to an understanding of continuities and changes in people's lives across generations. Acquiring a gender identity is part of a political process…[encapsulating] the negotiation of power, authority and hierarchy in person and more general forms of social interaction at an informal level. (Corr, Jamieson et al. 1990:2)

The gender antagonism at the heart of monogamous marriage was traditionally based on the wife's social, cultural and financial dependence on the husband. Historically, the contract combined the husband's role as provider, exclusive rights of access to his wife's body, unpaid labour and property, his paternity rights to their children and his rights to enforce these by force or threat of force if necessary. The contract was maintained by ensuring men and women's gender identities remained closely linked to the performative aspects of both gender roles within a male provider/female homemaker economic model of marriage. That their husbands' masculinity continued to derive personal, social and economic value from their relationships is apparent in the women's narratives. Three common aspects of patriarchal masculinity emerged from the narratives. Firstly, dominant, purposeful and at times contradictory courting behaviour; secondly, the need to ensure the women's, and not necessarily the man's, long term commitment to a monogamous relationship ; and thirdly establishing and maintaining a gendered power hierarchy in the new relationship. Women described the occasions and tactics the men used to compensate for any real or perceived loss of value or esteem through the woman's actions (perceived or actual) or non-actions. The women recollected clear expressions of male identity in the men's language, rhetoric and behaviour, through demonstrations

of physical power, control and actual physical or sexual violence from the early stages and throughout their relationships. Domestic abuse in all its forms therefore played a key role in maintaining private patriarchal gender relations. It enforced the link between women's identities, the performative aspects of their gender roles as wives and mothers and their subordinate status in the relationship. The marriages/relationships described here remained constructed around increasingly fluid forms of the economic provider/homemaker model of patriarchal marriage which was becoming highly contested in response to changes to women's social and economic status. Conflict emerged in continued attempts to assert male dominance in the private sphere of the home, in decision-making, monogamy and sexuality, the provision of sexual and domestic services, childrearing and childcare, access to and distribution of financial resources, paid work and access to social space.

The close links between the patriarchal values embedded in gendered identities, roles and practices and the range and patterns of domestic abuse in the private family setting emerged. The abuse was used to enforce compliance in those patriarchal practices which, in turn, reinforced male and female gender identities through ensuring differentiated role performances. These interconnections reflect recent research on the purpose of abuse which was concerned to assure women's monogamy, the functional aspects of their gender role in the home, household management and childcare arrangements (Radford and Hester 2006, Lapierre 2008). With the arrival of children, women's uptake of educational opportunities and better-paid work increased, their desire for equality in the home grew. Their demand for financial and domestic parity and independent movement across social space presented substantial challenges to the gender order at home. The narratives provide evidence that the regulatory rules and norms of patriarchal marriage and gender property relations were adapting to the trends and counter-trends affecting women's economic and social status and their role in public life from the 1960s to the 1980s. However, the deeper constitutive gender rules and practices, enforced by domestic abuse, continued to prevail in some households despite some subtle yet observable alterations to its purpose, form and setting. Women were becoming more involved in the workplace through changes to their legal and employment status across the macro-system. However, these examples of the private and public use of violence by individual men suggest that the shift from private to public patriarchy in the late twentieth century was not necessarily accompanied, in all households, by a willing surrender of private male patriarchal power. The emotional, physical, sexual and financial abuse of women continued and proved resilient alongside women's changing employment patterns and access to educational opportunities during the 1980s, increased home ownership, upward social mobility and changing consumption patterns. There was evidence that for nine of the women, an increased reliance on their earnings to repay mortgages and family debt did not diminish their husband's sense of entitlement to full ownership of the family home,

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their dominance in family decision-making, financial control nor their abusive behaviour. There were also two examples where, despite the women being the family's breadwinners their husbands retained their dominant status as head of the family in every other respect. In all cases, additional methods were being deployed to maintain control and diminish women's intentions to expand their 'life space' and exert their independence (Lundgren and Schenk 1995, Kelly 1996:629).

In Scotland and across the UK during the 1960s and 1970s patriarchal discourses and practices governing women's role in marriage and the family had been challenged by a range of factors: the sexual revolution, legislative and policy changes to women's legal and social equality, by opportunities in further education and in the national paid workforce. However these trends faced a counter-challenge in the 1980s from conservative economic and social policies which re-emphasised a return to 'family values' and an attempt to re-emphasise long-standing and essentially patriarchal constitutive gender roles and practices based on the patriarchal provider/homemaker model of marriage and the family embedded in the wider welfare state. These trends took place in a context of government policy which advocated individualism, self-help and social mobility through home ownership and consumerism. The uptake among nine of the women who bought their homes provide evidence of the double-edged impact of these trends. The women's access to further education, higher earnings, upward social mobility, car and home ownership were not matched by increasing equality in their private relationships nor in the domestic division of labour. The narratives provide evidence that domestic abuse was adapting its character and techniques in order to retain and enforce traditional patriarchal practices in a changing socio-economic context. This was achieved by new tactics of surveillance, monitoring and control facilitated by more extensive use of the car and telephone which began to infiltrate women's professional and social lives. This ensured women's earnings from paid work and their contribution to the family income were maintained, assured their sexual fidelity and retained the traditional domestic division of labour in the home. These findings suggest that domestic abuse continued to play a role in preserving the norms and practices of private patriarchy even as women were increasingly entering the sites of public patriarchy. This provides evidence of what would later became defined as *coercive control* in the changing socio-economic context of women's lives in Scotland: 'a web of coercive tactics that a man uses against a woman, including physical and sexual violence, threats of violence, psychological abuse, and manipulation of economic resources' (Pence and Paymar 1993; Ptacek 1999: 9). As women's involvement in the public sphere increased, domestic abuse ensured traditional controls in the private domain remained deeply embedded in marriage and gender relations but also extended its reach into women's involvement in public and social space. This chapter provides evidence that the role of violence in private patriarchy, enforced in these cases by domestic abuse, continued to act as a counterbalance to the wider

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structural changes to women's legal status and the educational and employment opportunities which became available to women, particularly during the 1980s. These findings provide evidence that domestic abuse, in these women's lives, was adapting to the changing socio-economic context. The men described in this chapter adopted more covert and coercive techniques to extend the reach of their control into the workplaces and social spaces where the women were now spending more of their time. Thus, gradual changes and some advances in women's socio-economic and legal status were being inhibited by parallel changes in the nature and reach of private patriarchy as men found new ways to control and dominate their wives and partners while benefitting from women's contribution to the family economy. While changes occurred in the public and private aspects of the patriarchal system, women continued to experience domestic abuse as they had been doing, but were now being subjected to new and evolving forms which were adapting to suit the new socio-economic environment. The impact on the women of living with domestic abuse in the changing social context of late twentieth century Scotland, an exploration of their disclosure decisions and how they achieved a final separation from their husbands are addressed in Chapter Seven.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE IMPACT OF DOMESTIC ABUSE AND LEAVING AN ABUSIVE RELATIONSHIP *FROM* CIRCA 1970 TO *CIRCA* 1992 - WOMEN'S EXPERIENCES IN CONTEXT

Introduction

Over time, domestic abuse became embedded in the women's relationships whilst fear and discourses of family privacy inhibited external disclosure. Coping with the detrimental impact of domestic abuse on women's physical and emotional health also became a dominant feature of their everyday lives. All of the women abuse survivors in the study however succeeded in ending their abusive marriages/relationships. This chapter will address the study's second and third questions in order to identify the impact of domestic abuse and to examine more closely their disclosure or reporting decisions. Firstly, this chapter examines the impact of domestic abuse on the women's physical and mental health, self-esteem and confidence and how these were linked to non-disclosure. Secondly, the chapter outlines a conceptual framework for examining the processes involved in making disclosure decisions and leaving an abusive marriage/relationship. This framework combines Prochaska and DiClementi's stages of change model and the first two stages of Kastirurigan's model of women's empowerment for highlighting the factors which helped or hindered these processes. These are set within the wider theoretical framework which has been used throughout this thesis. Thirdly, using these frameworks, the chapter outlines six main reasons for non-disclosure closely linked to the impact of domestic abuse and argues that the processes of change involved very limited disclosure patterns, mainly in emotion-focussed help seeking to health professionals, prior to successful separation. The chapter concludes that the process of change was one of gradual personal empowerment where disclosure decisions were closely linked to a changing socio-economic context. However, while changes were evident in public discourses of gender, women's gender identity and social status, this chapter argues that patriarchal discourses and practices of marriage and the family, male entitlement to use violence against their wives, the importance of family privacy and non-interference in family matters remained dominant. These continued to present substantial obstacles to women's attempts to leave their abusive relationships despite the changing socio-economic context of their lives during this period.

The impact of domestic abuse on women's physical and mental health

A gender technology comprising violence, intimidation, surveillance, shaming and isolation (Stark 2007) can have a profound and detrimental impact on women's mental and physical health; on their mothering, personal and social relationships (Stark and Flitcraft 1996, Herman 1997, Gerlock 1999, McGee 2000, Campbell 2002, Mullender, Hague et al. 2002, Donaldson and Marshall 2005, Donaldson 2008). By the 1990s in Scotland and worldwide, domestic abuse was acknowledged as a serious public health issue with implications for health services (WHO 1997; Scottish Needs Assessment Programme 1997, British Medical Association 1998; Kramer et al, 2004; Scottish Government 2008). Medical services, particularly G.Ps, local health services and the Accident and Emergency units of hospitals, were found to be the services most likely to be visited by women but the least likely to know the reasons for women's presenting injuries or symptoms. These research findings are reflected in the women's narratives which described their experiences of health services and health service responses for the earlier period of the mid- to late 1980s in Scotland.

While five of the women (Carol, Lynne, Shona, Linda and Evelyn) told no one about the abuse they were experiencing while it was happening, eight women (Theresa, Elaine, Mhairi, Sarah, Denise, Dot, Eve, and Geraldine) attended their GPs or other local health services in relation to the physical and/or emotional symptoms caused by the abuse. The narratives show that domestic abuse was the main cause of physical injury in the women's lives and a key factor in the physical symptoms and emotional distress they experienced. The accounts reflect help-seeking and disclosures to health services as the latter of two main forms of coping strategies: problem-focussed coping where people take steps to solve their problem and emotion-focussed coping where help is sought to relieve the emotional distress caused by the problem (Mitchell and Hodson 1983, Folkman, Lazarus et al. 1986). As will be discussed later in the chapter, the women who chose to approach their GP were in the pre-contemplation stage of change and seeking support through emotion-focussed strategies to help them cope with changes in their mental health and symptoms of fear, depression and anxiety. The confidentiality of a GP consultation would assure there was no breach of the woman' confidentiality or of family privacy and contained the women's disclosures within that context. While women mainly turned to health services for help, clinical responses varied. Some were helpful and supportive, others were less so; some inappropriate responses compounded women's feelings of isolation and despair.

Women's hesitation about disclosure to services was directly related to fear of their husbands. Twelve of the women (Aileen, Andrea, Sarah, Denise, Dot, Eve, Geraldine, Lynne, Mhairi, Shona, Theresa and Vickie) vividly described the fear which resulted from living with ongoing physical and

sexual violence, intimidation and threats. Mhairi summed up this overarching atmosphere, "I was frightened of being hurt; I was frightened of his power... I was frightened that something would happen and I've never forgotten that, living in fear all the time" (Mhairi b. 1955). The foundations of the women's fear lay in the potential consequences of their own actions, inactions or words and the uncertainty and unpredictability of how these could be interpreted by the men, as this exchange with Sarah reveals:

> Sarah: I was completely fearful all the time because anything that I said could trigger a reaction.
>
> Anni: And did you accept that those were the reasons, that it was your fault, at that time?
>
> Sarah: Oh yeah, yeah, I would say at that time that I did (Sarah b.1961).

Women described the severe physical impact of violence. Andrea's husband left her 'within an inch of my life and I believe, and I know, that if that neighbour hadn't phoned the police that night I would have been dead' (Andrea b.1960). Serious facial injuries such as black eyes, broken noses and chipped cheekbones were common, 'By the time the police came I was unrecognisable. The hospital had actually to slit my eyes open' (Andrea b.1960). Bob, a young police constable in the 1980s recalled visiting a woman in hospital who had lost her eye after being shot in the face by a ball bearing fired by her husband at close range from a crossbow. The woman's X-rays showed substantial previous facial injuries and reconstructive surgery (Bob). Dot and Eve required a number of operations to their faces to repair the damage the beatings caused (Dot/SOHCA/058/ 2013, Eve/SOHCA/058 2013). Where women recalled reporting their injuries to health services some proved less than helpful. Denise reported her injuries to a nurse in her local medical centre: 'I said, "My husband beat me." They wrote it all down, didn't react, didn't phone the police, nothing like that, didn't ask if I was ok, just recorded it and said, "Right OK…"' (Denise b. 1966). Theresa attended the armed forces medical centre with her injuries, health staff prescribed medication but did not, on this occasion, follow up her case:

> They gave me Valium. Now remembering I've got a burst face, no shoes on…I took the three Valium, the guy says to just take one, that would calm me down and then take another one at lunch time and then they would try to get somebody round. I took the other Valium, I was still shaking , I took the other Valium, I was walking about the shops with no shoes on people were talking to me in the NAAFI and I'd Richard …in his pram (Theresa b. 1963).

Some of the women felt that the accumulation of fear which existed throughout their relationships led to symptoms which they attributed to the stress of living with violence. Shona recalled feeling physically sick after being assaulted, Elaine, Eve and Dot described undiagnosed

illnesses involving profound fatigue, emotional distress, sickness and severe pain which confined them to bed for prolonged periods.

> I couldnae go to work anymore. I was sitting in front of my computer in tears, crying but I still didnae tell anybody. Just wasnae in my nature to tell anybody what was going on with me so I handed in my notice. Rather than go off sick, I had such a strong work ethic (Elaine b. 1957).

Denise experienced ongoing stomach complaints including gallstones and was later diagnosed with a chronic auto-immune condition (Hampton 2007). Eve had '…peritonitis and I nearly did die…I was very ill' (Eve b. 1949). Denise explained the connection between the abuse and her poor health: 'I've internalised it, as I suppose a lot of people do. I mean you either go one way or another, you either go out and you're angry with the world or you internalise it and with me it's become lupus' (Denise b. 1966). Dot suffered a range of symptoms including extreme fatigue, depression and cognitive impairment which had a profound and long-term impact on her health, wellbeing and lifestyle. Dot's continuing ill health was diagnosed later in life as Myalgic Encephalomyelitis (ME), a condition which was not well understood in the 1980s (Arroll and Howard 2013). Dot's own opinion was that her condition was linked to the prolonged stress of living with violence and abuse:

> The stress related stuff…affects you… all I could do was lie in bed and cry for days, I was in agony and I couldn't make the decision to phone a doctor or an ambulance…I just lay and cried and it was six weeks before I even saw a physio and I never got an X-Ray and as I say I'm still having problems with it (Dot b. 1949).

Despite being very ill, Dot, Elaine and Andrea were reluctant to be admitted to hospital as they were afraid to leave their children. Shona, Dot, Eve and Denise described severe and often rapid weight loss, being 'skin and bone' (Eve b. 1949) and the impact this had on their self-esteem: 'I lost so much weight and I was really quite nervy…I was always shaky. And I had never been like that, I was always a really confident girl' (Denise b. 1966).

The women's experiences echo Mullender's observation: 'constant severe assaults cannot be endured without emotional effects. Chronic emotional distress is a normal, not an abnormal, reaction to this kind of treatment' (Mullender 1996:23). A number of the women reported a range of adverse psychological and emotional symptoms which they experienced during their relationships. Laura who lived with domestic abuse and experienced physical assault throughout her childhood reported poor mental health into adulthood, including ongoing depression and anxiety which she attributed to her childhood experiences. For some, the psychological impact of the men's inconsistent behaviour was also profound,

You think you're goin' off yer head because there would be times…when he would be horrible and then he would be making up…he was like Jekyll and Hyde (Linda b. 1967).

I'm losing my mind... he was nice last week, what's he doing this week (Evelyn b. 1947)?

Linda, Elaine, Andrea, Sarah, Dot, Geraldine, Theresa and Denise reflected on feeling what they now recognised as depression but which they did not at the time: 'I really suffered depression but I didnae seek help for it because I didnae know what it was' (Elaine b. 1957). Sarah, Geraldine, Carol, Shona, Denise and Eve reported experiencing severe anxiety; Dot experienced regular nightmares and Linda had flashbacks following violent incidents.

Overall, the women were reluctant to disclose their emotional state to health services and when they did they received varied responses from GPs and other medical staff. Most of those who disclosed feelings of anxiety and depression to their GPs were treated with anti-depressants (Elaine b.1957; Geraldine b.1951), beta-blockers (Sarah b. 1961) and Valium (Theresa b. 1963). Geraldine, whose husband was stalking her and had attacked her in the street, declined her GP's offer of anti-depressants saying, "I don't want to screw my head up any more. I've had a nasty experience and I'm quite frightened to go out in the dark" (Geraldine b. 1951).   Sarah recalled her GP's response to her first ever disclosure of the abuse she was living with:

I think he did believe me, he said …'I'm not going to write any of this down because you don't want to have this in your case-notes…I was gobsmacked and he handed me a packet of beta-blockers and he said, 'I know it says they're out of date on the packet but don't worry about that they're ok and I'll not write it down and I'll not put it in a prescription.' He just kind of brushed me off really…and I just went 'thanks very much' and I never went back to see him again (Sarah b. 1961).

The GP's response was not what Sarah was expecting and could have reflected views which were not uncommon in the 1970s and 1980s, about abused or 'battered women' as mentally unstable and violence prone (Pizzey and Shapiro 1982, Stark and Flitcraft 1996). This will be discussed more fully in Chapter Eight. However, the GP's decision to prescribe Sarah with out-of-date medication which he did not record on her file suggested to Sarah that he wished to keep her abuse disclosure and her treatment hidden. For Sarah, having taken a significant first step to disclose to her GP, his response was to concentrate on an emotion-focussed strategy by prescribing medication for her symptoms which, in Sarah's eyes, effectively minimised her situation and her mental state, deflected attention from its likely causes and prevented her from discussing it further with him. Others had more positive experiences of being offered effective emotion-focussed treatments which did support their longer-

term problem-solving efforts. Unlike in Sarah's case, when Elaine disclosed her anxiety and its cause to her GP, he recorded it in her notes and she recalled that this was later included in supporting papers for her divorce action. In contrast to her local nurse's response, Denise described her GP who had known her since childhood as 'fantastic': 'he got me counselling, he was absolutely brilliant, everybody else was hopeless… he didn't say, you know, "you're to blame for this in any way"… he just listened and he was fine' (Denise b. 1966).

The narratives suggest that while women were generally reluctant to disclose their abuse, when they did so it tended to be to health professionals when their physical and emotional symptoms had become severe or debilitating. Their disclosures were emotion-focussed and aimed at coping with the abuse. However, while all of the health professionals responded by offering medical interventions, there was no consistent pattern to health professionals' responses; neither was there any apparent consistency to whether the women's disclosures of the context or any causal factors in their conditions or symptoms were recorded in case notes. Although no health professionals participated in the study this lack of consistency was observed in research carried out in the Scottish NHS in 1997. A report on the first Scottish public health needs assessment programme (SNAP) on domestic violence found that while women were likely to present to a range of health service settings, primary care was a 'key first contact point, either as a direct result of domestic violence or where it is a factor in the presenting problem'. The report also noted that 'the NHS is not in a position to solve the problem of domestic violence but needs to define its role clearly' (Scottish Needs Assessment Programme 1997: i). Those women who attended their GPs seeking support for symptoms of anxiety or depression were prescribed tranquilisers or anti-depressants whether or not they disclosed the abuse they were living with. Denise received counselling support via her GP. Dot and Eve's injuries were a result of their husbands' assaults and they received the necessary treatment, however hospital staff did not enquire further about the causes, about their safety on returning home or suggested follow-up support. These accounts suggest that health services were approached for help with symptoms arising from the impact of the abuse but often without the women making direct reference to or being asked about the cause. However of the four women (Sarah, Denise, Theresa and Elaine) who reported their symptoms in connection to the violence and abuse, only Denise and Elaine recalled this being recorded in their case notes. Overall the violence and abuse which provided the context for the women's symptoms were either invisible to health practitioners or, if disclosed by the women, addressed by treating their individual physical or mental health symptoms. These experiences of medical services in Scotland have close parallels to findings of contemporary research examining health service responses to domestic abuse in the US and in UK during this period (Dobash, Dobash et al. 1985, Stark and Flitcraft 1996).

Internalising blame

In addition to the way the abuse negatively affected the women's physical and mental health, there are similarities in their descriptions of gradually internalising the problem by accepting responsibility and blame for their own abuse. This affected their self-esteem, confidence and their sense of themselves, further deepened their isolation, inhibited disclosure and destroyed any sense that there could be external solutions to their problem. Research has shown that experiencing ongoing physical and emotional abuse from a husband or partner provides a context for the development of depression, anxiety and lower self-esteem among women. Findings have also shown that some men's efforts to diminish women's self-esteem are deliberately designed to limit their confidence in public space (Waldrop and Resick 2004, Buss and Duntley 2014). Their husbands' abuse was often focussed on the women's behaviour and domestic work. 'It's the things that they do to your self-esteem they just tell ye how useless ye are…[trails off]' (Elaine b. 1957). The process often led to the women turning inwards in search of reasons. Andrea began by blaming her mother, 'I started to actually hate my mother cos…she's no tellt me how tae cook'. Andrea went on to describe how she began to feel 'absolutely worthless'. She hints at how she began to internalise the blame as a result of the messages she received from her husband and the impact this had on her mental health: 'I was very into myself, I was a nervous wreck, I was a bag of nerves' (Andrea b.1960) .

A common theme emerged from the narratives whereby the women, finding no external cause, internalised and fully accepted the blame for the abuse, 'This is all my fault and I'm an idiot….I felt let down by my feelings. I felt devastated (Shona b. 1963). This could further deepen their feelings of isolation and anxiety thus reinforcing their silence about the abuse and fear of external disclosure.

> Because you couldnae tell anybody, yer thinking it's all your fault, you're just trying to survive …Am Ah imagining this? Whit is it Ah've actually done? It was just, things were just...getting worse and worse. When you are in that you don't think… I think you're just lost (Linda b. 1967).

Disempowerment and entrapment

Recollections of gradually being emotionally and socially disempowered proved another common experience which further compounded the women's internalisation of blame and feelings of emotional instability. This reduced their personal agency, self-worth and capacity to take independent action. As Elaine recalled, 'I couldn't have decided what to have for my tea. Had no decision making skills, I had no self-esteem or confidence and I had no money. He controlled the money' (Elaine b.

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1957). Mhairi remembered, 'I was really nuts… I was just worthless, useless em…crazy human being that just wisnae able to cope. I jist wisnae right' (Mhairi b. 1955). Arthur described his encounters with abusive men and their wives and provided a glimpse of how these private relational dynamics appeared to social workers. He observed that the women were:

> …exceptionally lacking in confidence…you would see that a lot of the women were clearly… didn't say a word. Certainly didn't complain a lot about the man's behaviour and would quite often be looking at the man before they would say a thing so that it was definitely controlling (Arthur b. 1960).

Sarah's husband used insults '…relentlessly and systematically to keep me where I was 'cos I was ashamed' (Sarah b. 1961).   This internalisation of confusion, hurt, anxiety, shame and blame began deeply to affect some women's sense of themselves. For some, this led to their husband's assessment of them, replacing the women's own. Women described feeling as if they were losing their identity completely. Mhairi described feeling '…emotionally, psychologically destroyed…I didn't see the fact that I was being persuaded to give up my identity' (Mhairi b. 1955).   These crises in their sense of themselves entrenched the women's physical, psychological entrapment in a gradual process of attrition and isolation about which they were often unaware at the time. Other women's recollections of this loss of identity and self-loathing were chillingly similar:

> I internalised it all, that it was all my fault …and believed that I was a deeply flawed person, that he was saving me from myself. I was ashamed of it….I totally believed his interpretation of me as a person (Sarah b. 1961).

> I had so little respect for myself... It's like you've disappeared…you have no importance in this person's life…You don't matter. You're nothing (Carol b. 1953).

> Psychologically it was really weird because there were times when I felt I was outside of myself, observing myself and, and disgusted at what I was doing (Geraldine b. 1951).

> By that time I'd given up because …I just…I was away down there somewhere (Eve b. 1949).

Keeping up appearances – family privacy and the patriarchal family ideal

The women described how they carried on with their lives whilst living with quite high degrees of psychological distress. Those aspects of their identities which were relational, as wives or partners, also had public meaning and this created additional layers of psychological and domestic entrapment. The women often struggled to reconcile what was going on in their heads and in their relationships with the way they presented themselves in public to family, friends or others. They sought ways to

resolve deeply contrasting public and private facets of themselves, their marriages, their husbands and partners – particularly the 'Jekyll and Hyde' characteristic of their husbands which was such a consistent thread throughout the women's narratives. With so much of men's and women's gender identity evolving in the context of patriarchal marriage, the outward image of the happy family provided public evidence of couples conforming to prevailing social norms. Both partners wore public masks which greatly contrasted with their private identities and behaviour but which presented a united public front. Some women mainly reconciled their contrasting inner and outer lives by masking their feelings and keeping silent about their experiences. This has been recognised as a necessary means of preserving personal autonomy while coping with the memory of traumatic experiences:

> …autonomy may in fact require us to fragment the self, to compartmentalize and avoid aspects of ourselves that would otherwise immobilize and incapacitate us from acting in the world, forging life projects, and moving ahead with life (Hirschmann 2009:39).

However, this could increase their isolation and fail to resolve their need to reassert their own identity. 'I wanted to keep my pride… pretending that I didnae care…but I was very isolated' (Shona b. 1963). Mhairi went further,

> I constructed two realities. I had the person at work who was totally focussed…great worker and manage all sorts of things and then there was the person at home who was somebody totally different aye…I was just exhausted I just didnae feel like me (Mhairi b. 1955).

Few of the women recalled having a language or a way of understanding their emotional distress other than the deeply negative one provided by the men. None of them recalled seeing any comparable situations in other people's intimate relationships. The limitations of public discourse around family privacy and domestic abuse created additional soundproofing against any thoughts they may have had about talking about the abuse to others and continued to influence the way they coped with their situation. This excerpt illustrates Mhairi's conceptualisation of her situation in the 1980s, even at a time when the issue of 'battered wives' had entered public discourse and the public funding was supporting a growing network of Women's Aid refuges in Scotland:

> Nobody's gonnae believe this, everybody thinks everything is fine. Everybody thinks he's really nice eh… and a genuinely good guy, great fun. So nobody's gonnae believe me, what evidence do I have that anything has happened?' He's not battering me every Saturday night so therefore I'm not a battered woman (Mhairi b. 1955).

Mhairi's recollections suggest that domestic abuse in the 1980s continued to be conceptualised in crime discourses as referring to the violent assault of working class women by their husbands aggravated by weekend over-consumption of alcohol. The network of women's aid refuges which spread across Scotland during the 1980s was created in response to the need for safe temporary accommodation for women rendered homeless by their husbands' violence. Mhairi, now a home owning, professional woman did not identify her experiences of abuse and her inner distress with what she understood a 'battered woman' to be. She was aware that refuges existed but that they were there to help women experiencing physical violence and that 'evidence' would be required in order to access help – thus ruling out police or women's aid involvement. The women's isolation was thus compounded by the absence of public discourses and conceptualisations of domestic abuse as physical violence alone, which reflected their own experiences or provided explanations for what was happening to them as Mhairi suggested: 'there were no other voices there to counteract…[trails off]' (Mhairi b. 1955). The limitations of public discourses of domestic abuse ensured that long-standing patriarchal discourses of marriage and the family remained dominant. These continued to contain the problem within the family, deflected the source of the problem away from the husband's violence, focussed it on the women's behaviour and mental state and reinforced the need to preserve the family's privacy and its public image.

Shifting identities – motherhood and mothering

For women, such as Sarah and Carol, becoming a mother provided a new means of expressing their identity in private and public space. This replaced the loss of self they had previously described. In these extracts, Sarah and Carol convey the contemporary cultural circuits at play connecting their new found confidence as mothers, the high status of married motherhood in public perceptions and constructions of women's identity with increased feelings of safety and freedom. Sarah reveals her husband's comfort as she became established in her traditional domestic role as wife and now mother. This restoration of private patriarchal control appeared to reduce his need, overtly, to control and abuse her:

> I think something shifted in me when I had the children …I became a bit more confident in myself as a mother…all of that…and part of me felt a bit more safe…because once you've got the label of mother somehow you're not…it's a bit more respected in society. I felt I'd found my place a bit more and that people you know, it was partly how I felt about myself and how I felt I was regarded by others probably. I felt the heat was off a wee bit in terms of him feeling threatened (Sarah b. 1961).

I know this sounds crazy but [it was] quite a happy time…I knew I was their mother and I looked after them and I got them to school and I went to work and did my job and came home and met up with friends. He was doing his thing and I was doing my thing (Carol b. 1953).

Both Sarah and Carol convey strong yet implicit spatial connections between their subjectivity and motherhood which now traversed both private and public domains. Home felt 'more safe', Sarah found her 'place' as a mother, mothering conferred a public status which enhanced the lives of two women who had previously described a huge loss of identity: being told that 'You're nothing' (Carol b. 1953) and that 'I totally believed his interpretation of me as a person' (Sarah b. 1961). Historically, bourgeois patriarchal discourses have conceptualised the 'home' as the private site of domestic harmony and the domain of the homemaker wife provided for by the husband as the titular, financial and legal head of the household. The home was idealised as a place of sanctuary for the family, a site where women's role was most clearly identified and from whence she derived her social identity. In their re-examination of the concept of the home within feminist discourses in the twentieth century, Young and others recognised the importance of the spatial connection between women's gender identity and the home but argued that 'home' was a more fluid and socially permeable context for identity formation.

The concept of home can and should be reconstructed to construe home as a material anchor for fluid and shifting identity…that identity making is a project that individuals take up in relation to the collective social structures and histories in which they are situated (Young 1997:6).

By rejecting the bourgeois concept of the private domain of the commodified home and by separating homemaking from the chores of housework, hooks reconceptualised what she defined as 'homespace' where African-American women created places of safety for themselves, their children and partners (hooks 1990). The narrators' homes had become places where the private and public domains of the patriarchal system intersected in relation to property rights, paid and unpaid work, income, access to and distribution of family resources, provision of domestic services, childcare and sexual relations. The narratives show that all of these domains were deeply contested and frequently occasioned male violence or abuse directed at the women as well as the fabric and contents of the homes the women had created. To be 'homeless' and also endangered within the personal space where women lived their lives denied them their basic human needs for shelter and safety, intimacy, relationships and approval (Maslow 1987). However, their homes, constituted as sites where the women's subjectivities could be shaped or damaged, were also contexts where the social dimensions of their gender identity had influence:

…in social contexts of relations, practices, policies, and institutions that affect and shape desires, will, and identity…. external factors shape the internal self, how restraint and opportunity form and influence desire, preference, and choice (Hirschmann 2009:30).

These narratives reveal that the home was indeed a deeply contested private site of male dominance, violence and abuse, where internal and external factors combined to constrain women within a profoundly negative 'material anchor'. Homes were sites of attrition where some women felt at times that they were losing touch with reality and their sense of themselves and feared for their own sanity. However, the onset of motherhood permitted a carving out of space within the home where a mother was permitted a measure of control which, in turn, lent her status, a renewed sense of her private and public identities born from the love of her children and satisfaction in their mothering and homemaking role within and outwith the patriarchal home. While the women's homes were highly contested spaces of patriarchal relations, motherhood, for some, restored the traditional structures of patriarchal marriage which was accompanied, in some cases, by a reduction in violence. This provides evidence that, for some of the women, gender identity formation continued to be fluid and that parenthood exerted a new and positive influence on the way gender was practised by the women and their husbands. Even within the context of an abusive relationship, benign aspects of patriarchal fatherhood overcame the more tyrannical behaviours following the arrival of their children. However, these proved to be temporary restorations of the traditional provider/homemaker model with its clearly defined gender roles and responsibilities and ended when the women returned to work.

Leaving and abusive relationship: stages of change and empowerment

It has been argued that the physical and emotional impact of domestic abuse on the women greatly inhibited the women's help-seeking and created barriers to disclosing to others. All of the women in the study eventually separated from their husbands/partners. How that was achieved and the factors facilitating or preventing that process will be examining using the 'stages of change' model developed by Prochaska and DiClementi. This model emerged from their work examining the impact of therapeutic interventions on individuals seeking to bring about change in their lives or their behaviour. Originally developed in the context of research on what can encourage people to stop smoking, the model has since been applied to other areas of personal behaviour or situations which people might be motivated to change. The model identifies five key stages of change: pre-contemplation, contemplation, determination, action and maintenance (Prochaska and DiClementi 1982). The authors recognised that these processes are not necessarily linear and that people might proceed through stages only to revert to old patterns of behaviour or earlier stages until they feel

motivated to begin again or to cease the change process altogether. The detrimental impact of prolonged exposure to domestic abuse on women's mental health and wellbeing has been discussed at some length. Their experiences of anxiety, nervous tension, depression, flashbacks, nightmares and dissociation are suggestive of symptoms associated with post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) which are common in those who are being or who have been exposed to regular and prolonged violence and abuse. Studies examining women's empowerment and disempowerment in the context of abuse-related PTSD define empowerment as a process which enables them to access skills and resources to cope more effectively with current as well as future stress and trauma (Coffey, Leitenberg et al. 1996, Johnson, Worell et al. 2005, Perez, Johnson et al. 2012). In a review of the literature of empowerment in the same context, Kasturirangan identified empowerment as a process by which individuals and groups gain mastery over their affairs. Three pillars of empowerment were identified: *self-determination* (including positive self-evaluation and self-esteem, sense of personal and efficacy, self-care and agency); *distributive justice (*effective access to multiple economic, social and community resources) and *collaboration and democratic participation* (creation of social capital and socially constructive activism) (Kasturirangan 2008). The first two are most relevant to this study; the third stage (collaboration and democratic participation) would require a longer-term examination of the women's lives post-separation, which would be beyond the scope and time-frame of the current study. The stages of change and empowerment were visible in the women's descriptions of how they ended their abusive marriages.

Pre-contemplation

Women's disclosures of abuse to outside agencies were made in the context of help-seeking endeavours aimed at solving the problem of their husbands' abuse and coping with their emotional distress. These were largely predicated on their acceptance of blame for the situation, on mitigating its impact and preserving their marriage. As the problem was defined by their husbands and wider society as being a private concern and largely of their own making, women initially accepted the responsibility and focussed their efforts on solving the problem themselves. The women described feeling largely powerless in situations for which there appeared to be no solution and few sources of external help. The women were also unable to contemplate leaving due to the weight of social expectations which were placed on them as wives and mothers and the importance of family cohesion. For women like Sarah, Elaine, Eve, Linda and Theresa these expectations were redolent with messages learned in childhood about mothers' role in keeping the peace and holding the family together. The women were also living in a conceptual vacuum without alternative explanations for their situation or the causes of the abuse other than those given by their husbands. Their husbands, the wider social context, public discourses and practices reinforced their economic dependence, women's role within

the patriarchal family and apparent lack of alternative choices. Andrea approached her mother for help to leave:

> Ah went over and said "Ah can't live there Mum I need tae get oot". "Ye've made yer bed, get over, ye're married, ye've got two kids," and then there wis nae state, there wis nae benefits, I wisnae working by then (Andrea b.1960) .

For these reasons, and for all of the women, there was a prolonged period in their relationships when they felt unable or were unwilling to contemplate making major changes and continued in their endeavours to improve the status quo – pre-contemplation - with disclosures made in the main to health professionals and efforts at emotion-focused strategies as outlined above. As the years went on, however, the abuse continued to be the dominant dynamic in their relationships with their husbands, an ongoing threat to their own and their children's health and wellbeing and a regular disrupting influence on everyday life. The narratives show that many of the women reached a point where they began to realise their situation was unsustainable, that their attempts to solve the problem and manage the impact of the problem had failed and that without drastic change their future lives would never be free of violence and abuse. As time passed, the women's narratives show that they shared common experiences of moving through to the contemplation, determination and action stages.

Contemplation

The strain of living in an abusive and controlling environment reached a critical stage for the women, all of whom had moments of realisation or turning points when they resolved to end their marriages: 'I am not putting up with this anymore I think there comes a time when you just know that it's right to do it.' (Carol b. 1953).   Prolonged and daily abuse and violence brought women to the point when they realised that the problem of the violence in their relationships was severe, unlikely to be solved and the men were unlikely to change. They themselves felt unable to withstand any more violence in their lives and they began to contemplate leaving. The moment when the idea entered their consciousness for the first time for many was the beginning of a leaving process, a moment when they changed their minds and began to contemplate separation. Sarah recalled lying in bed being choked by her husband as '…the moment when I left in my head'. (Sarah born 1961).   Contemplating the prospect of leaving however was the germ of an idea which could not always lead to immediate action,

> I left nearly every day for many, many years and was back in the house before he came in. I mean I was leaving every day – I couldn't… (Andrea b.1960).

However these thoughts of leaving also involved real fears that their husbands might kill them or of being so severely assaulted they thought they might die. The women's fears were real and the risks of resistance and leaving high. 'Yeah, it was constant escape, how would I do that… So I guess one of my strategies, it was kinda subconscious but then I think it became more conscious' (Andrea b.1960).

Determination

For some of the women, whose initial response to the violence was to do what they could to keep the family together, the influence of patriarchal discourses of marriage and the family was clear. These included, as revealed above, the importance of preserving the outward face of the happy family, of the importance of children to patriarchal marriage and gender identities. ' I know but I would have liked to have been able to have left sooner but then you get into that whole thing about "It's better to keep together for the sake of the children"' (Sarah b. 1961).   However, the presence of children highlighted the tension between their roles as mothers and wives and provided the impetus for some women to contemplate leaving. They were now more acutely aware of the longer-term impact the abuse was having on their children, something which for many became a catalyst for change. When Geraldine became pregnant, she immediately resolved to end her marriage, as she did not want to expose her new baby to her husband's behaviour. Heavily influenced by patriarchal discourses of the family, Carol, Andrea, Linda and Denise had all stayed in their marriages for their children's sakes believing that they needed two parents and that it was wrong to break up the family.   However, as time went on they began to see the detrimental impact the abuse was having on their children and ended their marriages for their children's sakes. Their responsibilities as mothers began to over-ride their responsibilities as wives. Reflecting on the domestic abuse she experienced as a child, Andrea reached a moment of clarity during a particularly severe assault,

> I've always had a good relationship with my children and that's why I had to go. I knew that day that I had to protect them. I couldn't allow it to happen again, I couldn't allow what happened to me to happen to them. And I didnae care how I was going to do it. I just knew that day (Andrea b.1960).

The women ended their relationships in one of three main ways: by experiencing a particularly violent assault or critical incident, by devising secret long-term, safe exit plans or by directly negotiating a separation with their husbands.

Action and self-determination

For some of the women, the situation was forced by an escalation of violence and/or by a particularly violent assault which was reported to the police and/ or they were taken to hospital,

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mainly by family, friends or neighbours (Vickie, Linda, Denise, Andrea, Mhairi, Theresa and Geraldine). With the exception of Geraldine, their experiences reflected police practice from the 1960s to the 1980s to be discussed in Chapter Eight. Andrea's daughter ran for help to a neighbour's house during a particularly brutal assault on her mum. When the neighbour arrived,

> He grabbed me and said 'Get the f…. out of here'. 'I don't want you to come back I want you to get out. Get they [sic] two kids and get out e' here…I never stopped but I grabbed my two kids and I ran down the street (Andrea b.1960) .

Mhairi and Eve's husbands' response to their leaving was to assert their ownership of the family home by locking them out despite both women contributing equally to the mortgages on their homes: 'his pal had changed the locks. Broke the law because half the house was mine eh...so I couldn't get in, didn't get anything else at all….I'd left everything cos I'd worked for everything in that house.' (Eve b. 1949). Eve and Mhairi had help from immediate friends to return to their homes to pick up their belongings. Both did so when their husbands were out at work. Mhairi's situation conveys the fear felt even by her male friends when intervening in private family matters and removing her property as their reaction to her husband's unexpected arrival revealed,

> He was meant to be at his work and we were in the middle of moving things and he came in. So they two pals, male pals of mine, were shitting themselves because they knew how difficult he could be (Mhairi b. 1955).

For Sarah, Eve, Theresa and Mhairi, all of whom fled violent attacks, their initial separations were not permanent as their husbands located where they were living and insisted they return home. Leaving suddenly under emergency circumstances brought home to the women that a complex range of personal, practical and social factors had to be addressed in order to achieve a permanent separation. Apart from Andrea, the other women now determined to achieve separation through a carefully constructed, safe and longer-term exit plan: 'I need to be very careful, I can't let him know that I'm planning this and all the rest of it.' (Eve b. 1949). These women felt that the problem of their husbands' violence was theirs to solve. On deciding to leave and as part of their exit strategies the women then began to disclose their situation to trusted friends, neighbours, family or others and to seek their help to escape with their children. It is notable that all of the women took full responsibility for solving the problem of their situation using their own skills and resources. While women's approaches to health services have been discussed, only Andrea and Geraldine involved the police. Overall, the narratives reveal that the women's disclosures to external agencies were minimal. Chapter Eight contains a fuller discussion of criminal justice and social welfare responses to domestic abuse in response to the study's final research question. Other agencies were approached mainly in

relation to solving financial or legal problems with divorce or child custody and contact. Only Denise and Eve women approached their local women's aid groups in the late 1980s and later 1990s respectively and only Eve was successfully accommodated in refuge.

Longer-term exit plans

Once the women had made up their minds to leave, their exit strategies mainly involved disclosure decisions and navigating a number of practical and cultural barriers which existed across the social context of their lives. In order to live lives free of violence and abuse women found themselves embodying alternative ways of being a woman in a society which remained dominated by patriarchal marriage and the gender norms associated with it. To live independent lives as single women, in many cases as single mothers, the women had first to make public their new situation among friends, family and the wider community (often for the first time), create safety for themselves and their children and create the foundations for their emotional, financial and social independence. They had to ensure that they and their children were free of the threat of continued abuse by their husbands and to negotiate with their husbands about post-separation child contact, shared financial support and care of their children. Disentangling the emotional, financial and practical ties of a marriage is rarely a straightforward process. Doing so in the context of a marriage characterised by domestic abuse where fear and danger are interwoven with patriarchal gender identities proved especially challenging. For the women seeking a free and independent life in Scotland in the 1980s and 1990s, the patriarchal legacy within its institutions, laws, practices and discourses created additional difficulties which had to be overcome.

Vickie's husband disappeared when she became pregnant and Evelyn's husband abandoned her and her young son. Mhairi, Carol, Dot, Eve and Geraldine, with exit strategies forming in their minds, resolved to speak directly to their husbands about their intention to leave. Geraldine, Dot and Carol did so and their husbands eventually left the family home. Overall, it took Mhairi six months and Carol, now with three children and already the breadwinner, three years from the time she made her decision to separate until she successfully separated. Geraldine broached the subject fearfully a number of times with her husband but was unable to recall how she negotiated and finally achieved separation: 'I can't actually remember the details of how I managed that …I might have been frightened of doing it but I did it. That bit's completely blocked out' (Geraldine b. 1951).

Andrea, Eileen, Eve, Mhairi, Elaine, Sarah, Theresa, Linda, Lynne and Denise all left their homes and found somewhere else to live. Andrea was eventually able to return with her children to the family home as her husband moved in with another woman. All of this group of women, with the exception of Eve and Lynne, had children and all of the children continued to live with their mothers. Eve left her

abusive husband in the 1990s when her children were older and had already left home. Their husbands' responses to the separations varied. Theresa's husband was remorseful:

> …the crocodile tears. Saying that he was sorry and that he would never dae this again and who was going to want me wi' two wee ones and he loved me and this that and the next thing (Theresa b. 1963).

After her request that he leave Geraldine recalls husband becoming truculent, 'He was quite huffy actually but I prevailed.' (Geraldine b. 1951). Lynne's partner insulted her by saying that she had no friends or family and would be 'nothing' without him' (Lynne b. 1961). The women's decisions suited some of their husbands: the husbands of Elaine, Dot and Eve were having affairs with other women and appeared less concerned than the women had feared. Elaine and Eve's husbands retained sole occupancy of the family home and refused to leave. Dot owned the flat she shared with her husband and he remained there for a period before leaving when she was able to return with her son. Post-separation contact proved problematic for some. Despite having contact arrangements in place, Mhairi's husband kidnapped their daughter from school and refused to return her. After over a week Mhairi managed to get her back safely with the help of friends. Denise's young son disclosed to her that his father sexually abused him during contact visits and Elaine's young son was so afraid of going on one of his regular contact visits with his father that he ran away. With the help of the police, he was returned safely to her care.

Maintenance - distributive justice – accessing economic, social and community resources.

Women realised they had a number of problems to solve: principally, providing financially for themselves and their children, housing and childcare. Women, of necessity, had to assume the traditionally male roles of family provider and householder: 'I need to really get myself sorted here because I knew I was going to end up being the… you know…breadwinner.' (Sarah b. 1961). This would need to be carried out while continuing in their traditional female roles of caring for children and running the household: 'How would I manage work and the children' (Carol b. 1953)? Mhairi, Denise, Linda, Lynne, Sarah and Linda moved in with family, friends or rented temporary accommodation. Theresa, whose husband was in the forces, was allocated alternative temporary accommodation until, after reconciling and then finally separating from her husband, she settled into her own flat with her two children. Only two women approached their local women's aid group for support. The WA group in Denise's area was undergoing internal reorganisation and was unable to help her. She eventually found a rented flat for herself and her young son and left her husband. Eve, who left her husband in the 1990s moved into her local Women's Aid refuge, where she found welcome support and safety until eventually finding permanent accommodation. Linda and Elaine did not have paid jobs when they

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separated. In both cases, their parents helped them by providing temporary accommodation and their mothers helped with childcare when they both went back to first part-time work and then college. Dot was already working part-time when she left. Mhairi, Eve and Sarah were working full time when they left. They had made new friends at work who proved supportive at a stressful time. This group of women found the workplace to be somewhere that helped bolster their personal and professional confidence. However, all three were paying into joint mortgages with their husbands when they left and found it difficult to continue those financial commitments whilst setting up and paying for a new home. Mhairi and Sarah had also been paying the full costs of childcare prior to separation and this continued. Carol's husband provided some childcare but did not contribute financially to his family. Carol now assumed full financial responsibility and paid for childcare. Mhairi and Sarah's husbands refused to move out of their family homes and retained sole occupancy while their wives and children lived in temporary accommodation: 'he wouldn't' move out so I left but I mean that was a long time ago and he still won't speak to me unless I force the issue.' (Sarah b. 1961). Of those women who talked about post-separation financial support, Andrea, Dot, Sarah, Evelyn and Carol indicated that their husbands were neither able nor willing to offer regular financial support to their children post-separation. Some women felt that this lack of financial support was a way for their husbands/partners continued to continue controlling them by re-emphasising their role as primary carer of the children: 'he didn't give money for the children, you know so the abuse…although you know, I've focussed a lot on the physical abuse but that was only such a small part of it' (Sarah b. 1961); 'my husband paid £8 a week maintenance when the divorce came through for three months and that was it' (Dot b. 1949).

When women took action to leave their husbands, they faced a variety of responses from others to their disclosures which were reflective of prevailing discourses. These related to the importance of non-interference in family privacy and impatience with women who do not leave abusive husbands. When Sarah left, her sister commented that the family were aware of how her husband treated Sarah but thought Sarah was '"OK with it"' (Sarah b. 1961). Others who had revealed the abuse to friends and colleagues had to face their impatience at her numerous failed attempt to leave. Eve for example had to preface her call for help to her friend with 'I know I've said I'd leave before but….' (Eve b. 1949). This suggests that Eve was aware of an impatience with women who do not leave abusive husbands. This was based on an over- simplification of their experiences, a lack of understanding of the psychological impact as well as the risks, realities and pitfalls for women trying to leave a violent and abusive marriage/relationship. While Geraldine and Elaine initiated divorce proceedings relatively quickly after separation, Mhairi and Sarah's husbands refused to discuss it and both waited many years before finally being divorced. Once free of her abusive husband Andrea

continued to be too afraid to initiate divorce proceedings. She waited twelve years before finally obtaining a divorce on the grounds of long -term separation.[15]

The narratives show that leaving an abusive relationship is not simply about escaping from a violent assault. Many of the women did so only to find they could not sustain the separation and had to return either because their husbands forced them to or the external environment proved hostile to women in their situation. Many attempted to leave several times before finally having all the financial resources and support required to live independently and support their children. The women faced considerable implicit and explicit institutional and cultural barriers to leaving. These were grounded in constitutive norms of patriarchal marriage and the family and the clearly defined gender roles within it. Elaine recalled her first attempt at leaving when she moved to her parents' home many miles away, 'At that time it wasnae so easy to get a house and I didnae really want to stay in [parents' home area]. What do you do you know…here was I, twenty-two with a child, no qualifications, on benefits, I mean you've no hope have ye? No hope nothing' (Elaine b. 1957). Mhairi's first attempt to leave failed for similar reasons,

> I got myself a flat...what a hellhole [laughs]. I had a terrible time searching for somewhere to live. Private landlords, when they found out I was working in DHSS,[16] all of a sudden there wisnae rent books there wisnae housing available. Aw they were really awful…I was short of money, I didnae know how I was gonnae cope…I'm still liable for half the mortgage…so I'd only half my wages…I'm thinking about childcare, because half my wages were going on childcare (Mhairi b. 1955).

In the early years of their marriages/relationships the women described how important it was for them as wives and mothers to hold the family together in a society which strongly endorsed the principles of patriarchal marriage. Despite an increase in the number of single parents in wider society, including women leaving violent and abusive marriages, the women's narratives suggest that they were extremely concerned that becoming a single parent would result in a significant drop in income and a lowering of their standard of living. As shown in Chapter Six, by the 1980s and as a result of the intersecting trends of women's increased employment and wage levels, some of the women's family economies were benefitting from their earnings with evidence of increased home ownership,

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[15] Under the Divorce (Scotland) Act 1976, divorce may be granted undefended on the grounds of a minimum of five years separation. https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1976/39/section/1

[16] The Department of Health and Social Security (DHSS) was the name of the United Kingdom Government agency responsible for paying state benefits including housing benefits from 1968 to 1988. Official rent books were required by tenants claiming benefits as proof of their housing costs.

improved standards of living and upward social mobility. Her husband expressed this very clearly to Eve and her children when she threatened to leave him,

> He'd make the threats [to Eve's children] of "That's your Mother, do you want to sell this house, you're gonnae be living in a slum." So basically at the back of my mind was, "I'm going to take my children…" He was blaming me to make me feel guilty that my kids are gonnae lose their house and their kinna status in their group of friends (Eve b. 1949).

These values continued to be grounded in long-standing private and public gender discourses of women's identity and place in the patriarchal family, of family privacy and a cultural silence about domestic abuse. That priority relationship with their husbands became unsustainable. The narratives show that the women's marriages reached a point when their private and public roles as wives and mothers could no longer be enforced by violence, psychological abuse, coercion and control as this was psychologically destructive and in some cases potentially lethal.

However, during the late 1980s and early 1990s some of the women were connecting with anti-hegemonic and feminist discourses and critiques of patriarchal society and women's structural inequality. Dot, Evelyn, Elaine, Eve, Mhairi, Sarah, Geraldine and Linda were forming new friendships outside the home, especially in workplace settings and through political activities which offered them alternative perspectives on their situations as Mhairi's recalled,

> I came out of a union meeting and I walked down Princes Street…and I remember seeing big Z-Z-Zs [Zero Tolerance posters] right along…and I had this real feeling of…something was moving…something was moving and that it was… that we had got to a stage where…I was trying to remember how empowering that would have felt to me in 1986/87 during that period or those six years, to have seen that, that would have just made such a difference. I went to the launch of Zero Tolerance in Glasgow… and it really got to me… (Mhairi b. 1955).

Women were gradually finding people outside of the family and their immediate social circles to whom they felt safe disclosing. Linda and Sarah disclosed to work colleagues and Geraldine told her neighbour. This increasing engagement with public life coincided with the period in the late 1980s and 1990s when alternative public discourses of domestic abuse were becoming more prominent and contributed to the women's growing confidence in conceptualising their private lives in new and less stigmatising ways.

Disclosure and help seeking therefore were not, in these examples, one off actions or individual activities divorced from wider public discourses and practices. Those women who did disclose in the pre-contemplation stage did so mainly to health professionals. Overall, the women

were constrained by criminal justice and class discourses of domestic abuse with which they did not identify as well as by patriarchal practices associating them with their role in marriage and the family. Many described living their lives behind a virtual mask of normality while they were in the pre-contemplation stage and reflected on processes of increasing personal empowerment. The women in this study without exception succeeded in separating from their abusive husbands/partners. Some did so through their own efforts aided by supportive friends, family and colleagues. Only Vickie's and Evelyn's husbands ended the relationships. The narratives show that the women's lives were contained within a gender constitution of traditional norms and values containing strong patriarchal indicators. These were operationalised as male dominance in the family, family privacy and in shifting regulatory norms in relation to paid work, unpaid domestic work and childcare. However, the narratives provide evidence that, in these women's lives, constitutive norms related to male violence against women in intimate relationships continued to be influential in the 1960s through to the 1990s, despite changes to the nature and form of private and public patriarchy.

Conclusion

The women's recollections of their physical, emotional and practical responses to domestic abuse reflect strong messages received from the wider contemporary social and cultural context of the period. Their feelings reflected Ptacek's theory of abused women's social entrapment (Ptacek 1999) and this in turn influenced how they coped with their husbands' abuse and their strategies for leaving their relationships. The women's narratives overall reflect the two main forms of coping strategies, emotion –focussed coping where help is sought to relieve the emotional distress caused by the abuse and problem-focussed coping where people take steps to solve their problem (Mitchell and Hodson 1983, Folkman, Lazarus et al. 1986). Denise and Elaine's disclosures to health professionals resulted initially in emotion-focussed responses which, in the longer-term, both contributed to their longer-term efforts to end their relationships. However, the importance of acknowledging the wider ecological context of women's disclosure decisions and coping strategies is also important: 'this context shapes the kinds of coping efforts that can be attempted, as well as the effects of these efforts on well-being (Kocot and Goodman 2003:324-5; see also Moe 2007). When Denise, Theresa and Sara disclosed their husbands' violence and abuse to health professionals as a way of trying to solve the problem the responses they received were focussed solely on treating the emotional impact. This reflected a 1997 assessment of the role of the NHS in responding to domestic abuse, particularly primary care services, needed to be more clearly defined. Those attending acute services with physical injuries such as Dot and Eve were treated without being questioned about the cause of their injuries. Geraldine, Elaine, Sarah, Denise disclosed the abuse to their GPs as part of their emotion-focussed coping strategies. The abuse and the substantial cognitive dissonance had

profoundly negative impacts on their physical and mental health and wellbeing. For some of the women, the internalisation prevented them from considering external solutions other than, in some cases, medical intervention. For the women in this study, their determination to negotiate successful separation and safer lives was an extended process carried out largely with little or no public agency involvement and with the help of a small private circle of trusted family and friends.

This chapter has illustrated the main barriers to external disclosure which were identified in the narratives: firstly, the adverse physical and emotional impact of domestic abuse induced silence through fear of reprisals from their husbands; secondly, the women internalised the blame attributed to them by their husbands for their inadequate performance of their domestic role. This disempowered and entrapped the women emotionally and physically and restricted their ability to disclose or solve the problem. In the pre-contemplation stage, the women were focussed on emotion-focussed coping strategies which would allow disclosure in the confidential setting of the consulting room. They were seeking help to relieve their symptoms rather than measures for solving the problem of the violence. Thirdly, problem-solving focused help seeking would externalise the problem and run counter to cultural norms. The women were still influenced by dominant discourses and practices aimed at upholding the unity of the two parent patriarchal family and the importance of preserving family privacy, particularly for the sake of the children. Finally, the women faced a social and economic environment which was hostile to single mothers seeking to support their children. This placed considerable barriers in the way of their leading independent lives. With two exceptions, the women's processes of leaving their abusive husbands reflected both the stages of change and empowerment models: a process which began with contemplation and the determination to take action, was helped along by increasing empowerment and access to financial resources and social support. In some cases, the leaving processes were not linear and women had to leave and return more than once before finally separating. Aside from those women who left situations where their lives were in immediate danger, the women's narratives provide evidence that leaving their husbands required longer term planning, calculated decisions about disclosure and problem-solving before they were able to leave. Their solutions required actions across all domains of their lives: psychological, personal, relational, financial and social. This process involved remaking their traditional gender identities and overcoming stigma in order to access resources and support and negotiate new safer ways of living. The women had to negotiate social norms and institutional barriers which existed right across the social ecology/patriarchal system: housework, sexuality, paid work, culture, violence, state. To leave an abusive relationship, women had to negotiate a society which continued to be permeated by patriarchal discourses and practices, despite slowly changing attitudes to marriage and single motherhood, women's full time employment and their increasing involvement in public life. By

disclosing their experiences of domestic abuse to those outside the family, women risked publicising private family matters in a social and cultural environment which continued to endorse traditional gender roles, the principles of non-interference in family privacy and the rights and entitlements of husbands, male partners and fathers over those of their wives and children.

Many of the women realised that their gender roles solely as wives and mothers in this changing context were no longer sustainable, that continuing to define themselves solely within marriage and by motherhood was or was becoming dangerous and that their identities, sanity and in some cases their lives were at risk. While leaving was a measured process, these accounts show that for most, it was one of survival against considerable odds as they faced the extreme dissonance between what they were expected to do and how they were expected to be as women, wives and mothers and the reality of the gender regimes which they were struggling to survive. They succeeded by a gradual and growing sense of personal agency, creative and tactical problem solving, an existential assertion of their sense of themselves as they became more empowered and a careful and limited process of disclosure. This was done by assuming the role of family provider, primary caregiver and homemaker in contrast to their husbands' and society's expectations of them. Their resolve to leave their marriages was a step into a new gender identity, another way of being in the world of patriarchal Scotland of the 1980s and 1990s. This was a step of enormous courage even in an era when critiques of patriarchal discourses and practices from the WLM and WA movements were emerging. This chapter provides evidence that some of the women did disclose the abuse to services. In the 1980s, Sarah, Elaine, Denise, Geraldine and Theresa disclosed their abuse to NHS professionals and were treated for mental health symptoms. Dot, Eve, Mhairi approached NHS professionals in relation to their symptoms and were treated without inquiry about the cause. Later during the 1990s, after several failed attempts to leave her husband, Eve moved into a WA refuge - the only one of the women to do so. Overall, the agency responses the women received varied in their effectiveness, and with the exception of Eve and Denise, professionals did not contribute significantly to solving the wider problem of their husbands'/partners' violence and abuse. In order to live safe and independent lives the women had to negotiate a series of barriers facing them at the interface of each domain across the continuum of private and public patriarchy (Figure 1). The women mainly solved the problem of separation by themselves with the help of a small circle of supportive friends and family and limited public disclosure. The experiences of the women who involved the police (Vickie, Andrea, Linda, Denise, Mhairi, Eve and Geraldine) and social welfare agencies (Vickie) will be discussed more fully in Chapter Eight. The chapter explores in more depth the culture, discourses and practices of police, criminal justice and social welfare agencies from the 1960s to the 1990s. This provides more detail about professional responses to domestic abuse, offers conclusions about the influence of agency

practices on individual women's reporting and disclosures decisions and the contribution these made to concealing the true extent of the problem.

CHAPTER 8

AGENCY RESPONSES TO DOMESTIC ABUSE IN SCOTLAND *CIRCA* 1970 TO *CIRCA* 1992 – PROFESSIONALS' EXPERIENCES IN CONTEXT

Introduction

In the post-war period, 'wife beating' or 'wife assault', the terms used in law during the period being studied, was a crime and therefore, a legitimate matter for the police and the criminal justice system. The police were the first agency to respond to crime reports, however, as this thesis argued in Chapter Two, the issue of under-reporting and its lack of visibility in crime figures merited further investigation. Scotland's social welfare and social work agencies also had a key role in responding to cases of violence and abuse in the family and where children were at risk of harm or neglect. Chapter Six revealed that women's help-seeking in the context of domestic abuse took two main forms: emotion-focussed and problem-solving approaches. The help sought by women prior to contemplating separation was mainly emotion-focussed and aimed at addressing the mental and physical impact of domestic abuse. Women were concerned to keep the family together and to preserve family privacy; their fears of public disclosure and any resultant social stigma were very real and those who did disclose externally in this context preferred to do so in confidential health settings. Chapter Seven argued that the impact of domestic abuse played an important role in women's disclosure decisions. Women's internalisation of their problem solving and their ongoing privatisation of the issue was a result of the influence of wider patriarchal discourses of marriage, family privacy, female monogamy and traditional gender roles. Problem-focussed help-seeking to social welfare/work, police or criminal justice agencies would have resulted, in the women's minds, in unwanted public intrusion into their family lives and relationships. It was therefore important to investigate the practices of these public agencies in order to explain why the women were so reluctant to contact what were, until the arrival of women's aid refuges and services in the 1970s and 1980s, the only public agencies with legal and statutory responsibilities for responding directly to those affected by domestic abuse.

This chapter explores the wider contemporary cultural and hegemonic discourses, policy and practice responses to domestic abuse in more depth. The chapter begins firstly by arguing that these influenced the way women conceptualised their situations. Secondly, the chapter argues that police, criminal justice and social welfare agencies' practices were saturated with patriarchal discourses of class, marriage, family privacy, traditional gender roles, men's right to use violence against their wives and non-or minimal intervention in family matters. The chapter argues that these wider cultures and

practices influenced women's decision-making about disclosing domestic abuse to the public agencies ostensibly charged with ensuring their safety. The chapter concludes that domestic abuse, which remained a highly prevalent and under-reported issue during this period, remained a key element in the maintenance of private patriarchy. By enforcing limits on women's freedom in the public sphere, and despite changes in form, domestic abuse continued to limit women's freedom, independence and equality in the public sphere. The combination of male violence in the home and patriarchal practices in agencies and in wider public discourses provides evidence that rather than a shift from private to public patriarchy as Walby argued, private and public patriarchy continued to be effective partners in women's oppression.

You've made your bed…'

A 1981 survey carried out in England among women living in Women's Aid refuges (n=656) found that over half turned, in the first instance, to family and friends and if little or no help was offered they would then turn to statutory services. The survey found that the statutory services to which women were then most likely to turn were police (61%), social services (54%), doctors (52%) and solicitors (47%). While individual women may have approached more than one agency, the top three most commonly contacted voluntary organisations included Samaritans (23%), Citizens' Advice Bureau (22%) and Women's Aid (21%) (Binney, Harkell et al. 1981, Hanmer 1983:41). However, Linda, Andrea, Eve, Evelyn and Denise approached their mothers first for help in solving the 'problem' of their husbands' violence but were met with strong cultural messages about their accountability as women for the correct performance of their role, their responsibilities as wives and mothers and the need to accept their situations. The maxim 'you've made your bed, you need to lie in it' was deeply rooted in the women's narratives, five of whom recalled their mothers saying it. When Andrea approached her family for help to leave her husband, both her mum, who had also experienced severe abuse from Andrea's stepfather, and her grandmother revealed the continuing power into its third generation, of this message about a wife's responsibilities.

Get over the road and get his dinner made and don't make it worse for yourself.' I traipsed back over the road and it [leaving] was never gonnae happen again. Even ma Gran used to say to me "Aw Andrea… "[Andrea trails off here suggesting she was aware of her Gran's impatience with her] (Andrea b.1960).

Beveridge's Plan for post-war Britain included a wide-ranging contributory social security scheme which included Family Allowances paid for the second and subsequent child. A number of

contributory and non-contributory benefits were intended to support male breadwinners' families and to prevent poverty during periods of unemployment, illness or incapacity.

> The invidious distinction [was created] between those who had and those who had not contributed. A special National Assistance Board was set up to deal separately with all those - who fell, for one reason or another, outside the newly-constructed contributory schemes (Campbell 1979:11-12).

The system fully supported the institution of marriage and the nuclear family, and aimed to ensure that the husband's earnings from paid work or benefits were sufficient to support his wife and children. The system, with inadequate external childcare provision was not designed to support women combining paid work with caring responsibilities (Lewis 1992, Hantrais 1994). The male breadwinner/female homemaker economic model continued to dominate British, including Scottish, economic and social policy into the 1980s (Wasoff and Hill 2002). The differential approach to the calculation of men's and women's national insurance contributions, state benefit entitlements and an underdeveloped state funded childcare sector reinforced women's dependent social and economic status (Lewis 2013). Andrea's position and responsibilities as a wife and mother made her financially as well as socially dependent on her husband. Her status in the marriage where her husband was the main financial provider reinforced her domestic role as wife, homemaker and mother. The macro-system factors combined with a cultural climate which further aggravated the situation for abused women like Andrea and created substantial barriers to solving their problems. Implicit in her Mum's reaction to the assaults Andrea had endured, was the message that there was no external means of preventing the violence or of her being able to live as a single mother. Denise explained why at first she was reluctant to call the police. Her Mum reinforced her previous 'you've made your bed…' narrative with additional warnings against making her situation public, involving the police and the stigma associated with marriage breakup and of maintaining respectability.

> My Mum drummed into me that you don't bring trouble to your door and… you know, I had that all the time growing up…she was an assistant head of a school and it was all about front and image…and even when her own marriage broke down it was all covered up and nobody knew and all that kinda thing so….(Denise b. 1966).

Constitutive gender discourses of patriarchal marriage, family privacy, respectability, non-disclosure and women's gender role continued to be permeated by corresponding individual and family attitudes and practices. Women's external disclosure and help seeking were further inhibited by the intersection of police and social welfare agency policies, discourses and practices which created additional macro-system barriers to women's social and economic independence.

Police and criminal justice responses

Wife assault was a criminal offence and a police matter. However, in an article in the Scotsman newspaper in 1977, it was reported that recent research by Dr. Rebecca Dobash into violence against wives in Scotland, had found that Scottish police 'turn a blind eye to wife beating' and that:

> …police attitudes to domestic violence were very unfortunate, both from the point of view of the women involved and for society as a whole. It seemed that Scots lived in a society which accepted the use of violence by a husband against his wife (SWA Archive, The Scotsman 6/11/77).

According to the women in this study who reported domestic abuse to the police and the former police officers and other professionals working in Scotland, this observation continued to reflect common professional practices and public discourses throughout the 1980s and into the 1990s. Elaine, Sarah, Dot and Laura were clear that they would not consider calling the police and why, Nobody calls the police, nobody ever called the police.' (Laura b. 1964), 'I didnae do stuff like that' (Elaine b. 1957); 'Even that night when I did fear for my life…I never thought about phoning the police..' (Sarah b. 1961). According to John, it was more common for neighbours or others to call the police, and they had no recollection of women ever calling on their own behalf. This may however be related to people not having telephones in their homes, having to use public telephone boxes or run to a local police station or police box. This was the case for Vickie and Geraldine (neighbours) and also for Theresa whose sister-in-law stepped in to protect her from a particularly vicious attack and was herself assaulted by her brother, Theresa's husband.

The narratives provided by the women and those of professionals working in the contemporary criminal justice system, Bob and John, Iain, Jackie, Monica and Dave, provide evidence of those responses in their wider context. The Parliamentary Select Committee on Violence in Marriage recommended that 'Chief Constables should review their policies about the police approach to domestic violence' (Parliamentary Select Committee, 1975: xxvi). However the narratives and other contemporary sources show that despite its estimated high incidence, the police response to violence against wives remained minimal, consistent and unchanged from the 1960s until the late 1980s and that 'It lacked the recognition of the serious nature of what this was. That it was an epidemic' (Bob). Two key elements contributed to this approach. Firstly, assaults by husbands on their wives were considered to be a private matter between couples. Secondly, this conceptualisation also reflected long-standing crime discourses which regarded wife assaults as an intractable problem mainly of violent, drunken working class men and their brutalised wives. For some of the women participants who experienced domestic abuse in the context of upward social mobility during the 1980s, such class-

based discourses, popular in the media, seemed very far from their understanding of their own experience. This reflected Mhairi's non-identification of herself as a 'battered wife' i.e. a woman being assaulted regularly on a Saturday night noted in the previous chapter and Iain's perception as a young lawyer at the time

> It would be very much drink fuelled the Friday night Saturday night drinking culture…the accused in these cases returning home from the pub drunk taking out his drunken frustration on his partner (Iain).

Monica recalled the conflation of alcohol abuse, domestic abuse and repeat callouts in the minds of senior police officers in the 1980s who told her:

> "We're fed up with going to this address every Saturday night. He comes home, she calls the police, we go, both drunk and then Monday morning she comes and says she wants to change her mind or we take him away and keep him in the cells overnight…what good are we doing and how much good public money is being wasted here?" Not seeing in fact that there's a sub-text going on here (Monica).

As they were considered essentially private matters, men's violence against their wives was regarded as a problem for the couple to solve and not a priority for the police, prosecutors or the court system unless public order was breached, extreme violence was used or where there was a murder. Within those parameters, a considerable degree of individual discretion was available to police officers and established practices laden with cultural messages stressing the private nature of wife assaults were conveyed to new recruits. Scottish Women's Aid observed the

> …unhelpfulness of police when called into a battering situation…Things seem to hinge on the attitude of the officer involved, and the way he [sic] chooses to make use of the power he [he] has. It would help if women were recommended to WA by police on the spot, but this seldom occurs (SWA Annual Report 1980).

John and Bob both joined Strathclyde Police in the 1980s and recalled being instructed in this approach by senior officers,

> "See before we go in here son? This is between a man and a woman and we're no' getting involved in this." And that was actually before we arrived at the front door and… Aye keep it in your own house, keep it private, this is what you do (John).

> In response to a feature on 'Scotland's Battered Wives' in *The Scotsman* newspaper in 1979, 'Superintendent Robert Cunningham of Strathclyde Police said that his police officers were prepared

to investigate all incidents of assaults on wives as they were "in breach of the law of the land"'(Scottish Women's Aid 1978 - 1986: The Scotsman 24 May 1979). According to the Police (Scotland) Act 1967, police constables' functions were to 'guard, patrol and watch so as to prevent the commission of offences, preserve order and protect life and property'.[17] The narratives suggest that in practice there was considerable scope for discretion in carrying out those functions and in interpreting 'the law of the land'. Evidence from contemporary police policy and practices suggests a public/private ambiguity in the police approach to assaults on wives. 'A lot of these cases were dealt with on the spot, there was a lot of that, we [Procurator Fiscal's Service] would not be involved. We would not have a case reported. The police would receive the call...go out to the house and in their eyes sorted things out' (Iain). The emphasis on the police constable's role in responding to public breaches of criminal law, in pursuing offenders in the public interest ran alongside the influence of cultural discourses of playing down marital violence and avoiding intervening in the private domain of marriage and family life.

This ambiguity was also mirrored in the practices of the Procurator Fiscal Service: '…among some of my colleagues…there'd be a view taken that it was just a domestic…' (Iain) and also in the Scottish Office:

> At that time there were a lot of stereotypes still around particularly within the police, people involved in the police division internally in the Government and externally…that it was a private matter. There was no point in causing any more problems and most of the time the woman wanted to withdraw their complaint the next day…and they should stay out of that area. …"Leave it alone, it's a private family matter."…it was kind of "better not, it was up to them to sort it out" (Jackie).

In practice the police considered their main purpose when attending incidents was to contain the violence and prevent further violence mainly by removing the abusive husband temporarily if necessary and to take no, or minimal, further action.

> You would take a guy out the house to calm it down. You wouldnae do anything else except to keep him out the house and just say, "We'll take him away hen and we'll drop him two miles away and by the time he walks back he'll have sobered up and he'll be fine then." It was absurd (John).

This suggests practices which had remained largely unchanged since Vickie called the police to deal with her drunk and violent husband in the 1960s,

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[17] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/77/enacted

It was a family dispute. They says we can't do nothin' but twice they took him away and kept him in the cells overnight and let him sober up (Vickie b. 1943).

In Scots law a distinction is drawn between 'crimes' which are usually defined as more serious criminal acts and the less serious 'offences' with 'seriousness' related to the maximum sentence which may be imposed following a conviction (Scottish Government 1997:21). Arrests would be made if the situation were deemed 'serious' or where there was a public order breach. This was reflected in the police practice. Assaults by abusive husbands on attending police officers would be deemed 'serious'[18],

I was fighting with this guy and him lying on top of me and I've got his hands behind his back and I'm saying to my neighbour "Cuff him!". That was a domestic incident an' he was getting arrested in effect because he lashed out at us when we arrived (Bob).

'Breach of the peace', an offence in Scots law, requires '…conduct severe enough to cause alarm to ordinary people and threaten serious disturbance to the community'.[19] In cases involving a man's assault on his wife, an essentially private crime, any further action was taken at the discretion of police and, if reported, of the Procurator Fiscal. Interpretations of 'seriousness' varied in the practices of individual police officers with a great deal resting on their discretion supported by a wider culture of non-intervention and minimisation of domestic 'disputes'. Incidents of wife assault may have been actively pursued if they involved higher tariff criminal acts which breached the public/private divide with the focus on the violent behaviour of the husband/partner rather than the impact on the victim. However, police officers did not always prioritise assaults on wives for further action or investigation, 'He would need to still be there and be angry and fighting for us to give him the jail. We would seldom go away looking for somebody (John); 'I don't remember doing any enquiries door to door, [asking] "Did you hear anything about your neighbour?"' (Bob). John recalled the police value system, at the time,

We clearly saw our job as just giving people the jail… The policing circles that I was in, the value system, "Oh he's a great thief catcher" or when we recovered loads of drugs, that was the stuff that got there. The other stuff was a bit you know Tufty Club…[1980s Children's Road

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[18] An offence under Section 41 of The Police (Scotland) 1967 Act
http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/77/enacted
[19] 2002 JC 65, [2001] ScotHC 121, 2001 GWD 26-101, 2001 SCCR 800, 2001 SLT 1007

http://www.bailii.org/scot/cases/ScotHC/2001/121.html

Safety Campaign] so we didnae get involved in that stuff…that was nothing to do with us (John).

Bob also reflected on the wider context on the 1980s,

> At that time in the eighties…we were chasing drug dealers and guns and robbers and Starsky and Hutch an' a' that stuff… If you were a detective, I was in the CID pretty young…I didnae want tae go tae domestics. I had people robbing banks still, we had cash deliveries and shotguns and you know heroin dealers and folk slashing folk and murders every other week, ninety odd murders in my first year in the CID and that was the exciting stuff. Domestics were…[trails off]. We clearly saw our job as em… not about prevention or protection or any of that stuff it was just about giving people the jail….When I reflect on it, it's absurd (Bob).

Monica recalled similar attitudes among police colleagues in the late 1980s,

> They didn't take something that happened in someone's home as anything to do with them "It's just a domestic and not real police business… Our job is catching burglars and dealing with real crime" (Monica).

These extracts suggest that in the 1980s, violent, organised crime and the police response to it were both characterised by dominant hyper-masculine behaviour and highly patriarchal systems and practices. Thresholds for investigation were high: 'My recollections are that things would need to be bad, it would need to be a real, bad physical assault' (John). This is reflected in public discourse as well as practice. Newspapers at the time regularly reported court cases involving very serious assaults by husbands or partners with men convicted of a number of brutal attacks on their wives and partners often involving weapons such as guns and crossbows (Scottish Women's Aid 1978 - 1986). Iain recalled serious cases being reported to the Procurator Fiscal: '…a number of very serious assaults, using weapons, with serious injuries on occasions back then' (Iain). In Scotland until 1989 the definition of 'serious assault' used by police forces varied but were harmonised in that year to ensure a clearer distinction between serious and petty assaults. Until then serious assault charges were made if,

> [The] victim sustained (or owing to personal circumstances or the use of a weapon was likely to sustain) …an injury resulting in detention in hospital as an in-patient or any of the following injuries whether or not he [sic] was detained in hospital: fractures, concussion, internal injuries, crushing, severe cuts or lacerations or severe general shock requiring medical treatment (Scottish Government 1997:21).

In addition to the lack of investigation and evidence gathering following assaults, women were not always given clear guidance about the procedures involved in being charged with a crime or offence

and what could constitute corroboration as required under Scots law. In an interview with the Scotsman newspaper on 6 November 1977, Dr. Rebecca Dobash had observed that

> Wife assault tended to be heard in the district courts, rather than in sheriff courts, where more severe penalties were available. The impression that she had gained from court decisions was of a policy of hand slapping….The police in many cases decided not to prosecute because of lack of corroboration, appearing to believe that corroboration required a witness. However, some officers did not seem to realise that corroboration could take other forms, such as finding a house smashed up' (Scotsman 6/11/77 Police 'turn blind eye to wife beating' in Scottish Women's Aid 1978 - 1986).

This appears not to have substantially changed by the 1980s, as Iain, a Procurator Fiscal at the time, recalled:

> If we did receive reports, if they were of a relatively minor nature they would, where it was domestic…where it was verbal or physical abuse…it would go to the district court…only more serious assaults or also somebody with a significant criminal record that it would end up in the Sheriff Court (Iain).

This was echoed in a report in the 1980 Scottish Women's Aid Newsletter: 'most of the women who came to the refuge felt that the police were not helpful. Typical examples given by the women were that the police did not take domestic violence seriously and would not make charges without corroborative evidence' (Scottish Women's Aid 1980, Robertson Archive). The Parliamentary Select Committee on Violence in Marriage confirmed that corroboration 'usually means there must be a witness to the assault other than the woman concerned… evidence of the injuries is not in itself corroboration'. In his evidence to the Committee, Scotland's Lord Advocate stated that: 'lack of corroboration is a considerable check on taking proceedings' (Parliamentary Select Committee 1975:xxii). The Committee also noted that corroboration was not required in English law and that the situation was full of 'anomalies and absurdities, [which were] bringing Scottish law into disrepute' (Parliamentary Select Committee, 1975: xxiii).

Under Scots law the victim of a crime is 'the complainer'. However in cases of wife assault where there were likely to be no witnesses, if little or no corroborating evidence was gathered, the prosecution rested largely on the complainer's statement. This placed a substantial weight of responsibility on women to engage with police, prosecutors and courts and led many to withdraw. Bob and John recalled situations where, despite the severity of the assault and the extent of their injuries, women were reluctant to be involved with the police and court proceedings. Women's fears

about the prospect of appearing in court could be exacerbated by their lack of confidence in and knowledge about the system and deep concerns about the potentially negative personal and social impact of being involved in the criminal justice system. When violent cases of wife assault did proceed to court, the outcomes could be highly unsatisfactory for the woman. Bob recalled a case which revealed the negative impact of a complex array of highly patriarchal discourses and practices of marriage, policing and the court system on one woman who had been severely assaulted by her husband:

> I sees the lady walking wi' her messages. I stopped the car and says, 'How you doin'? How did you get on at court?' She says, 'oh I went to court, they kept him in' She says 'I went to court on the Monday and I said I didnae want to speak up because I've money and stuff and ..'. I said 'you gonnae be a'right?' And you could see her eyes filling up at that point 'aw I'll be fine son I'll be fine '. You know and she went straight back into the house and he's in the house at that point…it kinda ran through my mind that we were wasting our time with this, you know there wisnae any way out of this clearly we couldnae jail our way out of this kind of thing. I also remember that incident because of him being king of the castle and you could see he was the school bully (Bob).

Policing practices which emphasised non-interference in patriarchal marriage and family privacy, the lack of corroboration, high thresholds for prosecuting violence against wives and the wider structural barriers women faced outwith patriarchal marriage combined to render even the response of sympathetic police officers ineffective. Such outcomes could send strong messages of impunity and did not deter violent husbands. A particularly violent case, which included medical evidence of severe injury, did not proceed further because the victim, the accused's wife, had to identify her assailant in court, 'She never spoke up and it got kicked into touch Yeah. He waved tae us in the court. I always remember him waving to us. '(Bob). The police narratives suggest there was a growing awareness of the inadequacy of their response at the time, that women were justified in having little confidence that the police could help solve their problems and that they could in fact make matters worse,

> I do remember lots of time women no' wanting their men arrested really when we turned up, the view was we're making this worse, we're no' making this better, we're no' there to help…because we're no' gonnae follow it through and do anything, neither was the court… so it's either do everything and do it right or bloody stay out the road. Lots of the attitudes of the women were just "Look just stay oot the road you're only making this worse we'll be fine" (John).

This was confirmed by the few women narrators who called police who felt that doing so made matters worse: 'they'd lock him up for the night but he was always back in the morning, fighting furious because I'd shopped him' (Vickie b. 1943) .

> [Police] told me to get oot, which I did and I think I actually went to my Mum's that night. He phoned the police and said I was missing. So I got into bother for wasting police time (Linda b. 1967).

This awareness mirrored the views and recollections of the study's police and criminal justice system narrators all of whom reflect on a contemporary police response which was inadequate, largely futile and often counterproductive. Officers were often aware of it at the time. Monica recalled police colleagues telling her, '"We might make it worse if we do something here. What can we do that's going to change it anyway?"' (Monica). These views of the contemporary police response are also reflected in Denise's account. After her husband 'head butted' her, she called the police who combined very clear professional and cultural messages emphasising their policy of non-interference in 'domestic' assaults overlaid with strong inferences about social class which further distanced her from a solution to her situation,

> "It's a domestic and the two of you need to sort this out and you need to sit down and talk and you know… Your husband's a professional man, you know…. I'm sure he didn't mean it, he's just a bit stressed, and…basically it's a domestic situation and we won't get involved". They did nothing. They didn't take a statement, they didn't do anything, they just said, "It's between husband and wife." I was visibly hurt. I had bruises all down my forehead and everything where he'd head butted me so…and they did absolutely nothing (Denise b. 1966).

This incident which took place in the early 1990s typifies a police response which had not significantly altered since the 1960s.

The gendered discourses underpinning these attitudes were identified in a report by the Women's National Commission published in 1985. This found that the discretionary nature of the police response contained highly gendered cultural messages,

> Many women put up with violence because they are frightened of the attitude of the police. Perhaps the greatest fault in the traditional police response to domestic violence is best described as over willingness to assume the 'judgement of Solomon' it says. There is evidence that police tended to judge the behaviour of women victims. If they thought a woman was 'nagging, hysterical, or a sluttish housewife, 'they considered that this contributed to a man's violence' (Guardian 11 December 1985).

Bob, John, Iain and Dave reflected on a police and criminal justice system which, despite the passing of the 1975 Sex Discrimination Act[20], retained into the 1980s a predominantly male workforce and culture. While the provisions made sex discrimination unlawful, Bob recalled a hyper-masculine police culture, '...there was still calendars up on the wall… it was quite misogynist there's no doubt about that aw aye' (Bob). Married male police officers and their families lived in accommodation provided by their employer which was tied to their employment in the force. John recalled that even living in close proximity, police families did not generally mix with one another with male police officers keeping their private and working lives quite separate. Following an assault on Mhairi by her husband in the presence of a number of family members, her pleas to call the police were ignored. The reason given was that one of her husband's brothers, who was present but who had not intervened, was a police officer. Mhairi was told: 'you know it'd be a real problem for [the brother's] job if you phone the police' (Mhairi b. 1955). This extract suggests the close interweaving of a number of patriarchal discourses of separate spheres. The first was between the brother's public role and status as a police officer and his potential loss of face when fellow officers attended. The second was his professional stance of non-interference in family privacy and domestic assaults and his presence as a witness to such an assault; both convey the dominance of non-interference with his brother's right to family privacy and to assault his wife. Any action on his part would therefore have compromised the clear distinction between a number of professional and personal boundaries. Maintaining a clear separation between police officers' professional role and their private lives was also problematic for highly patriarchal police forces which employed officers who abused their own wives.

According to police narrators, formal mechanisms for dealing with male officers who assaulted their own wives did not exist but informal strategies were identified. In one case, a woman officer reported abuse by her officer husband and the attending officers suggested that taking further action would jeopardise her husband's job and their home which was tied to it. Another case showed the implementation of an informal solution: male colleagues of a woman officer whose officer husband was violent towards her took matters into their own hands: 'four of the senior cops went up and leathered him' (Bob). While the former response was aimed at preserving the position of the male provider much as the men in Mhairi's family had done, the latter took a chivalrous, hyper-masculine approach to the perpetrator in defence of their female colleague. Although no formal

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[20] The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 prevented discrimination on the grounds of sex in recruitment or working practices, in the provision of education and training, goods, facilities and services, the management or allocation of premises and advertising. It also abolished the marriage bar which prevented women being recruited or continuing in employment if they were married.
https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1975/65/enacted

action was taken in either of these cases they provide examples of patriarchal discourses inherent in a predominantly male police culture which utilised measures designed to keep the abuse hidden within the wider police community but by avoiding taking action, it was also kept hidden from public view and prevented court proceedings. Patriarchal discourses were also evident to Dave in the prison system where he worked as a social worker in the 1980s. He recalled how the prison system itself implicitly supported the patriarchal breadwinner/homemaker model of marriage. Prison could compound women's difficulties without the main breadwinner and the system appeared to uphold the rights of convicted husbands to control their wives and families even from prison. The right to marital privacy and male control of the family continued to be upheld even for prisoners in a highly patriarchal prison system:

> A 'dirty letter' was a letter from a wife or a girlfriend or a partner saying, "I'm really struggling at home, the kids are acting up, I havenae got any money"… and the guys called this a 'dirty letter' because it was a letter that unsettled them somehow and added to their worries. So the prison didn't like to have their prisoners unhappy because that could create trouble, men going on charges and also them pestering prison officers. So the prison's solution simply was that they would send all these men down to the social worker so that they'd be a line of men wanting what they called 'special visits' from wives and girlfriends (Dave).

Police and criminal justice responses to domestic abuse were however beginning to change in the late 1980s as a result of research undertaken by the Scottish Office in the early 1980s into the way Scottish police forces and the Crown Office respectively investigated and prosecuted sexual offences (Chambers and Millar 1983, Chambers and Millar 1986). The Chambers and Miller reports were undertaken following press and public controversy over what became known as ' The Glasgow Rape Case' in 1982 where criminal proceedings against three youths were dropped on the grounds that the mental health of the complainer 'Miss X' rendered her incapable of appearing and giving evidence in court. Miss X went on to pursue a successful civil case against the men (Harper and McWhinnie 1983).[21] Also in 1982, the prosecution of a man for raping his estranged wife was allowed in a case heard by Lord McCluskey (Greenan 2004: Appendix 1 Tackling Violence against Women in Scotland 1973-2003). Jackie, who led the team which undertook the sexual offences research recalled being approached by her colleague Chambers who said: '" I really think that we need to do some research on sexual assault." and this had come to him through his reading and connections with people in Woman's Aid and people like that' (Jackie). The research found that police treatment of rape victims was highly unsatisfactory, that their cases were not prioritised, and that there was a lack of police

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[21] http://hansard.millbanksystems.com/commons/1982/jan/21/rape-case-glasgow

training on the 'meaning and impact of sexual violence' on victims. The report recommended the creation of specialised teams of detectives with women officers playing 'a more active role' in enquiries (Chambers and Millar 1986).   Jackie recalled the initial hostility from Scotland's police forces to the report's findings of the inadequacies of their sexual offences investigations.   However, as a result of the findings, Strathclyde Police subsequently established the UK's first Female and Child Unit (FACU) in Glasgow in 1987:

> This was in response to studies which indicated that police reactions to allegations of sexual assault were carried out in a belligerent manner coupled with an institutional presumption that the complainer was falsifying facts. In an effort to address this attitude, FACUs were established to provide victims with a more sympathetic police response (Strathclyde Police 2011).

A Strathclyde Police Annual Report for 1988 reported that a FACU had been established in every police division with a remit to investigate what were in effect crimes which took place in private or affected families, were of a sexual nature with mainly women and child victims. The remit of the FACUs included: 'incidents of indecent exposure, cot deaths, wife assaults, cruelty to children, missing persons and absconders' (Strathclyde Police 2011). In a radical departure, the units were: 'staffed by specially trained female officers who assist both CID and uniform personnel in the investigation of crime and incidents involving women and children and emphasised the support needs of women and child victims' (Strathclyde Police 2011). According to Bob, this departure demonstrated 'a real acceptance of women's role…they were able to reach out to a certain extent to victims that we couldnae do as men' (Bob). This was a clear response to the findings of the Chambers and Miller reports, marked the first publicly stated shift away from the police's long-standing discretionary approach to sexual and physical assaults on women and children by husbands, fathers and strangers, including wife assaults and focussed attention on the victim as well as the offender. For the first time there was an emphasis on addressing the needs of victims and on the relational aspects of active criminal investigation and evidence gathering in crimes which took place in private contexts,

> A major priority for the officers is to develop a trusting relationship with the women or child victim involved. When established at an early stage, it helps to reassure the victim and aids recovery of her physical and psychological health. Other important functions involve obtaining the best available evidence, assisting with the taking of statements and providing an invaluable liaison between the victim and the investigating officer (Strathclyde Police 1975-1998: Report for 1988:23).

Roisin, a social worker at this time, recalled working with the new FACUs,

> They marked a change in attitude and a time where no human being should be treated like
> that by any other and women who had been, sometimes quite horrifically abused by their
> partners beginning to be seen as people in their own right, rather than "just his wife" (Roisin
> b. 1960).

However, this new public focus on the needs of victims of sexual and domestic violence continued to present a challenge into the 1990s to a long standing police culture and engrained practices of minimal intervention in 'domestic' disputes where 'little or no emphasis was put on positive experiences and better outcomes for women and children' (MacEachern 2005:56).

Domestic homicides

Cases of domestic homicide, perpetrated by men and women, were common, prioritised and dealt with by the police and Procurator Fiscal's office in the same way as all other homicides. Iain recalled these being: 'a significant part of the Fiscal's workload, 'we would be involved in homicide cases from day one basically' (Iain). Both Bob and Iain recalled that domestic homicides were investigated 'just like any other homicide' with considerable uniform branch and CID resources immediately allocated to ensure the investigation met the necessary court timescales. 'The CID would be interested because you could make some money - it's overtime, that's what you're there to do, investigate murders and serious crime' (Bob).

> If somebody's murdered on a Wednesday night, the case is reported to us on Thursday
> morning and we have to get that person to court on Thursday. So it's a short time scale, there's
> not much room for manoeuvre at all so you have to get the person into court and the police
> are investigating the case and getting information to us right up until the date of the first court
> appearance (Iain).

There is evidence that prosecution and sentencing of male and female murderers were highly gendered practices. Women's Aid groups in Scotland and England campaigned on behalf of women like June Grieg in Scotland and Emma Humphreys in England who had been given long sentences for murdering their husbands or partners after experiencing years of abuse. The movement and journalists like Julie Bindel[22] challenged the narrow time-limited definition of the term 'provocation'

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[22] https://www.theguardian.com/lifeandstyle/2008/jul/23/women.law

which in the case of women who killed their abusive husbands or partners did not take into account women's prolonged experiences of abuse. Courts' handling of women accused of domestic homicide reflected 'standards of behaviour and experience that are more commensurate with male patterns of behaviour and male standards of acceptable conduct' (for a full discussion of provocation in this context see Fitz-Gibbon 2014:74). Changes to the courts' treatment of domestic homicides were observed by Iain in the later 1980s in Glasgow where the defences of provocation given by men who murdered their wives became less acceptable:

> Provocation would have to be proved…verbal provocation which could be tied in with some allegations with somebody being unfaithful and having an affair or whatever ehm… but I would say round about that time there was less credence given to these sort of defences (Iain).

Iain was involved in cases where women had murdered previously violent husbands and recalled the examples of changes taking place in the way the courts dealt with such cases. The standard practice of remanding the accused in custody in murder cases began to change in the late 1980s where women were accused of killing their abuser:

> Part of that was the beginning of a greater understanding of the impact of domestic abuse and there were cases where there was a well-established history of serious domestic abuse that had resulted in hospital treatment for the victim who then became the accused. And in the past, even if that was the history, even if it was a murder charge…generally speaking, the woman would have been kept in custody. But that was beginning to change and there was a degree of discretion provided, probably the 80s into early 90s. The Lord Advocate can agree to bail being granted in certain cases and that was what was happening. I remember a couple of cases in particular where women were granted bail on charges of murder and quite often by the time the case came to court the charge would have been reduced to culpable homicide because more and more information came out (Iain).

Social welfare and social work responses

The many voluntary sector social welfare agencies in the late nineteenth century in the UK and the US were concerned to protect children from cruelty and neglect and their activities were mainly focussed on working class households (Gordon 1988). The Royal Scottish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children (RSSPCC) founded in 1884 was Scotland's main family welfare agency until the late 1960s (Clapton 2009). By the early twentieth century the 'mental hygiene' school combined social work with psychiatric approaches in the new child guidance clinics for example, which addressed the social

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'problems' faced by children in poor households by interventions designed to support their 'social adjustment' to their situation (Timms 1997:725). The working class family context was also a target for interventions aimed at protecting children and provided a vehicle for encouraging pro-social attitudes and values founded on encouraging financial prudence and self-sufficiency.

Chapter Seven has noted the extent to which UK post-war economic and social policy and popular discourses and practices continued to reflect and support the patriarchal male provider/female homemaker family structure (Wilson 1980, Innes and McKie 2006). However, by the 1970s and 1980s working class family economies were often characterised by unstable employment patterns with women often engaged in low paid work and increasingly by lone female-headed households. As has been shown, the benefit system assessed fathers as the main breadwinner (absent or present) with unemployment and social security benefits calculated on the basis of his contribution if any and paid on that basis. Fathers were expected to protect their families from poverty and prioritise spending on their families' needs rather than their own, regardless of the income source. Working class women who found themselves abandoned by the father of their children, separated or cohabiting could find it necessary to involve statutory agencies or the benefit system for financial reasons. Vickie, in Glasgow in the early 1970s, found herself reluctantly involved with social welfare agencies when her husband left her and her new baby. Vickie recalled the police being involved when her husband was violent but was less clear about which other 'social' agency was involved. Her narrative perhaps suggests she and her family conflated social work and social security functions, 'my Dad had said "well we're gonnae have to do something" he says, "because you canny cope wi' that baby on your own". So the police tried to get him, the social work or something tried to get him' (Vickie b.1943). Social welfare agencies justified interventions in working class families which breached family privacy by addressing perceived deficits such as when men were not considered to be providing sufficiently for their wives and families, where women's standards of housekeeping, childrearing, childcare and discipline were considered in need of improvement or where children required protection from harm, neglect, or were exposed to or involved in anti-social or criminal behaviour. Domestic work, cleanliness, family budgeting, childrearing and child care were regarded as female responsibilities (Innes and McKie 2006). Research into the RSSPCC in Scotland and into municipal housing in Glasgow in the twentieth century found that the disciplinary nature of inspection practices until the late twentieth century involved practices involving regular surveillance and control of working class family homes, routines and ways of life (Abrams 1998, Damer 2000, Innes and McKie 2006, Clapton 2009). Direct intervention by a state-sanctioned national organisation in their private life provided an opportunity to reinforce patriarchal norms of marriage, male and female roles and

expectations whilst denying them privacy in family life with '…poor families' behaviour being constrained and shaped to fit a certain view of how things should be' (Innes and McKie 2006:6).

According to Brodie et al, the publication of Social Work and the Community (Scottish Office, 1966), the 1964 Kilbrandon Report (Kilbrandon 1995) and the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 reorganised social welfare services and the social work profession in Scotland with 'a vision of radical social change' (Scottish Office 1971, Brodie, Nottingham et al. 2008:702). The consolidation of the profession from a number of different professional disciplines into 'generic' social workers was influenced during the 1970s by the progressive turn of UK and Scottish politics in the 1970s. The implementation of the Act and the new organisational structures enhanced the political status of Scottish social work services. Provision of social work services was consolidated within Scottish regional authorities who were accountable through the Association of Directors of Social Work to the Secretary of State for Scotland via the Scottish Office Social Work Services Group. According to Brodie et al this gave social work in Scotland a strong local and national political voice. It created an alternative 'reporting' system and dedicated Children's Hearings to which children who offended and those who were offended against were referred as children in need of external support or protection. The Act also broadened the purpose of social work in Scotland beyond a focus on poor and working class families to one which incorporated the wider environmental and socio- economic life of the local community with a broad undertaking under Section 12 to 'promote social welfare'.[23] This vision reflected contemporary sociological and class-based analyses of society and its influence on the Labour government of the 1960s. Judith Hart, joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Scotland in the Labour government in the mid-1960s, was 'particularly devoted to the social work cause…and confided to the professionals her belief that social work would play a pivotal role in a fifty-year struggle to overcome the problems of modern society' (Brodie, Nottingham et al. 2008:700). However, this close political alignment between the social work profession, its services and the Scottish Office changed dramatically with the election of the Conservative government in 1979. Local government reforms in the 1980s had an impact on the organisation of social work and other public services while the Conservative administration's economic policies and public service cuts had a profound impact on services and on the lives of social workers' clients. The narratives of both Roisin and Arthur reflect the severe impact of poverty on the west of Scotland communities where they began their social work careers. The introduction of market-based and community care models of service provision, local government budget cuts, competitive tendering, external service auditing and inspection regimes aimed to reduce the dominance of local authority social work departments in the

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[23] http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1968/49

provision of services (McGarvey and Midwinter 1996). However, there is evidence from the narratives that patriarchal discourses of marriage and the family in social work practice persisted alongside the attempts at a more progressive approach to social work which was emerging in Scotland in the 1970s. The former merged with the restored 'family values' discourses which were embedded in the policies of the Conservative government of the 1980s.

In what is regarded as the first empirical UK research into social workers' responses and attitudes to domestic abuse, Maynard described their overall approach as a 'working patriarchy' (Maynard 1985:140). Her examination of the family case file notes made by social workers in a northern English town, found that the dominant ideological features of their attitudes and practices effectively operationalised patriarchy. The notes conveyed records of their professional practice and interactions with families, mainly mothers, which emphasised dominant contemporary social norms about marriage, gender roles and the family. Social workers' conceptualisations of the problem of domestic abuse and the focus of their solutions were characterised by assumptions which normalised the privatisation of male dominance in the marriage and family. In practice, these included requiring woman to fulfil the responsibilities of a traditional gender role: ensuring the smooth working of the home, providing child care and sex. Women were held accountable for their husbands' use of violence and abuse against themselves and their children as a consequence of their non-fulfilment of that role. From this perspective 'It therefore becomes possible for social workers to see domestic violence as rational, if not legitimate, aggression, when it is used to chastise a wayward wife' (Maynard 1985: 136).

During the 1960s and 1970s, theories about the transgenerational transmission – sometimes known as the social 'cycle of violence' of family and domestic violence also gained traction and became linked with the notion of 'problem' families who continually recreated the means of their own poverty and deprivation. This should not be confused with the cycle of violence in Figure 2, which represents the cyclical process of domestic violence **within** an intimate relationship. These theories added further weight to the notion of blaming women for causing the abuse they experienced. The 'battered woman syndrome', was initially explored and then rejected by Walker in the US (Walker 1979). This notion that 'battered women' invited violent relationships was part of an analysis offered by Pizzey, original founder of the refuge movement in England (Pizzey and Forbes 1974). Pizzey's view pathologised abused women, abusive men and their children:

> Members of these families have a tendency to be attracted to violent relationships or are themselves violent…. These are the violence-prone adults of tomorrow. These families have failed to build the structures necessary to provide the community with law-abiding citizens. (Dunn and Pizzey 1979).

A Scottish reviewer of 'Prone to Violence' (Pizzey and Shapiro 1982) which further developed Pizzey's view of the culpability of abused women in the violence they faced from their husbands stated:

> When SWA asked me to help in the campaign against Erin Pizzey's book, I wondered if they were being paranoid. They weren't. It is an awful book. It is also a bad book in a basic moral sense. This book will damage the women's movement, give new life to stereotypes of women who 'ask for it' and reinforce prejudice in the police, magistrates and housing departments. Such a weapon should not have been handed to the forces of reaction (Carmichael 1982).

Implicit in this analysis is the conflation of the working class with the 'violent' family who breach clear social and moral codes. This perceived causal link was central to the notion of the 'cycle of poverty' applied to the working , and was particularly favoured by ' law and order' and 'family values' conservative politicians: 'Some of these women might well deserve the batterings they get from their husbands'; Nicholas Fairbairn MP scorned the notion that the state might involve itself 'in a family squabble' (Williamson 2017:141). Fairbairn was Scotland's Solicitor General 1979-1982. He resigned following the controversy over his handling of the 'Glasgow Rape Case' referred to above. The undue emphasis placed by the 1975 Parliamentary Select Committee on discourses of violence-prone, alcohol fuelled working class violence conflated the 'cycle of violence' with the 'cycle of poverty'. These reflected these wider contemporary public discourses on the causes of violence against wives and the communities most likely to be affected. While congratulating the Parliamentary Committee on its work and recommendations, Scottish Women's Aid suggested that there was:

> Too much emphasis on the role of alcohol with implications that the resolution of this problem would also resolve that of 'wife-battering', an inference which the Committee itself strongly denies. The existence of a 'cycle of violence' also requires empirical verification (Scottish Women's Aid 1977, Report on the Second National Conference of Scottish Women's Aid, Sue Robertson Personal Archive).

Social learning theories emphasising the links to early childhood experiences of abuse and socio-structural explanations which focussed on the environmental factors such as the increase in male unemployment, poverty and women's equality were also developed during this period (Hanmer 1983, Mullender 1996). Pizzey was quoted in a feature in the Glasgow Daily Record newspaper highlighting the problem in Scotland in 1979:

> In all women's refuges in Britain, the women and children who come for help are in effect, dustbin families…ready made for prisons, borstals, dole queues, hospitals for the disturbed,

and the divorce courts…Scotland is infinitely worse off than England as far as legal protection for women is concerned (Daily Record 28 February 1979).

This conflation of discourses of class with domestic violence '…lent weight to the view that domestic abuse was a self-created problem confined to the working classes' (Mullender 1996:40). The profile of the women in this study also run counter to two aspects of this argument: firstly, that domestic abuse in women's adult relationships was directly and causally linked to childhood experiences of abuse and violence and secondly that it was a working class problem. While all of the women participated in the study to share their experience of domestic abuse as a child and/or an adult, eight experienced domestic abuse as a child, seven did not and one who experienced it as a child did not experience it as an adult. Ecological systems theory, which informs the theoretical framework used in this study, argues that individual and family learning alone do not determine children's future behaviour or life circumstances (Bronfenbrenner 1992). The close interaction between the individual and family (microsystem) discourses and practices with those in the wider meso- exo- and macro-system factors of a patriarchal system also plays a key role in children's socialisation and the development of gender identities. The risk of experiencing domestic abuse as an adult results from the convergence of a number of individual, social, economic and institutional factors and risks rather than one ontogenetic causal determinant as Heise's ecological framework outlines (Heise 1998). Pizzey's analysis of domestic abuse does not reflect the findings in Chapters Five and Six detailing the women's childhood and adult experiences for the same period. These show that women's experiences of domestic abuse occurred in working-class, middle and upper class households and included those of the working-class women who were upwardly socially mobile during the course of their marriages. Further, Orr's oral history study reveals the prevalence of domestic abuse among a small sample of women married to Christian clergy in the 1980s and 1990s in Scotland (Orr 1997). Income levels began to rise for all of the women in this group as a result of their improved qualifications and higher earnings with two incomes contributing substantially to the household budget. There is evidence too of upward social mobility and improved living standards. However, the abuse continued and adapted to conditions where wives were professionals in full-time paid work.

Social work interventions continued to be based on these long-standing individualised and class-based conceptualisations of domestic abuse, and to be infused with traditional patriarchal and class discourses of marriage, property and gender relations and behaviour all of which remained alive in the late twentieth century (Dobash and Dobash 1979). In response to the Parliamentary Select Committee on Violence in the Family (Parliamentary Select Committee 1977), Scotland's Social Work Services Group issued a circular:

…asking local authorities to take the Select Committee's Report, and the Government's response, into account in planning for children who are considered to be at risk and their families. Health Boards are being asked to take similar action. Particular attention is drawn to the importance of community support for families with young children, early preventative work in the field of non-accidental injury and the availability of advice about local services and facilities for families (Reproduced in Scottish Women's Aid Newsletter 1978, Sue Robertson Personal Archive).

However despite the Report's recommendations that the authorities adopt an ecological approach to prevention and intervention in family violence and parenting (De'Ath 1982), research into social work responses to women experiencing domestic abuse found that they continued to be characterised by bias and blame. 'Without applying a feminist analysis, social work responses could facilitate abused women's continued revictimization' (Danis 2003:179). After helping a young woman to leave her abusive partner, Roisin, a newly qualified social worker in the 1980s, remembered being remonstrated by her Senior '… for supporting this young women to have left her partner because marriage was a special institution and I shouldn't have been encouraging this young woman to be leaving her marriage behind' (Roisin b. 1960). For social workers whose key statutory responsibilities lay in child welfare and protection, the logic of class-based causal conceptualisations could lead to women being blamed for their husbands' violence and for failing to protect their children in that context. Starting work in a working class town in the west of Scotland in the 1980s, Roisin confirmed that these were still common over ten years after the Social Work Scotland Act of 1968, in what she called 'double jeopardy'.

The social work response in those days were really, really punitive and was almost about policing the household thereafter. If this man was thought to be dangerous, then it was this woman's responsibility to keep her children safe and at that time the piece of legislation of the Children's Act, the grounds for referral to the Reporter, would have been about a failure to protect. So women not only had been beaten and abused but were then accused of failing to protect their children and sometimes that was used in a very directive way (Roisin b. 1960).

Despite their responsibility to prevent violence against children, dominant discourses and practices into the 1980s continued to reflect a reluctance among those in government with responsibility for social workers to sanction interventions against men who assaulted their wives and children:

You didn't have the social work inspectorate in these days, it was the Central Advisory Service and …there was still a kind of keeping away from it a bit. They were still very committed to

the whole notion of trying to keep a family together. They wanted to work with people but putting people through the criminal justice system may not be the way to do it (Jackie).

Roisin also remembered this being the priority in front-line practice: 'The prevailing culture would have been trying to keep families together' (Roisin b. 1960). Social work interventions occurred when cases of family violence and abuse crossed the public threshold with referrals to external bodies such as police and social work services most likely to arise from concerns from others outside the family about the welfare or maltreatment of children. This reflected the contemporary police response to domestic abuse where interventions occurred when it crossed a high threshold of 'seriousness' or where identifiably criminal assault breached public order. The politically progressive foundations of Scottish social work legislation in the 1960s had acknowledged the structural stressors arising from poverty, discrimination, unemployment and poor housing. This also corresponded to the expanding field of research into domestic violence which reached beyond individual explanations to encompass social learning and socio-structural theories. However, social work discourses and practices continued to regard domestic abuse as a private matter between largely working class couples and strongly linked to excess drinking with solutions aimed at preserving the family unit. Much like the police, social work interventions prioritised reconciliation, with interventions aimed at the prevention of violence against the children. They focussed in the main on the women's problems including for example, alcohol or drug abuse, household debt, housing or other environmental factors, as this example shows:

> The focus of the work, the meetings and everything we had was to try and reconcile the family, but the focus of the work was definitely around her alcohol consumption. Unwittingly we were overlooking the fact that her alcohol consumption might be related to the life she was living….We weren't ignoring it but we were overlooking it (Arthur b.1960).

The dominant theme in social workers' narratives was dealing with the impact of poverty with domestic abuse an ever-present if not always acknowledged as a primary presenting issue. In Arthur's team it featured, much like for the police, when matters were deemed serious,

> Most of us carried round about 35-40 cases now if you'd asked me at the time how many of those cases have domestic abuse in them I would have given you a very low number…a lot of it was underplayed, unless it was quite chronic and there was real concerns about a person's personal safety (Arthur b. 1960).

For Roisin, 'There were a number of cases where domestic violence was absolutely front and centre of what was going on.' (Roisin b. 1960). Women's fear of the consequences of disclosing to social

workers and social workers' reluctance to become involved in couples' private lives combined to create a public perception of social work practice in relation to domestic abuse which matched the reality. Evelyn, a Women's Aid worker recalled: 'As soon as you mentioned social work... that was it, you wouldn't have seen that woman again' (Evelyn b. 1947). These fears were grounded in punitive social work practices which continued into the 1980s. These placed the onus on women to protect their children from their husbands' abuse but also on the very real fear of their children being taken into care. 'When there were issues of domestic abuse and social workers were carrying out assessments…If the child was at risk in the family home whether it be sex abuse or the risk of violence then the child was removed' (Arthur b.1960). Women were faced with a treacherous double bind: 'It's every woman's nightmare, she's been assaulted by her husband, hit by plates and we're gonnae take that child off her into care unless she leaves this man' (Arthur b. 1960). Women also faced agency as well as social censure and economic hardship if they left their violent partner, broke up the family, became 'intentionally homeless' or reliant on benefits. Arthur recalled one woman, 'she was ready to leave this guy but we couldn't rehouse her because the housing department had ruled that the woman had made herself intentionally homeless so it was calamitous' (Arthur b. 1960). On the other hand, if a woman remained with her husband she risked harm to herself and her children or faced the institutional risk of intense agency scrutiny and possibly having her children taken into care, 'You won't leave this man. That was implied all the time. "If you're no' gonnae leave this man, we can't leave this child"' (Arthur b. 1960) . The threat of the 'double jeopardy', the change in status to single mother, and with the additional difficulties of living alone all placed tremendous additional stress on abused women,

> Our statistics show that very few women wish to set up home on their own. It is our experience that the majority of women desperately wish to salvage their marriages…the reasons appear to be complex and little understood at present but certainly social isolation is a predominant factor (Scottish Women's Aid Newsletter November 1977, Sue Robertson Archive).

The influence and interaction of gendered social norms on these examples of social work practices and on women's own preferences provide some evidence of the priority of preserving the family in its patriarchal form, reinforcing women's gendered responsibilities for protecting their children and preserving the family home. Where violence became serious, appropriate measures were taken, as has been shown, mainly directed at the woman herself. These examples provide some evidence of the conceptual gap between contemporary social work practices, the feminist analysis of abuse developing in parallel in Scotland during this period, and the lived experience of women with

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few choices in a society and a culture which was either ignorant, wary or largely hostile to their plight. Arthur reflected contemporary patriarchal discourses in social work practices in his reluctance to breach family privacy despite the violence he knew was going on. Much like the police officers cited above, Arthur reflected a wider awareness among more sympathetic professionals that the systems they represented and interventions at their disposal were largely ineffective and could potentially aggravate already dangerous situations. Further, these practices continued to reflect discourses of family privacy in relation to outside interference in domestic abuse. This reveals a paradox. Social work interference in family life was regarded as central to their role; however, long standing patriarchal norms made social workers hesitant to interfere in the marital relationships of their clients.

> I had discomfort about asking that direct question, that discomfort would come from a notion of intrusion in someone's private life…that I didn't feel comfortable about and also the idea I suppose that the person might be experiencing a bit of shame …and by opening up that dialogue I suppose some of us felt that we were eh…it was easier, it was easier to be "are you ok?" and leave it at that (Arthur b. 1960).

This extract reflects the barrier to disclosure which prevailing discourses could create in a social worker's practice when working with women who may have been considering disclosing domestic abuse. With empathy but without training or a wider theoretical understanding of domestic abuse, Arthur felt he lacked the confidence to deal effectively with his clients: 'I'm not sure if this is the right thing I'm doing but I'm trying to be kind and supportive and caring.' (Arthur b.1960). Sometimes social work interventions, like those of police officers, focussed only on immediate problem-solving could make matters worse for the woman and her children, with little understanding of the risks or the emotional and economic challenges separated women faced. The 'double jeopardy' with which women were confronted by social workers left them at risk of losing their children whether they stayed or left. The ambiguity of the social work approach is evident in Arthur's recollections where he described a woman's situation in terms of her 'readiness' to leave rather than in terms of the risks and obstacles in her way and the potentially dangerous consequences of either path for her and her children:

> I thought I was doing the right thing in encouraging the woman to leave her man and help her in terms of housing and everything else to rebuild her life, but what I didn't know was, if she's not ready to leave him, she's going to go back to him and that was disastrous then in terms of the consequences… The rehabilitation aspect (Arthur b.1960)(Arthur b. 1960).

Providing women with new accommodation was 'the tip of the iceberg' when setting up home as a single mother. Through their direct work with women, SWA recognised the socio-economic impact of abuse and that wider structural change was needed. Their immediate needs were for earlier interventions before an emergency occurred and also for follow-up services after they left refuge and for longer-term practical and emotional support.

While front-line social workers' involvement mainly concentrated on women, agency contact with perpetrators was often minimal but in severe cases were characterised by highly patriarchal and practices. Using methods similar to those deployed by male police officers against officers in their own ranks who abused their wives, Arthur recalled male colleagues taking a hyper-masculine, highly punitive and often aggressive stance in their dealings with violent husbands whose violence had reached a high level of seriousness or severity.

> The manager would speak to the perpetrator and say, "enough's enough, this has got to stop, we're watching you. If this continues…". And there was always a kind of a veiled threat of "We'll be taking these children away, we can't put up with that." I wouldn't say it was as strong as machismo, but there was certainly a degree of eh… masculinity it was like 'you'd better stop that.' That was the approach, it was terrible to say that but it was (Arthur b.1960).

This suggests that a less overt - 'veiled' - threat to remove his children may be made to a violent husband that his children whereas women were given clear injunctions to protect their children from their fathers or have them taken into care. Social work responses to domestic abuse were mainly focussed on working with working class families in a context of poverty and deprivation with women their main focus of attention. Patriarchal practices were focussed on preserving the two-parent family with women given full responsibility for protecting their children in the context of the abuse they themselves were experiencing. There is evidence from the professionals' narratives that women were often blamed for the abuse they experienced, that professionals were highly gendered in their understanding and approach to solutions and that practice was characterised by highly patriarchal discourses and practices. There is some evidence that new critiques of the family and of domestic abuse were emerging from the women's aid movement in the practice of younger social workers like Roisin and Arthur. However, the narratives suggest that pervading cultures resisted these and new practices were discouraged. The practices of police and social welfare agencies were concentrated on working class communities and continued to be dominated by highly gendered and patriarchal discourses of patriarchal marriage and the family, non-interference in family privacy and ensuring men and women fulfilled their traditional gender roles in the family. Social welfare practice in relation to the home however was particularly focussed on women whose gender role performance was

subjected to scrutiny and sanction. Described as a 'working patriarchy', social work practice focussed the task of protecting children from domestic abuse mainly on their mothers with the focus on fathers mainly in cases of serious violence. By involving social work, women risked having their children taken into care. Social workers' reluctance to engage with abused women compounded the barriers to disclosure which the system had created, and further exacerbated their fear of social welfare agency involvement.

Conclusion

This chapter has revealed the extent of patriarchal discourses of male dominance, marriage, family privacy, and traditional gender roles on policy discourses and police, criminal justice and social work practices from the 1960s to the 1990s. It also revealed that domestic abuse was regarded by husbands as a private and not a public concern. Police and criminal justice discourses and practices focussed largely on the prevention and prosecution of serious public crimes of violence. Crimes of violence against women and children involving physical or sexual violence were interpreted within discourses of family privacy and the legacy of the historic tradition of men's right to punish their wives and children. This prevented police and courts from intervening except in the most seriously violent cases or in murder and also created a culture of impunity for men who abused their wives and children. The requirement in Scots law for corroboration in prosecutions of all crimes including those taking place in private, resulted in a focus on third party witness statements at the expense of other forms of evidence such as medical or circumstantial evidence. The delegation of discretionary decisions to individual, mainly male, police officers in domestic abuse cases was a key element in wider cultural and policy discourses of minimal or non-intervention in marriage and family affairs which exhibited tacit support for all but the most seriously violent husbands. The unsympathetic practices of police, prosecutors and courts in domestic abuse were compounded for victims by the largely patriarchal cultures of these organisations. Taken together the result was the minimisation of private crimes vis-a-vis public crimes and a complete disconnect in attitude and practice between the victims of the former and those of the latter. Victims of private crimes such as domestic and sexual violence were therefore significantly disadvantaged in their engagement with these agencies. The professional narratives suggest that these practices were of long-standing, that they had become embedded in the public discourses and norms which influenced the women narrators' and other women's disclosure and help-seeking decisions. Evidence of constitutive patriarchal norms has emerged from this analysis. While there was evidence that police, criminal justice and social work responses to domestic abuse were beginning to change, these appeared to remain dependent on the discretion, individual attitudes and knowledge of the professionals involved.

This chapter provides evidence that change in attitudes and practices were uneven across the practice domains described here, with some pockets of changes to regulatory social gender norms. However for the individual women's lives described in these accounts, the patriarchal legacy remained a substantial barrier to justice and safety.   This chapter has provided evidence that domestic abuse continued to be a means of enforcing traditional gender roles in private which was endorsed by a wider public patriarchal culture largely unsympathetic to those affected. The role of violence in the domestic sphere thus reinforced women's unequal status in private and in public life. Evidence in this chapter suggests that patriarchal discourses and practice in the public sphere interlinked with men's violence against their wives and children on a continuum across the patriarchal system. This does not suggest a wholesale shift from private to public patriarchy, but rather that domestic abuse continued to fulfil an important function in sustaining women's unequal status in society and reflected a longstanding and continuing symbiosis between the two spheres of patriarchy into the last decade of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION

Social science and historical research have broadened our understanding of women's lives in the Scottish present and in the past, however our knowledge of domestic abuse in everyday life in post-war Scotland was limited. Research on domestic abuse carried out from the 1970s to the present day has consistently estimated that it was and remains a widespread but under-reported phenomenon in Scottish society. The methodological and conceptual limitations of late twentieth century crime and victimisation surveys for exploring personal experiences of domestic abuse in late twentieth century Scotland were outlined in Chapter Two. Historical knowledge of the issue in the post-war period in Scotland was concentrated in three areas. Firstly, in publications celebrating the history and achievements of the Scottish Women's Aid founded in the 1970s, the Scottish Women's Liberation Movement, and women's grassroots activism (Glasgow Women's Studies Group 1983, Henderson and Mackay 1990, Scottish Women's Aid 2007, Breitenbach 2012, Browne 2014, Scottish Women's Aid 2018). Secondly, a seminal feminist study, *Violence against Wives: a case against the patriarchy* included the personal narratives of refuge residents and police data from Glasgow and Edinburgh collected in the 1970s (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Thirdly, a number of feminist, oral history and gender studies have emerged which historicise domestic abuse in Scotland in the 17th, 18th, 19th centuries and in the 20th century inter-war period (Clark 1995, Leneman 1997, Hughes 2004, Barclay 2013). A growing field of Scottish oral history, feminist and gender studies is now focussed on modern Scottish political, social, cultural, economic and everyday life, women's political activism, gender identities and personal relationships (McIvor and Johnston 2004, Young 2007, Abrams and Brown 2010, Hughes 2010, Browne 2014). However, none directly addressed the everyday lived experience of domestic abuse or examined public service responses to domestic abuse in post-war Scotland. This oral history study examined these latter two facets of domestic abuse within the longer time frame of post-war Scotland from *circa* 1945 to *circa* 1992. By addressing four previously unanswered questions about an under-reported issue during this period the study makes two distinctive contributions to a growing historiography of Scottish private life. Firstly, the thesis contributes to the historicisation of domestic abuse in the Scottish context by focussing on the post-war period *circa* 1945 to *circa* 1992. Secondly, by building on recent developments in operationalising patriarchal theory, the thesis demonstrates the persistence and adaptability of domestic abuse in an enduring context of patriarchy in Scotland in the second half of the twentieth century.

Research Questions

Two issues, central to historical and present day debates about domestic abuse – that it was widely under-reported and is a gender asymmetrical phenomenon - informed the study's research questions: what was it like living with domestic abuse during this period; what impact did it have on those affected; what factors influenced their decisions to disclose, seek help or leave an abusive relationship, and how did professionals in social welfare and criminal justice agencies respond to those experiencing domestic abuse? The study's feminist historiographical approach to oral history examined the interconnecting personal and wider contextual factors influencing the lived experience of domestic abuse, its impact, reasons for non-disclosure and contemporary professional responses. Oral history practice provided an ideal methodology to gather, investigate and analyse personal accounts of domestic abuse recalled from living memory in an interview setting.

Twenty-six oral history narratives were collected from 21 women and 5 men. Ten were provided by working or retired professionals in social welfare or criminal justice agencies during the period under study. Sixteen were from women who lived with domestic abuse as an adult and/or as a child. No men with experience of domestic abuse as an adult and/or as a child enquired about participating in the study. The study's recruitment process aimed to attract participants from all parts of Scotland in order to reflect a diversity of experiences, social classes, community settings and professional practices. In the event, participants came from rural areas or the industrial villages and towns of Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire, Stirlingshire and West Dunbartonshire; others grew up in or around Glasgow, Paisley, Dundee, Edinburgh and Stirling. Although the majority of the women survivors of domestic abuse came from working class backgrounds, many experienced significant social mobility during their marriages in the 1980s. Their experiences were analysed and contextualised alongside those of the middle class women interviewed. Taken together the findings offer new and unexpected insights about the impact of women's higher earnings and changing employment patterns on family economies where there was domestic abuse, and also into how the form of domestic abuse began to change in this shifting socio-economic context.

Theorising Patriarchy in Scotland 1945-1990

Scotland in the post-war period has been described as an intensely patriarchal society. The 1960s and 1970s were characterised by significant social movements which drew attention to women's historic domestic, social and economic inequality and highlighted the role of male violence in sustaining women's structural inequality. The post-war period was also one where women, particularly married women, were increasingly entering paid employment at a time when male employment in traditional industries was declining. The legal advances in women's equality enacted

in the 1970s and the publication of the recommendations of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Marriage in 1975 occurred just before the socially progressive turn of UK post-war politics was stalled by the election of a Conservative Government in 1979. The new Government's approach to social policy which emphasised a return to bourgeois patriarchal 'family' values and home ownership (Breitenbach 1989, Purvis 2013, Campbell 2015) contrasted with the new opportunities emerging for women in further education, career development and full-time employment. Women's improved earnings were contributing more to family incomes leading to higher consumption, increased family debt, home ownership and upward social mobility. This study explored women's private experiences of domestic abuse during this period of contrasting social and economic trends with particular emphasis on the influence of private and public discourses and practices of gender in that context.

Since the 1970s, feminist social scientists and historians have recommended a *context-specific* approach to the study of male violence against women within patriarchal societies (Dobash and Dobash 1979, Leneman 1997). This emphasis on a patriarchal social context was a significant departure from research based in crime and political discourses which individualised male violence against women and children as rooted in, mainly working-class, family dysfunction. Developments in feminist theory since the 1990s, focussed have reconceptualised 'patriarchy' as a *system* (Walby 1990). Feminist scholars have, more recently, operationalised patriarchal theory to facilitate wider scrutiny of women's oppression, including their experience of male violence, in private and public settings using this systems approach (Ogle and Batton 2009, Crittenden and Wright 2013). Bennett recommended a similar approach in women's and gender history for identifying continuity and change in the form and substance of women's lives over time. Thus, Bennett suggests, by observing how the *patriarchal equilibrium* is maintained or disrupted, an assessment can be made of how and if changes to women's lives in one aspect of the patriarchal system are counter-balanced by continuity in others (Bennett 1996, 2006, 2008). This study thus contributes to the historicisation of domestic abuse and, by utilising recent theoretical developments, to the historicisation of patriarchy in the Scottish post-war context. The narratives, and the archival and secondary sources accessed for the study were analysed using a theoretical framework incorporating recent developments in patriarchal, ecological and trauma theories in a new way. This framework provided a means of identifying trends in patriarchal private and public discourses and practices in late twentieth century Scotland and, in particular, the role of violence against women and domestic abuse, key elements in the patriarchal system, within those trends. The study provides new perspectives on our understanding of how personal, social and political discourses and practices of gender, gender identity and domestic abuse shaped childhood, adult lives and intimate relationships in a time of social and economic change. In

doing so, the study offers new evidence of the persistence and adaptability of domestic abuse within post-war patriarchal society.

The patriarchal legacy - family life in post-war Scotland

The study's *context-specific* approach placed individual lives and professional practices in the changing social, political and economic context of women's lives in post-war Scotland and highlighted common themes. These included, firstly the inter-generational transmission of patriarchal attitudes and behaviours in narratives spanning three generations across the post-war period from the 1940s to the 1970s. The study found that gender identity formation was closely linked to personal and social expectations of the differentiated performative aspects of women's and men's respective gender roles. The use of violence against children in schools ensured all Scottish children in the post-war period were socialised into hierarchical, deeply patriarchal and often violent cultures whether or not they experienced violence at home. The hierarchies of gender in the patriarchal family, in schools, communities and wider society comprised Scotland's post-war constitutive gender rules and norms which, this thesis has shown, were slow to change. Secondly, although not all of the women grew up in homes where there was domestic abuse, the similarities in the highly patriarchal and gendered features in the women's accounts of their early socialisation were marked. These contained clear messages for girls about male dominance in private and public space and about women's subordinate place in the gendered hierarchies of intimate relationships, marriage, the family, in educational and workplace settings, and in wider society. Insights emerged about the highly patriarchal nature of those women's families where male dominance and the use or threat of violence and abuse were prominent and integral to children's socialisation and where the importance of family privacy was stressed. Thirdly, these discourses continued to be evident in all of the women's accounts of teenage dating and of forming adult intimate relationships. Male dominance, patriarchal attitudes and men's violence against their girlfriends proved highly adaptable to changing social norms and behaviours and were evident in young people's dating relationships, in cohabiting and non-cohabiting intimate relationships from the 1960s onwards.

The patriarchal legacy – women's experiences of domestic abuse in Scotland 1970-1990

All but one of the participants experienced domestic abuse in their adult relationships in the period from the 1960s to the 1990s and common themes emerged in the women's lives. Firstly, there is evidence that their married, dating or cohabiting relationships and family lives continued to retain the basic patriarchal form based on the male provider/female homemaker. The study also provides evidence of an enduring patriarchal legacy of male dominance and female subordination in gender relationships, in marriage and the family in Scotland into the 1990s. Secondly, domestic abuse

continued to be a customary means of maintaining the patriarchal family form by ensuring women's monogamy and sexual fidelity and that they performed their traditional roles of wife, mother and homemaker. This conflated a woman's gender identity with her success or failure in executing those roles. These accounts provide evidence that domestic abuse continued to be a key measure for ensuring the maintenance of the patriarchal legacy in family life. The way men abused their girlfriends, wives and partners did not however remain confined to the private domain of the home.

The study provides evidence that from the 1970s, men's abusive and controlling tactics were adapting to new forms of relationships. These tactics also began to infiltrate women's working lives, involvement in further and higher education, professional training, social and political life even as their higher earning capacity became essential to the family budget. In the context of increased social mobility through career development, home ownership, changing consumption patterns and joint family finances, control continued to be exercised over women's financial affairs and their working and social life. During the 1980s in particular, the narratives provide evidence that domestic abuse became increasingly characterised by the use of surveillance, often deploying technology such as telephones and cars, interrogation, appearance monitoring and degrading treatment. These were designed to ensure continued male dominance over women's engagement in public life, to reduce their confidence in the public sphere, to preserve patriarchal marriage, women's fidelity, traditional gender roles and the domestic division of labour.

Finally, the study provides evidence that living with sometimes extreme physical and sexual violence had a profound psychological, physical, emotional and social impact on the women. The interaction of private and public controls on women's lives adversely affected their sense of self and their physical and mental health in ways which limited their ability to resist, disclose or live free from male violence and abuse. Women's internalisation of blame for the abuse was the result of a complex range of factors which preserved their public silence about their experiences. These included: the traumatic impact of the abuse, enforced silence through the need to ensure family privacy and non-interference by outsiders, long-standing patriarchal discourses of preserving patriarchal marriage, public tropes such as, 'you've made your bed you need to lie in it' and the absence of external or alternative conceptualisations of domestic abuse or solutions to their situations. Overall, the women who disclosed the abuse did so when its impact was severely affecting their physical and mental health but before they were contemplating separation. Those who did so chose to consult their GP. Reassured by the assured confidentiality of the doctor/patient relationship they sought mainly emotion-focussed help or treatment for physical injuries or symptoms. Health service responses were largely focussed on treating their mental or physical health symptoms and not on addressing the underlying problem of their causes.

The patriarchal legacy - public service responses to domestic abuse in Scotland 1970-1990

Analysis of the professionals' narratives shows that the corollary of these internalising factors, social silence and reluctance to intervene in men's abuse of their wives, continued to permeate public and professional discourses and practices into the 1990s. Unlike the assured privacy of the GP surgery, approaching the police, the courts or social welfare agencies involved women taking their problem into the public domain and exposing their private family life to external scrutiny. These factors combined to inhibit women from reporting or disclosing to external agencies and ensured the continuity of domestic abuse as a traditional and customary means of enforcing traditional patriarchal gender roles and that it remained a private family matter. Professional responses by police, social workers, prosecutors and the court system were frequently unsympathetic or obstructive in their dealings with abused women seeking help and were less than robust in their dealings with all but the most violent offending husbands/partners. The professional narrators reflected on the practices of the criminal justice and social welfare agencies during the 1980s and findings provide evidence that they remained fundamentally patriarchal and often reinforced by the personal views, patriarchal attitudes and practices of many professionals in those fields. There is evidence from the professional narratives that alternative discourses on domestic abuse and critiques of contemporary practice began to emerge in the 1980s. However, although new approaches to crimes involving women and child victims such as domestic abuse, rape and sexual assault were being introduced in the late 1980s, these findings suggest that the workplaces and professional cultures of police and the criminal justice system remained highly patriarchal and resistant to change into the 1990s. The history of social welfare agency provision in Scotland was characterised by deeply entrenched patriarchal norms and practices. Despite progressive approaches to social work practice enshrined in the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968, practice from then into the 1990s continued to be ideologically rooted in class-based, patriarchal discourses which often disadvantaged, blamed or penalised women clients experiencing domestic abuse. Social work interventions in domestic abuse cases were, like those of the police, generally limited to situations where the man's violence and abuse were regarded, often highly subjectively, as severe, where children were being harmed or where their mothers failed to protect them from male violence in the home. There is also some evidence that the social work field was proving resistant to feminist critiques of practice which were emerging in the 1980s and to alternative woman-centred approaches which more recently qualified social workers were endeavouring to implement.

The study found strong evidence that, during this period, social welfare and criminal justice responses continued to be concerned mainly with preserving family privacy, patriarchal marriage and the two-parent family with non- or minimal intervention in cases of domestic abuse. Thus, disclosing,

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reporting or leaving abusive and violent relationships demanded considerable confidence and resilience from women as they negotiated an array of personal challenges and a number of social, cultural, legal and service risks by making their situation public. Housing regulations, the benefit system and the social stigma associated with divorced, single or separated mothers and public sector systems still grounded in discourses of patriarchal marriage and the male provider/female homemaker model presented considerable obstacles to women seeking to rehouse and support their families after separating from abusive husbands. The key factors which helped women finally to leave their abusive husbands and partners were: a deterioration in their health as a result of the abuse, an increase in risk or the detrimental impact of the abuse on their children. Reporting to police proved ineffectual and, in some cases, counterproductive. The ineffectiveness of contemporary police responses was borne out by the testimony of police and criminal justice agency narrators themselves.

A matrix of individual, micro- and macro-system factors infused with patriarchal discourses and practices sustained domestic abuse as a means of oppressing women in Scotland into the final decades of the twentieth century. These factors continued to exert significant control over many women's private and public lives at a time when changes to women's legal rights had become established in laws designed to advance their social and economic equality. As these findings show, separation was a difficult, often lengthy and non-linear process with some women leaving and returning to their husbands more than once. Their experiences reflected the 'stages of change' and women's empowerment models (Prochaska and DiClemente 1982, Kasturirangan 2008). All of the women narrators eventually succeeded in separating through their own agency, without the support of public agencies, when they had the means and the resources to establish and sustain independent lives for themselves and their children.

Historicising Domestic Abuse

The findings of this study are significant in a number of ways. The close examination of twenty-six personal narratives provided a unique opportunity to identify continuity and change, similarities and differences in their personal experiences of domestic abuse, its impact and consequences. Using patriarchal systems theory to analyse the oral history narratives helped identify clear and common indicators of patriarchy across the social ecology of the narrators' life histories. This process contextualised these experiences of domestic abuse within the changing historical context of post-war Scotland. This delivered some deep and unique insights into the close interactions between the individual lives and their contemporary context and also revealed many common features shared by the women in the group. The findings, linking the influence of patriarchal discourses to the continuous development of gender identities from childhood into adulthood, were

significant. Further, they provided evidence to support Lundgren and Schenk's view that gender identities develop relationally within a reciprocal gender constitution in a lifelong constructive process governed by wider regulative and constitutive rules and norms. These findings support their view that, while regulative rules may have been changing, the deeper constitutive rules of Scottish patriarchal society, as observed through these personal experiences and professional practices, were more resistant to change during this period (Lundgren and Schenk 1995). While criminal justice and popular conceptualisations of abused women as working class 'battered wives' dominated private and public discourses in the 1970s and 1980s (Gimblett 1978, Pahl 2016), these findings suggest that, across the period, women's experiences more closely reflect later typologies of entrapment and coercion such as 'coercive control' and 'intimate partner terrorism' (Ptacek 1999; Greenan 2004, Johnson 2008). These included forms of physical, emotional, psychological, sexual and financial abuse which were not confined to women from one social class but revealed common features experienced by all of the narrators during the period from the 1960s to the 1990s. The study also offered unique insights into the personal impact of domestic abuse on women's emotional, psychological and physical health. Their descriptions of psychological distress, stress, anxiety, depression and panic suggest the symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder or Type II trauma (Herman 1997, Bourke 2012, Cerulli, Poleshuck et al. 2012, Pain 2015). Their accounts also provide evidence of the centrality of rape and sexual abuse to a continuum of domination and control which women experienced in marriage and intimate relationships. A gradual blurring of the boundaries between normal sex and sexual abuse and the eroticisation of sexual violence were also evident in the women's accounts of their sexual relationships from the 1970s to the 1990s, even after rape in marriage was criminalised in Scotland in 1989.

These findings are also important for our understanding of marriage and intimate relationships in post-war Scotland. While not all of the women's fathers were abusive to their mothers, the narratives describing their childhoods and their adult relationships suggest the resilience of patriarchal marriage, the importance of female monogamy and unequal gender property relations. The broad span of time of the women's ages and narratives illustrates the endurance of the patriarchal family form over three generations and its adaptation to wider cultural changes and relationship practices. In some cases, traditional gender power relations and domestic abuse in patriarchal marriage survived the transition to cohabitation and were also evident in the growing custom of non-cohabiting dating relationships. Practices of male dominance with the threat of physical and/or sexual violence thus persisted regardless of the permanency or otherwise of the intimate relationship. There was evidence of the persistence of the provider/homemaker model of marriage across the three generations despite women's paid work and full-time earnings making an increasingly important

contribution to family finances. The continuity of this model of gender relations is evident in the narratives and suggests that companionate marriage, relationships based on disclosing intimacy or those which balanced individualism with a more equal commitment to the relationship had not been universally adopted (Jamieson and Jameison 1998, Lewis 2001, Jamieson 2010). The study thus found evidence of patriarchal indicators in families, education settings, workplaces, professional practice, wider culture, in law and state policy. Crittenden and Wright argued that the existence of organisations campaigning for women's equality provides a clear indicator of wider patriarchal endorsement in communities (Crittenden and Wright 2013). By this criterion, Scotland's WA, Rape Crisis, WLM and other women's grassroots and political movements since the 1970s support this study's findings of a continued patriarchal legacy in Scotland expressed in the extreme form of domestic abuse in the home.

Patriarchal indicators were evident in these accounts of life and professional practice in post-war Scotland, and provide evidence that a conducive context continued to support men's violence against their wives and partners even during a period when women's equality had been legally established and they were increasingly engaging in paid work and in public life. Walby argued that, since World War II, the patriarchal system (consisting of paid work, housework, sexuality, violence, culture and state) which had sustained women's long-standing structural inequality since the 19th century has been undergoing a substantial shift from private to public forms. Linked to the notion of separate spheres, Walby argued that the increasing emergence of women into public life, as a result of the franchise, their increased involvement in paid employment and legal changes advancing women's equality, had shifted the locus of control of women's lives from private to public patriarchy (Walby 1989). Domestic abuse as a form of violence against women is a key element in the patriarchal system and in the continuum of sexual violence which women experience across public and private spheres (Kelly 1987). This study provides evidence and examples from individual and professional lives, culture and the state that in post-war Scotland, domestic abuse continued to enforce and sustain the power dynamics of patriarchal marriage even within cohabitating and dating relationships. The persistence of the legacy of individual men's right to punish their wives, partners, girlfriends and children continued to contribute to and sustain collective patriarchal culture and discourses.   The legal and policy context of the criminal justice and social welfare practices described in this study suggests that domestic abuse continued to be regarded as a sanction implicit in the hierarchical and patriarchal norms of some Scottish families. Domestic abuse in private 'backstage places' remained a key element in the wider hegemonic control of women's lives across the patriarchal system (Hanmer and Maynard 1987, Buss and Duntley 2011). Women's unequal status in the home was reflected overall in women's inequality in employment, earnings and housing in Scotland despite the legal

changes introduced in the 1970s and 1980s and signs of the upward social mobility of the women in this study in the 1980s (Land 1985, Lewis 1992, Pascall 1997). These findings reveal the extent to which changes in the *forms* and types of patriarchy bring about changes in some areas of the system while the *degree* or intensity of women's oppression may vary in others.

Findings from this study suggest that Walby's claim that there was a move from private to public patriarchy was not widely evident in the lives of the women growing up and living in post-war and late twentieth century Scotland described in this thesis. There is evidence of an apparent shift *towards* public patriarchy in late twentieth century Scotland in relation to paid work, legislative changes to women's social status and growing social acceptance of cohabitation and non-cohabiting relationships as alternatives to patriarchal marriage. However, this thesis has argued that in the women's lives revealed in this study and those observed by the professionals at the time, this was not accompanied by a widespread move *away* from private patriarchy: the two spheres remained closely inter-connected and the boundaries fluid. Scottish police, criminal justice and social welfare agencies were effectively working, operationalised patriarchies, with their practices reflecting and sustaining the ideology of the patriarchal family. This prevented agencies from pro-actively pursuing domestic abuse perpetrators except in cases of severe violence against their wives or where women were considered to be failing to protect their children from male violence. These findings suggest that domestic abuse remained a key element in a continuum of violence against women stretching from the private into the public areas of the patriarchal system. Thus, violence in the heart of the home, supported in effect by professional practices, ensured the importance of domestic abuse in maintaining a *patriarchal equilibrium* at a time in women's lives when they were more fully entering the public sphere. Domestic abuse began to evolve into new, more covert forms and accompanied women across the boundaries of family privacy into public space. The threat and use of violence remained, but women now experienced more subtle forms of emotional and psychological coercion and control through external surveillance, including by means of the telephone and car, appearance monitoring, interrogation and degrading and dehumanising treatment. The women's identities and aspirations had developed from childhood within the social norms and expectations of how they would perform their traditional gender roles. By regularly and repeatedly undermining women's performance of those roles, even as they took up education, employment and social opportunities, abusive husbands succeeded in reducing the women's self-confidence and the control they had over their lives. In some cases, this had a highly detrimental impact on their mental and physical health with some women temporarily losing a sense of their own identity. The strain of maintaining a 'mask' to conceal the private pain women were experiencing while they were in public space proved particularly stressful.

The study addressed the women's disclosure decision-making in order to understand why women did not report their experiences to public agencies. These findings arose directly from the voices of women who did not approach public or voluntary sector services and thus contribute new insights to our understanding of this perennial question. They provide fresh insights into what it was like living with domestic abuse and how women made sense of their experiences of domestic abuse at a time when they were unfamiliar with the feminist critique of domestic abuse which informed women's aid campaigning and services. The narratives suggest that in the 1970s and 1980s, during a period when a national network of women's aid refuges was growing, the women were either unaware of, or had limited knowledge of the movement's activities, services and feminist politicisation of domestic abuse. Although Mhairi was aware of women's aid in the 1980s, she did not perceive herself as matching the profile of a 'battered' woman fleeing a violent husband who needed immediate access to emergency accommodation in a women's aid refuge. Linda and Andrea, who found themselves in immediate danger following critical incidents, were both temporarily rehoused by friends or family. By the early 1990s, Denise found her local refuge to be under-resourced and unable to help; by the mid-1990s, Eve entered a local refuge and successfully separated. The women's processes of separation were largely characterised by personal agency, self-sufficiency, a desire to maintain their current standard of living wherever possible, to limit the disruption to their own and their children's lives and to minimise the public exposure and stigmatisation of their situation. This thesis has argued that women's experiences of domestic abuse, their reasons for non-disclosure and their leaving strategies continued to reflect and represent the long-standing and powerful influence of patriarchal discourses in Scottish society. The strength of the combined forces of private and public patriarchy presented significant challenges for women experiencing domestic abuse. The continuing prevalence of male dominance in the family, family privacy and non-interference in family matters was evident in the women's experiences of domestic abuse, in their reasons for non-disclosure to public agencies and in the professionals' descriptions of agency cultures and practices. The slow progress of the implementation of measures to widen the availability of affordable childcare, limited housing options, the continued social stigma of divorce and single motherhood, gender wage differentials, a social security system based on the two-parent family and isolation all limited women's ability to leave and take over the role of sole family provider when they wanted. The formidable partnership between private and public patriarchy continued to permeate and influence women's reasons for non-disclosure and decision-making as they negotiated the time consuming and often risky emotional and practical complexities of separation. However, by the late 1980s and early 1990s, the women were able to take opportunities in the public sphere to retrain or progress their careers in

ways which eventually expanded their access to the public sphere, and their improved earnings enabled them eventually to live independent lives free from domestic abuse.

Domestic abuse continues to be a serious and frequently lethal threat to many women in Scotland in the twenty-first century. This thesis contributes to our understanding of this perennial social problem by historicising the issue over the post-war period by closely examining the workings of the patriarchal system and its impact on people's private lives and on professional practices. By addressing particular questions about domestic abuse during this historical period, this thesis contributes new insights into its persistence and adaptability in the patriarchal context of post-war Scotland. Despite gradual improvements to women's legal and economic status and expanding opportunities for them in the public sphere during the 1970s and 1980s, this thesis argued that the *patriarchal equilibrium* contributed to the maintenance of high prevalence rates for domestic abuse in private life. This study and thesis, grounded in the aims and principles of feminist historical scholarship, have highlighted the importance of understanding the way lives interact with their environment to understand the continuity and change in women's lives and particularly in their experiences of male violence. The challenges of preventing and eventually eliminating domestic abuse from twenty-first century Scottish society remain substantial. This examination of domestic abuse in the context of twentieth century patriarchy contributes new knowledge to those endeavours.

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	Undated	Women's Aid in Scotland	Information Sheet
	Undated	Typed page	Reaction to the Scottish Women's Aid Conference Resolutions 2,3,4,5
	Undated	Anonymous	Scottish Women's Aid – The Real Story. An account of a woman's experiences of volunteering at SWA.
12 March	1976	Scottish Women's Aid	Letter addressed to Secretary of State for Scotland, Local Authority Chief Executives, Housing Managers and Scottish MPs.
19 October	1976	Edinburgh Women's Liberation	Newsletter
November	1976	Glasgow Women's Liberation Newsletter	
May	1977	Glasgow Women's Liberation Newsletter	
20/21 September	1977	Scottish Women's Aid	Report on the Second National Conference of Scottish Women's Aid
November	1977	Falkirk Women's Aid (founded 1976)	Annual Report
	1977	Manpower Services Commission	Application by Central Region Women's Aid for funding for 11 workers including district coordinator, refuge counsellors and play leader/group coordinator.
January	1978	Scottish Women' Aid	Newsletter
March	1978	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
April	1978	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter

May	1978	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
May	1978	National Women's Aid Federation & Welsh Women's Aid	Report on 7th National Conference held in Cardiff
7 November	1978	Scotsman	Article about Sue Robertson: 'Economist sorts out her own priorities first' by Ann Shaw
October	1978	Glasgow Women's Liberation newsletter	
1978-1979	1979	Scottish Women's Aid	Annual Report
January	1979	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
1978 - 1980	1980	Scottish Women's Aid	Index to Newsletters
September	1980	Scottish Women's Aid	Contact List for local groups
	1980	Scottish Women's Aid	Annual Report from The Coordinator, Information and Education Worker and Secretary
December	1980	Scottish Women's Aid	The housing needs of battered women in Scotland
	1980	Scottish Women's Aid	Annual report
January Issue 1	1981	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
March Issue 2	1981	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
	1981	Scottish Women's Aid	Grant application 1981-82 – to Scottish Development Department and Social Work Services Group
March/April Issue 2	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
July/August Issue 4	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
Christmas	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Publication leaflet
August	1982	Shelter Scottish women's Aid	Guide to Matrimonial Homes(Family Protection) (Scotland) Act 1981

6 November	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Group Reports to the Executive Meeting in Saltcoats
6 November	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Report to the Executive meeting from the Edinburgh SWA office
6 November	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Minutes of Scottish Women's Aid Executive Meeting, held at Saltcoats Town Hall, Saltcoats.
7 August	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Report to Executive meeting from the Edinburgh SWA Office
February - May	1982	Scottish Women's Aid	Report to Executive meeting from the Edinburgh SWA Office
Jan/February Issue 1	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
February	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Report to February 1982, Executive from Sue Robertson and Shirley Henderson SWA Coordinators
March Issue 2	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
April	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Women's Aid - A Manual for Local Authorities
July/August Issue 4	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
October Issue 5	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
Nov/Dec Issue 6	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Newsletter
1982-83	1983	Scottish Women's Aid	Annual Report
February	1984	Scottish Homeless Group	Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 – A Short Scottish Guide (revised edition)
February	1984	Scottish Women's Aid	Culdion Housing Association – shared Housing for Women who have left a violent relationship written by Sue Robertson

March	1984	Scottish Homeless Group & Scottish Women's Aid	The Matrimonial Homes (Family Protection) (Scotland) Act 1981 – An Explanatory Leaflet
	2007	Scottish Women's Aid	DVD: Women's Aid in Scotland – The Early years c. 1973-1980. Voices and images from the Scottish Women's Aid 30th Anniversary Oral History and Archive Project.

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APPENDIX A

RECRUITMENT POSTER

<div align="center">

ORAL HISTORY STUDY

ON

CONFLICT IN FAMILY LIFE AND RELATIONSHIPS IN SCOTLAND 1979-1992

</div>

CAN YOU HELP?

My name is Anni Donaldson and I am carrying out an oral history study looking at people's experience of conflict in their family, domestic life or relationships in Scotland between 1979 and 1992. This research will be carried out in part fulfilment of a PhD degree at the University of Strathclyde. I am particularly interested in finding out more about what it was like living in a family where there was domestic conflict, how it affected people, how they coped and whether or not they sought or received any external help at the time or since. I am also interested in what it was like working with families in this situation.

During the period 1979-1992 were you,

- married, living with a partner or going out with someone and experienced conflict in your relationship?

- a child/young person living with parents/step-parents/carers and experienced conflict in your domestic/family life?

- working with individuals or families where there was conflict?

If you can answer **yes** to one or more of the above questions and would like to know more about taking part in this oral history study please contact the researcher directly in confidence.

Researcher Contact Details:

Anni Donaldson

Floor 6, Lord Hope Building, University of Strathclyde

141 St James Road,

Glasgow G4 0LT

Telephone: 07974793372 Email: anni.donaldson@strath.ac.uk

<div align="center">

ALL ENQUIRIES ARE CONFIDENTIAL

</div>

APPENDIX B

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Name of department: Glasgow School of Social Work

Title of the study: An oral history study of domestic abuse in Scotland 1979 - 1992

Introduction

My name is Anni Donaldson and I am a post-graduate research student in the School of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of Strathclyde. I am carrying out an oral history research study about people's experiences of conflict in their family, personal relationships or domestic life in Scotland between 1979 and 1992. You are being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide whether to take part, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. I have prepared this information sheet to tell you more about myself and my research and to help you to decide whether you would like to be involved. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. If there is anything that is not clear or you would like more information I will be more than happy to provide it. My contact details are at the end of this information sheet.

Thank you for reading this.

About the study

The aim of this study is to look at the conflict that occurred in families during the period 1979-1992. I am particularly interested in the conflict which happened between couples, whether living together or separately, married or not, and how it affected them and any children they had or who were living with them. I also want to know how they coped and whether or not they sought or received any external help at the time or since. I am also interested in knowing more about the experiences of people who worked providing public services in either a professional or voluntary capacity to adults, children and/or families in this situation between 1979 and 1992.

Why am I being invited to take part?

You will be reading this information sheet because you have seen a poster or flyer about the study, can answer yes to one or more of three short questions contained within it, are interested in taking part and have contacted the researcher.

Do I have to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any point. If you do not wish to take part, you do not have to do anything else and I would like to thank you for your interest, time and consideration.

What will I do in the study?

If, after reading this information sheet, you would like to be interviewed as part of the study please sign the attached Consent Form and return it to the researcher in the stamped addressed envelope provided. Upon receipt of this you will be contacted you by the researcher to confirm your participation and to make arrangements for the interview to take place at a mutually agreed place, date and time. The interview will last for approximately one to two hours and you will be asked to talk in more detail about your past experiences.

Are there any potential risks in taking part in the study?

The interview will involve reflection on what may be unpleasant private experiences of conflict in the past and on your life since that time. You will be free to discuss any concerns you have with the researcher about taking part and are free to choose which aspects of the nature, duration or effects of any conflict you are willing to share. You may end the interview or withdraw from participating in the study at any point. Every care will be taken to ensure your emotional and physical safety, comfort and wellbeing before, during and after your involvement in this study. You will have the opportunity to discuss these at any time with the researcher. Support information and details of local specialist services will be provided to everyone who takes part if required. In the event of information being disclosed that would indicate that either you or someone else are at current risk of physical harm, the researcher will provide contact details of relevant agencies for further information and support.

What happens to the information I provide?

Your interview will be recorded then written down exactly as spoken on to paper. Interview transcripts will be saved and stored on a secure, encrypted file on the researcher's computer in the University. No one else will have access to those computer files. You have the right to put your own name to your interview recording and transcript or, if you prefer, to remain anonymous (in which case you will never be identified on any recording, transcript or future publication). The full transcript of your interview will be copied and sent to you for checking, giving you the opportunity to indicate if you wish anything to be taken out or changed or to withdraw your interview transcript from the study. Quotations from your interview or transcripts will only be used in accordance with your wishes and the written consents you have given to the researcher. After the interview, you will be asked if you

wish your recorded interview to be added to the collections of the Scottish Oral History Centre's Archive in strict accordance with your wishes. Your recorded interview would become part of the Scottish Oral History Centre's Archive and preserved as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lecture, broadcasting and web archiving. You will be asked to consider these issues following the interview and will be invited to complete a Recording Agreement Form detailing your wishes including those related to anonymity and any special time limits you wish to place on your material's storage in the archive. This protects your legal rights, ensures that your interview recording and transcript are properly and professionally archived and looked after and enables the researcher (and subsequent researchers if you wish) to utilise your memories in any future research. This procedure is in line with your legal rights. The researcher operates strictly to the moral, ethical and legal requirements laid down by the University of Strathclyde's Code of Practice and the UK Oral History Society.

Afterwards, the results will be written up, analysed and incorporated into a thesis which will be submitted as part fulfilment of a PhD. The researcher's academic supervisors will have access to this written thesis as well as other academics involved in the assessment and marking of the project. It is anticipated that the researcher will seek to have findings published in books and academic journals. For your material to be used in any future publication, you are requested to assign copyright, not to the researcher, but to a responsible institutional archive such as the Scottish Oral History Centre at the University of Strathclyde.

The University of Strathclyde is registered with the Information Commissioner's Office who implements the Data Protection Act 1998. All personal data on participants will be processed in accordance with the provisions of the Data Protection Act 1998.

Thank you for reading this information – please contact me if you are unsure about what is written here.

What happens next?

If you are happy to take part in this research please sign the attached Consent Form and return it to the researcher in the stamped addressed envelope provided.   Upon receipt you will be contacted directly to confirm your participation and to make arrangements for the interview to take place at a mutually agreed place, date and time.

This study has been granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde's Research Ethics Committee.

If you have any questions or concerns, during or after your participation in this study, which you do not wish to address to the researcher, please contact:

Chief Investigator Details:

Professor Bernard Harris

Level 6,

Lord Hope Building

University of Strathclyde

141 St James Road, Glasgow.
G4 0LT

Tel: 0141 444 8646

bernard.harris@strath.ac.uk

Researcher Contact Details:

Anni Donaldson

Level 6,

Lord Hope Building

University of Strathclyde

141 St James Road, Glasgow.
G4 0LT
Tel: 0141 444 8602

Email: anni.donaldson@strath.ac.uk

This investigation was granted ethical approval by the University of Strathclyde's Ethics Committee.

If you wish to contact an independent person to whom any questions may be directed or further information may be sought from, please contact:

Secretary to the University Ethics Committee
Research & Knowledge Exchange Services

University of Strathclyde

Graham Hills Building

50 George Street

Glasgow

G1 1QE

Telephone: 0141 548 3707

Email: ethics@strath.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM

Name of department: Glasgow School of Social Work

Title of the study: An oral history study of domestic abuse in Scotland 1979 - 1992

Researcher: Anni Donaldson

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No

Taking Part

I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above project ☐ ☐

I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project.

I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the project ☐ ☐
at any time, without having to give a reason and without any consequences.

I agree to take part in the project. Taking part in the project will include being interviewed ☐ ☐
and audio-recorded.

I consent to being a participant in the study. ☐ ☐

I consent to being audio recorded as part of the study. ☐ ☐

*Please choose **one** of the following two options:*

I would like my real name used in the above ☐

I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above. ☐

PRINT NAME	I hereby agree to take part in the above project as outlined above.
Signature of Participant:	Date Address Daytime Contact Telephone Number: Email:

APPENDIX D

Scottish Oral History Centre, Faculty of Humanities & Social Science, University of Strathclyde, McCance Building, 16 Richmond St., GLASGOW G1 1XG. Tel: 0141 548 2212

Director: Professor Arthur McIvor

RECORDING AGREEMENT FORM

The purpose of this deposit agreement is to ensure that your recorded interview is added to the collections of the Scottish Oral History Centre's Archive in strict accordance with your wishes. Your recorded interview will become part of the Scottish Oral History Centre's Archive and preserved as a permanent public reference resource for use in research, publication, education, lecture, broadcasting and web archiving.

This Agreement is made between **the Scottish Oral History Centre** and you ("the Interviewee", "I"):

Please tick the appropriate boxes	Yes	No
I agree for the data I provide to be archived at the Scottish Oral History Centre Archive.	☐	☐
I understand that other genuine researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the information as requested in this form.	☐	☐

*Please choose **one** of the following two options:*

I would like my real name used in the above	☐
I would **not** like my real name to be used in the above.	☐
I understand that the recording will be stored, the transcript will be copied and sent to me for checking, when I can indicate if I wish anything to be changed or taken out.	☐
I understand that I may withdraw my audio recording from the Scottish Oral History Archive at any future date by notifying the Centre directly.	☐

Please state any specify time or other limits to public access to your contribution for a period of years here:

Other

instructions………

Declaration: I, the Interviewee confirm that I consented to take part in the recording and hereby assign to the *Scottish Oral History Centre Archive* all copyright in my contribution for use in all and any media.

I understand that this will not affect my moral right to be identified as the 'performer' in accordance with the Copyright, Design and Patents Act 1988.

Signature   indicating   acceptance   of   the Agreement……………………………………….Date………………….

   Name……………………………………………Address…………………………………………

   …………………………………………………………………………………….Postcode……

   …………………Tel………………………..

Study Title: An oral history study of domestic abuse in Scotland 1979 - 1992

Researcher: Anni Donaldson

APPENDIX E

Oral History Interview - Aide Memoire

Notes:

- Interview time 1.5 – 2. Hours

- Go over the agreement and consents with the participant and restate the aims and objectives of the study – go over recording agreement form.

- Restate what participants have agreed to and that they are here because they have told me that domestic abuse occurred in their relationship or family during the period 1979-1992.

- Check that they are still happy to proceed.

- Remind participants that they can stop at any time that they do not need to answer all questions and that they can withdraw from the study at any point.

- Clarify what I will do in the event of a disclosure of:

    o current risk or harm to the participant or by the participant;
    o criminal acts currently the subject of legal proceedings;
    o defamatory remarks directed at and identifying a third party.

- Outline the interview topics.

Questions for adults who were in relationships 1979-1992

1. Probe DOB, background to abuse they experienced

2. Probe past experience of relationships and family life during this period.

   - Married/living with/dating?
   - Any other relationships?
   - How long in the relationship/s?
   - Where were you living at the time?
   - Children?

3. Probe domestic abuse/dynamics of relationship/s in more detail.

   - Can you tell me about your relationship with your partner/husband/wife?
   - What happened?

   Probe examples of threats or actual physical assaults, intimidation, restrictions, humiliation, coercion, isolation, stalking, harassment, rape or sexual assault, unwanted sexual acts.

   - How frequently did it happen?
   - How severe was the abuse?
   - Why do you think the conflict/abuse happened?

4. Probe impact of abuse

   - What was that like for you?
   - How did it make you feel at the time?
   - What was it like for your partner/husband/wife?
   - Did you discuss it afterwards with your partner?
   - Did you tell anyone else about it? If so did anything change?

- If not can you tell me why not?

5. Probe longer term impact

How do you feel now about what happened then? Probe longer-term impact on life, relationships, confidence, and children.

Questions for those who experienced domestic abuse as children

1. Probe background, DOB, family life.

2. Probe experience of conflict/abuse in family life during this period.

   - Can you tell me about what domestic abuse went on in your family?
   - Who was doing what to whom?

   Probe examples of threats/actual physical assaults, intimidation, restrictions, humiliation, coercion, isolation, stalking, harassment, rape or sexual assault, unwanted sexual acts.

   - How severe was the abuse?
   - How frequently did it happen?
   - Why do you think the conflict/abuse happened?

3. Probe impact of domestic abuse at the time

   - What was that like for you?
   - How did it make you feel?
   - What was it like for others in the family?

4. Probe disclosure

   - Did you tell anyone else about it? If yes, did anything change?
   - If not can you tell me why you did not?

5. Probe longer term impact

- How do you feel now about what happened then?
- Do you think it had an effect on you? Probe longer term impact.

Questions for participants who worked with families where there was domestic abuse 1979-1992.

1. Probe DOB, background, professional training and career in the period 1979-1992, where you worked and in what capacity?

2. Probe experience of working with families where there was domestic abuse.
    *   Setting
    *   Your role
    *   How did you come to be working in families/situations where there was domestic abuse? (probe disclosures, referrals and how they were dealt with/processed)
    *   Can you give me an example of the types of situations of domestic abuse you encountered?

        Probe examples of threats/actual physical assaults, intimidation, restrictions, humiliation, coercion, isolation, stalking, harassment, rape or sexual assault, unwanted sexual acts.

    *   Who was doing what to whom?
    *   How frequently did it happen?
    *   How severe was the abuse?
    *   Why do you think the conflict/abuse happened?
    *   What was the impact on those involved?

6. Probe impact of working with abuse at the time

    *   What was that like for you?
    *   How did it make you feel?
    *   What was it like for others in your workplace/team?
    *   Probe attitudes to domestic abuse among professionals during this period.

7. Probe longer term impact

    *   How do you feel now about what happened then?

APPENDIX F

LEARNING TO LISTEN – INTERVIEW GUIDANCE

Reproduced from (Anderson and Jack 1991:24)

A. Listening to the narrator

  1. If the narrator is to have the chance to tell her own story, the interviewer's first question needs to be very open-ended. It needs to convey the message that in this situation, the narrator's interpretation of her experience guides the interview. For example, in the depression study, Jack started with, "Can you tell me, in your own mind what led up to your experience of depression?"

  2. If she doesn't answer the interviewer's questions, what and whose questions does the woman answer?

  3. What are her feelings about the facts or events she is describing?

  4. How does she understand what happened to her? What meaning does she make of events? Does she think about it in more than one way? How does she evaluate what she is describing?

  5. What is being left out, what are the absences?

B. Listening to ourselves

  1. Try not to cut the narrator off to steer her to what our concerns are.

  2. Trust our own hunches, feelings, responses that arise through listening to others.

  3. Notice our own areas of confusions, or of too great a certainty about what the woman is saying – these are areas to probe further.

  4. Notice our personal discomfort; it can become a personal alarm bell alerting us to a discrepancy between what is being said and what the woman is feeling.

APPENDIX G

Participant biographies

The following summarises the biographical information provided by participants. Each participants' year of birth is provided. However not all participants chose to provide this information. Pseudonyms which were provided by the participants are used to protect the identity of those who chose to remain anonymous. Detail in the participant biographies is provided in a manner which ensures that, in accordance with their expressed wishes, those participants who wished to remain anonymous are not identifiable.

Andrea (b. 1960) from Lanarkshire experienced abuse and neglect and witnessed domestic abuse as a child. Andrea experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1980s. After separating from her husband, Andrea trained as a social worker and is now a Senior Social Work Manager.

Arthur (b. 1960) from Lanarkshire trained as a social worker in Glasgow the 1980s. Arthur worked as a social worker in Glasgow and Lanarkshire during the 1980s and 1990s. His caseload included many families where there was domestic abuse. Arthur became a college lecturer in the 1990s and is now a university lecturer in social work.

Bob (YOB not provided) joined Strathclyde Police as a young man in the 1980s. Bob eventually became head of Strathclyde Police's Domestic Abuse Task Force and was responsible for developing the Force's Domestic Abuse Policy. Bob is retired.

Carol (b. 1953) grew up in Paisley. Carol experienced abuse during her marriage in the 1970s and 1980s and separated in the early 1990s. After leaving school Carol trained as a nurse. Her career continued throughout her marriage and after separation. Carol has now retired from her position as senior theatre sister.

Dave (YOB not provided) trained as a social worker and worked in criminal justice social worker in area teams and in the Scottish Prison Service. With Monica (also interviewed), Dave became Joint Coordinator of the Change Programme, Scotland's first court mandated group work programme for convicted domestic abuse offenders. Dave is now a university lecturer in criminal justice social work.

Denise (b. 1966) grew up in Lanarkshire. Denise went to university and obtained a degree in accountancy in the 1980s. Denise experienced domestic abuse in her first marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Since her separation Denise resumed her career and now manages a third sector agency.

Dot (b. 1949) grew up in Edinburgh. Dot witnessed domestic abuse as a child and was sexually abused by her father. She experienced domestic abuse during her marriage in the 1970s and 1980s until her separation. Dot worked for Scottish Women's Aid in the 1980s until her retirement.

Elaine (b. 1957) grew up in a large family in Dundee. Elaine married aged seventeen and experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1970s and 1980s. After her marriage ended in the 1990s, Elaine trained as a social worker and is now a Senior Manager of Criminal Justice Services including the management of programmes for convicted domestic abuse perpetrators.

Eve (b. 1949) from Glasgow experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1970s and 1980s prior to separating from her husband in the 1990s. Eve worked as a nurse throughout her marriage and is retired.

Evelyn (b. 1947) from Lanarkshire experienced domestic abuse during her marriage and went on to be one of the founders of Strathkelvin Women's Aid, working there for over twenty years.

Geraldine (b. 1951) grew up in rural Stirlingshire and attended boarding school as a child. Geraldine experienced domestic abuse in her second marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Geraldine trained as a teacher after leaving school and was a teacher for many years. Following a period of post-graduate study Geraldine worked for many years in the field of equalities and human rights. Geraldine is retired.

Iain (YOB not provided) was born in Glasgow. Ian trained as a lawyer at Glasgow University in the 1970s and worked in private legal practice for many years thereafter. Iain entered the Crown Office Procurator Fiscal Service and became an Area Procurator Fiscal. He is retired.

Jackie (YOB not provided) is a retired criminologist and was formerly head of the criminological research branch of the Scottish Office (SO) from 1976 until 1997. Jackie was involved in developing research on domestic abuse and rape at that time. Jackie was instrumental in allocating SO funds to the Russell and Rebecca Dobash *Violence Against Wives* research project. Jackie is retired.

John (b. 1952) from Lanarkshire joined Strathclyde Police in the 1980s and later became Director of the successful Violence Reduction Unit which was established by Strathclyde Police to develop new approaches to preventing gang violence in Glasgow. John is retired.

Laura (b. 1964) grew up in Ayrshire. Laura and her younger sister witnessed domestic abuse as children in the 1960s. Laura was physically and emotionally abused as a child. Laura studied literature at Edinburgh University in the 1980s and later, in the 2000s, she obtained her doctorate. Laura is a poet and writer.

Linda (b. 1967) grew up in Ayrshire where she still lives. Linda experienced domestic abuse during her first marriage in the 1980s. After separating from her husband Linda retrained and currently works in local government administration. Linda is also a part-time holistic therapist.

Lorraine (YOB not provided) grew up in Lanarkshire and was one of the founding members of Strathkelvin Women's Aid.

Lynne (b.1961) grew up in Glasgow and experienced domestic abuse from her boyfriend during the 1980s. Lynne became a professional photographer in the 1990s.

Mhairi (b. 1955) grew up in the Vale of Leven. Mhairi experienced domestic abuse in her first marriage during the 1980s. After her separation Mhairi went on to work in Easterhouse Women's Aid and later became Group Manager of Glasgow's city-wide Violence against Women Services. Mhairi is retired.

Monica (YOB not provided) with Dave (also interviewed) studied at Stirling University. Monica was a researcher on the Dobash and Dobash Violence against Women research project funded by the Scottish Office in the 1970s. The study's findings formed a key evidence base for *Violence Against Wives – A Case Against the Patriarchy* (Dobash and Dobash 1979). Monica was the Joint Coordinator of CHANGE, Scotland's first court mandated group work programme for convicted domestic abuse offenders. Monica is retired.

Roisin (YOB 1960) grew up in Renfrewshire and trained as a social worker in the late 1970s and early 1980s. After qualifying, Roisin worked as a social worker in Greenock during the 1980s and 1990s. Her case load included many families where there was domestic abuse. Roisin is now a Teaching Fellow in Social Work at the University of Strathclyde.

Sarah (b. 1961) grew up in a large family in Lanarkshire. Sarah experienced domestic abuse in her marriage during the 1980s and 1990s. Sarah worked in the NHS laboratories and undertook a post-graduate qualification in public health during her marriage. Post-separation Sarah became a senior health professional.

Shona (b. 1963) was born in Reading and moved to Stirling as a teenager. Shona experienced domestic abuse from her boyfriend in the 1980s. Shona works in the field of domestic abuse prevention with young people in the 2000s and is now a counsellor.

Sue (b. 1950) is from Edinburgh and studied economics at Stirling University. Sue was involved in the Scottish Women's Liberation Movement and the Scottish Women's Aid movement from the 1970s until the 1990s. Sue was one of the founders of Falkirk Women's Aid in the 1970s. She held the position of Scottish Women's Aid's National Coordinator during the 1980s. Sue is retired.

Theresa (b. 1963) grew up in Barrhead and Paisley. Theresa experienced abuse as a child and witnessed domestic abuse in her family. She experienced domestic abuse in her marriage in the 1980s and 1990s. Since her divorce Theresa works in a voluntary capacity with women's groups in her area and is a community activist.

Vickie (b. 1943) grew up in Glasgow and as a child, witnessed her father's abuse of her mother. She experienced domestic abuse in her own marriage. Her husband left her and their daughter in the 1960s. Vickie became a foster carer in the 1970s. Vickie is retired.