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Men who experience domestic abuse: a service perspective

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Abstract

Purpose – The paper explores the needs of men experiencing domestic abuse from the perspective of the professionals supporting them.

Design/methodology/approach – An all Wales qualitative study, 20 semi-structured interviews were completed with managers and practitioners of domestic abuse services supporting men. Interviews were analysed using thematic analysis.

Findings – Analysis identified six themes: against the tide of recognition, a need to

recognise and accept domestic abuse, knowledge of provision, low numbers of men,

resources (time & funding) and rebuilding. However, against the tide of recognition was

central. Domestic abuse is understood as a heteronormative and gendered experience; abused men defy these notions.

Research limitations – Findings cannot be generalised across the UK. This study offers a valuable base on which to build future knowledge. Future research might consider recruiting larger samples or follow up qualitative findings with a larger quantitative survey.

Practical implications – This paper presents the manager and practitioner views of the service needs and solutions for men. They perceive that abused men need to recognise and accept victimisation, have knowledge of provision and know it is acceptable to seek help, and receive practical support.

- **Societal implications** – Increasing recognition cannot be achieved in isolation. A shared commitment is required from policy, practice and research to raise the agenda for abused men.
- er is th. .. ms, provision, su, **Originality/value** – This is an under researched area. This paper is the first to explore the needs of men through the lens of domestic abuse professionals.
- Keywords Domestic abuse, domestic violence, male victims, provision, support, men.
- **Paper type** – Research paper.

Introduction

Domestic abuse a serious social problem and has become a priority for police and authorities across the world (Mooney, 2000). Second-wave feminism situated the victimization of women within the wider social and political context of gendered power imbalances (Laing and Humphreys, 2013). Thus, men perpetrate abuse towards women to maintain control within a patriarchal society. Also referred to as the gender paradigm (Dutton and Nicholls, 2005), this perspective has been the leading perspective throughout America and Western Europe (Dutton, 2010). In the United Kingdom (UK), intervention, support and policies have been informed and developed using a gendered perspective of domestic abuse (Dobash and Dobash, 2004; Bates et al. 2017).

The economic and health costs attached to domestic abuse are extensive. Individuals, communities and societies experience serious impact on health outcomes (Krug et al. 2002). Lifetime experience of domestic abuse has been significantly associated with poor health amongst men and women (Coker et al. 2002). Witnessing and experiencing domestic abuse in childhood has been associated with depression, numerous disorders (anxiety, eating, personality, post-traumatic stress), and suicidal behaviour (Norman et al, 2012). In the United Kingdom (UK), domestic abuse is a substantial issue. The Crime Survey England and Wales (CSEW) indicates there are approximately 1.2 million female and 700,000 male victims (ONS, 2013). Within England and Wales, the economic, service and human cost is estimated at approximately 16 billion per annum (Walby, 2009). Yet, much of what is known about domestic abuse (its costs, impact, types of abuse experienced and service needs) refers pesearc to heterosexual women. The issue of male victimisation has been described as a 'greatly overlooked' and 'critical issue' (Zverina et al. 2011).

1	The subject of men who experience domestic abuse is a growing momentum and
2	research is expanding. However, in terms of understanding their service needs, the area is
3	underdeveloped. Literature exploring men's help-seeking experiences is limited (Morgan et
4	al. 2014), so too is research that focuses on the provision of services for abused men. The
5	detrimental impact of abuse requires appropriate interventions that support all
6	victim/survivors to overcome their experiences and prevent future abuse. Further research is
7	required to understand men's experiences (Ansara and Hindin, 2010) and help inform the
8	development of support and policies that addresses men's needs. These are dependent on
9	having a clear understanding of the abused experiences (Ansara and Hindin, 2010).
10	In the UK, domestic abuse services (DASs) working with men have described the
11	sector as a 'female domain' that does not recognise men and the stigma associated with male
12	victimisation (Hester et al. 2012). For over thirty years in Wales, DASs have been designed
13	and tailored to meet the needs of women and children (Welsh Women's Aid (WWA), 2010).
14	Many existing DASs have extended the support they offer women to men. Yet, organisations
15	working with men should establish the needs and nature of services required for this
16	population (Men's Advice Line, 2012). Across Wales, Robinson and Rowlands (2006) noted
17	a distinct lack of services to support abused men. In 2012, the Welsh Government (WG)
18	published its White Paper Consultation on legislation to end violence against women,
19	domestic abuse and sexual violence (Wales). The paper outlined the need to ensure that
20	irrespective of gender, 'appropriate and proportionate level of service is made available to
21	all victims within local areas' (WG, 2012, p.3). However, an independent review of DASs in
22	Wales highlighted a failure to match provision to need for specific groups that included male
23	victims (Berry et al. 2014).
	victims (Berry <i>et al.</i> 2014).

1	The study sought to explore the question 'What do services understand are the needs
2	of men experiencing domestic abuse? ¹ Using a qualitative approach, needs were identified
3	from the perspectives of professionals supporting abused men. Knowledge of what abused
4	men need is important if services are to respond appropriately and be inclusive to all. This
5	study adds knowledge to a neglected area of research and offers future practice
6	considerations to support male victims/survivors.
7	Method
8	Procedure
9	Ethical approval and permissions were gained from the University of South Wales, and all 22
10	local authorities (LAs) in Wales (requested by the Association for Directors of Social
11	Services). Given the doctoral nature of this research, the recruitment and data collection
12	timeframe was restricted from October 2015 to January 2016. Participants were purposefully
13	selected (Merriam, 2009), requiring the researcher to critically consider the parameters of the
14	study population and choose the sample size on this basis (Silverman, 2010). Participants
15	had to be employed within a management or practitioner role in a DAS in Wales. Managers
16	roles broadly included running the service (staff management, supervision, finance, funding
17	applications), multi-agency working (criminal justice, social services, housing), and
18	providing some direct support. Practitioners' offer direct support, advocating for service
19	users, multi-agency working, delivering support programmes, and updating case files.
20	The semi-structured interview guide included four broad headings; perception of
21	need, service provision, male assessment and data collection. Prompts encouraged
22	participants to provide detailed responses (Rubin and Rubin, 2005). Interviews sought a
23	general shared understanding of the issue of domestic abuse from the context of supporting
24	men.
	men. ¹ Findings from this article belong to the first authors' PhD study 'An investigation into the needs of men experiencing domestic abuse and current service provision (Wales)'.

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Interviews were conducted at the DASs where participants worked, ensuring a safe and familiar setting for both parties (Smith, Flowers and Larkin, 2009), lasted between 45-120 minutes, and were transcribed verbatim. All identifiable data was anonymised (DAS, participant and service user names, LA's, towns and regions of Wales). Data analysis Interviews were analysed by the first author (SW) using thematic analysis (TA). Qualitative researchers use this method to identify, analyse, and report patterns/themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006). A six-phase guide (Braun and Clarke, 2006) informed the basis of analyses. A useful framework to support consistency, the guide was not used rigidly; a flexible approach was adopted to fit the research question and data (Patton, 1990). The first author (SW) used peer validation via team supervision to discuss emerging themes, and kept all notes, key abstracts and themes from analysis (Shaw, 2010). Doing so demonstrates reliability, while providing an audit trail from raw data to interpreted results (Shaw, 2010). Results At the time of this study, 43 identified DASs were providing support to men in Wales. All but one was a not-for-profit organisation. All 43 were invited to participate and no DAS directly declined. Within the recruitment timeframe, 12 DASs (all not-for-profit) participated and 20 interviews were completed across 10 LAs. Of 12 DASs, six included interviews with a manager and practitioner, one with a dual role of manager/practitioner, four included six practitioner only interviews and one had one manager only interview. Analysis generated six overarching themes: against the tide of recognition, a need to recognise and accept domestic

abuse, knowledge of provision, low numbers of men, resources (time & funding) and

rebuilding. Of these six, *against the tide of recognition* was central and impacted on all

subsequent themes. Figure 1 provides a map of overarching and subthemes.

26 (Insert Figure 1)

1	
2	Against the tide of recognition
3	Participants made repeated reference to wider society's lack of recognition towards abused
4	men. The lack of recognition is sustained through the perception that domestic abuse is a
5	heteronormative and gendered experience. Consequently, abused men are improbable
6	victims who defy ingrained perceptions and face a battle against the tide of recognition.
7	
8	They are up against this tide of well it doesn't really happen to men []. In the main,
9	its women who are victims, so they got that tide of well, you're a man you shouldn't
10	really be a victim (Manager).
11	As a society we promote it as a women's problem, a women's issue not a man's issue
12	and everything, all the publications, you know, violence against women and girls
13	(Manager).
14	Domestic abuse is more in the newspapers for women and, you know, it's on the news
15	and it's brought basically to everybody's knowledge []. I think it's just women
16	(Practitioner).
17	
18	The lack of recognition towards male victims/survivors of domestic abuse was
19	acknowledged as a barrier preventing men from seeking help and disclosing abuse.
20	It's almost like "oh they don't exist, men don't exist". It's violence against women, it's
21	a bigger problem so let's not identify them that males are victims as well. Then how do
22	you expect men to come forward? (Practitioner).
23	
24	A need to recognize and eccent domestic abuse
25	A need to recognise and accept domestic abuse
26	There was a consensus amongst participants of men's inability to accept and recognise their
27	experience as domestic abuse. Men who had accessed their support needed recognition and

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1	validation to name and begin to accept their experience as abuse. Men's inability to do so
2	without support was attributed to the lack of recognition:
3 4	If all the research and if all the sort of campaigns are aimed at that [VAW], I don't
5	think they're [men] gonna recognise themselves as victims of domestic abuse
6	(Manager).
7	
8	I've had a couple of men of come in and they've sort of questioned me "So is it
9	domestic abuse"? I think its, they need the validation almost that (sighs), that they are
10 11	suffering the way women are often perceived as suffering domestic abuse (Practitioner).
12	Shame of victimisation and gender expectations were supporting subthemes identified
13	as additional barriers to preventing men from recognising and accepting their experience.
14 15	For a man how do you go and begin to say what is happening? []. Men are told
16	aren't they "be brave, don't cry get on with it". So how can you come and say "Oh
17	she's doing this to me, or she's doing that to me"? (Manager).
18 19	Men that we talk to say it's very difficult for a man to actually stand up and say "I'm
20	being abused by my wife". Shame, ridicule, fear of not being believed, they have to
21	overcome those things (Practitioner).
22 23	Prior to contemplating help seeking, abused men were perceived by participants as
24	having to overcome obstacles including a lack of recognition, the perception they are
25	perpetrators, not victims, defy embedded notions of gender expectations and overcome their
26	own internal shame of victimisation. At this stage, abused men can begin to consider where
27	they might be able to access help.
28 29	own internal shame of victimisation. At this stage, abused men can begin to consider where they might be able to access help. Knowledge of provision

2.	1 This theme draws attention to a lack of knowledge and misconception regarding service
9	2 provision amongst abused men. Referred to as a <i>priority</i> by one manager, this theme
3	3 indicates a need to quell misconceptions and raise expectations and knowledge of available
	4 support.
!	5 I think the still the priority for men experiencing domestic abuse is to know where to go
(to if they want somebody to help (Manager).
·	7 There needs to be something a bit more obvious []. Something that's more specific so
:	8 men know that it's the service for them if they need it (Practitioner).
10	9 D Practitioners referred to men's gratitude for the support (however minimal) they had
1	1 received. Gratitude suggests low expectations of what help is available and depicts the felt
12	2 isolation by men, exacerbated by the belief that they are the only victim:
13 14	
1	5 and totally secluded thinking you're the only man in the world ever going through that.
10	5 To open up to somebody and for them to listen, I think it's just amazing for them [].
1	They say it to me "Oh thanks so much for what you've done" []. "I'm really grateful
18	for what you've done". Even if it's only been like maybe three calls by phone []. "I
19	<i>don't know where I would have what I would have done without you"</i> (Practitioner).
20 21	
22	
23	3 Low numbers of men
24	4 This theme highlights the low number of men accessing domestic abuse provision either via
2	5 self or agency referral:
20	5
	 This theme highlights the low number of men accessing domestic abuse provision either via self or agency referral:

		10
	2 1	Yeah it [self-referral] is much lower. Even the agency referrals are very low, um, but
	2	yes, self-referrals are very low, really low especially in comparison to female referrals
	3	(Manager).
0	4	The majority of males are quite small in comparison to the females that access that
1 2	5	service [drop-in support]. The other one we have is a floating support, and that again
3 4	6	is open to males but very few referrals really come into that (Manager).
5	7	
6 7 8	8	However, low numbers of men was with the exception of four services who had
9 0	9	frequent referrals, calls of enquiry and engagement with male victims/survivors. These
1 2	10	services had a dedicated, visible and well-established provision for men. Yet, a higher
3 4	11	number of male referrals brought problems in terms of capacity. One participant recalled
5 6	12	having to turn men away, whilst another exceeded their maximum caseload capacity:
7 0	13	
8 9 0	14	Just on a weekly basis we get eight to ten referrals []. Of people trying to access the
1 2	15	service, yeah, but we obviously haven't got room for them (Practitioner).
3	16	
4 5	17	My caseload is 25, that's my maximum caseload, I can't take any more than that. I
6 7	18	have had as many as 32 on a caseload because they needed that support (Practitioner).
8 9	19	
0 1	20	With the exception of the four services, low numbers of men seeking help was the
2 3	21	norm. Low numbers of men is influenced by the lack of recognition, an inability to
4 5	22	recognise/accept abusive experiences and limited knowledge of provision. In turn, low
6 7	23	numbers of men impacts the overarching themes resources (time & funding) and rebuilding.
8 9	24	It affects the evidence of need required to apply for funding to develop new or additional
0 1	25	services for men:
2	26	
3 4 5	27	I don't think there's you know, we couldn't say evidence there's enough demand coz we
6 7 8 9 0	28	I don't think there's you know, we couldn't say evidence there's enough demand coz we haven't got the statistics to say there's enough (Manager/Practitioner).
-		

	1	
	2	An unsubstantiated need for additional funding results in limited provision and feeds
	3	back into against the tide of recognition.
	4	(Insert Figure 2)
	5 6	Resources (time and funding)
	0	Resources (time and funding)
	7	Participants drew attention to decreasing budgets. Limited time and funding restricts service
	8	development and promotion. A lack of funding creates uncertainty of the longevity of future
	9	services and places pressure on existing provision:
	10 11	We've had 25% cut in three years. We're expecting 10-20% cut next year, you know,
	12	where, what do we do? What do we do? Where do you cut? (Manager).
	13	
	14	I'm finding it difficult there's only one of me for [name of LA] []. I don't feel that I'm
	15	offering a full service to these people because I'm trying to juggle everyone else.
	16	(Practitioner).
	17 18	For one manager, potential funding cuts could lead to a decision of withdrawing
	19	support to men in favour of supporting women:
:	20	I God forbid the day ever comes where they say "Right you've only got enough, we're
	21	only going to provide you with enough to provide one service or one refuge". It would
:	22	have to be the women. It would have to be coz the numbers stack that up (Manager).
	23	Participants believed a lack of provision existed for abused men. Limited availability
	24	of support hinders rebuilding, reinforces the lack of recognition and fuels the low numbers of
	25	men coming forward.
	26	
		men coming forward.

1	If you look across the country it's appalling. Some people are doing sort of bits of
2	service aren't they? I mean they're doing sort of fairly low level stuff or they're mostly
3	<i>doing the signposting, but to actually provide a service, there are huge gaps</i> (Manager).
4 5	There's just not enough of it and there's definitely not enough places for male victims
6	to go []. A lot of male victims end up on the street or with drug and alcohol problems
7	as a result of not having anywhere to go or anyone to support them (Practitioner).
8 9	Rebuilding
10	Rebuilding denotes the need for men to move on from their abusive experiences. Participants
11	raised the adverse effects of domestic abuse including mental health, substance abuse and
12	financial issues.
13	There's two [men] suffering with PTSD as a direct result of the abuse []. The other
14	three are all on some sort of antidepressant medication (pause) []. I'd say there's
15	(pause) four of them have got substance misuse (Practitioner).
16	The financial abuse it's actually caused him [male victim] to be bankrupt []. He owes
17	over like £25,000 []. So we've been helping him with accessing bankruptcy and
18	getting his benefits and that sorted (Practitioner).
19 20	There are problems to accessing additional support services (mental health, counselling).
21	Waiting lists ranging from twelve weeks to two years were common and hindered
22	recovery:
23 24	I've tried counselling services and there's a massive waiting list there especially in GP
25	surgeries, you know, coz GP surgeries now offer a counselling service for lots of
26	different kinds of support. But for around like emotional support, post-traumatic stress
27	the waiting lists they're horrendous, absolutely horrendous (Practitioner).

1	The types of support being sought by abused men was highlighted by practitioners.
3	They included housing, financial, legal and child contact advice.
4 5	Nobody's taken into account that their [male victim] funds are limited. You might earn
6	two thousand pound but you might be paying fifteen hundred pound into the family
7	home. So what you're left with is, you know, it's not sufficient to live and I think that's
8	a big thing that isn't being recognised (Manager).
9 10	Their [men] needs are around might be child contact. Housing is really big issue for
11	men coz they're the ones that normally leave the family home []. Child contacts a
12	really big issue (Practitioner).
13	
14	Participants noted the majority of abused men they came into contact with were
15	employed. This presented barriers to accessing the DAS and support such as
16	legal aid, housing benefit and refuge provision.
17 18	We're open till six on Mondays and Tuesdays even if we said come in then it would be
19	difficult coz perhaps they finish at five or later, so it would only literally leave you
20	twenty minutes straight after they 've come from work and it doesn't, it doesn't work
21	<i>really</i> (Practitioner).
22	It's about legal aid, so if they're working and they don't have access to that then
23	there's no way for them to access support legally then, unless they can pay for it so it's
24	like a catch 22 (Manager).
25	Discussion
26	This study sought to explore the needs of men experiencing domestic abuse from the
27	perspectives of the professionals supporting them. The overarching theme was the lack of
28	recognition, which creates and sustains the perpetuating cycle (Figure 2).

13° Managers and practitioners referred to men's inability to recognise and accept their victimisation. For the men they had supported, believing and validating their experiences was important. Previous research has highlighted the need for men to be taken seriously by victim and law enforcement agencies (Machado et al. 2016). Furthermore, men need to know that help is available and how to access it. A lack of recognition, an inability to accept and recognise domestic abuse, and limited knowledge of support leads to low numbers of men coming forward. Low numbers of men was the norm, with the exception of four services that had dedicated male support provision. These services were advocating a visible recognition of abused men, which appears to have had a positive impact. In contrast to other participants, these services recalled frequent referrals, calls of inquiry and an increased awareness of abused men amongst local agencies and the wider community. Nonetheless, frequent male referrals were not without its problems; participants faced high caseloads, overstretched capacity and decreasing budgets. For services reporting low numbers of men, this translated to unsubstantiated need and hindered funding applications to develop provision (Figure 2). Reduced funding and the threat to service provision was a very real concern amongst participants. It led to some practitioners feeling they were not providing a full service to the men they supported. Limited resources can mean agencies having to narrow their perception of who constitutes a victim and who the most appropriate victims are (Donnelly *et al*, 1999). This concept was echoed by one manager advising that if faced with a choice of funding services for women or men that it "would have to be the women". Fears of female services Researc being lost or reduced to fund male provision has been raised by WWA. They maintained that in a time of public spending cuts, funding should not be directed away from women's services simply to meet a 'projected need' for men (WWA, 2010).

Implications of results

	1 2	The service needs of men and how they might be addressed are presented and discussed
	3	below.
	4	Recognise and accept domestic abuse
!	5	The framing of domestic abuse as an issue faced by women and not men, negatively
	6	influences men's ability to understand and label their experience as abuse (Donovan et al.
	7	2006; Hines and Douglas, 2011). The public story of domestic violence and abuse (Donovan
:	8	and Hester, 2011; 2014) characterises the issue as a heteronormative and gendered
9	9	experience; the stronger male perpetrates (predominantly) physical violence towards the
1	0	smaller weaker female. This presentation can prevent men from recognising and accepting
1	1	their victimisation. Thus, when victim status is confined to women, the experiences of
1	2	abused men can be overlooked (Zverina et al. 2011).
1	3	Support should focus on helping men to understand, recognise and accept the range of
1	4	abusive behaviours, and seriousness of the abuse. Experiences should be believed and
1	5	validated; failing to do so can lead to increased social isolation (Morgan and Wells, 2016).
1	6	Knowing they are believed affords men feelings of psychological strength (McCarrick et al.
1	7	2016). Additionally, services should address the internal conflict of masculinity and
1	8	victimisation (Tsui et al. 2010) and adopt a gender sensitive approach (Zverina et al. 2011).
1	9	
2	0	
2	1	Knowledge of provision (know that help is available and where to go) and to know it is
2	2	acceptable to seek help
2	3	Men need knowledge of available support and information on how to access it. Participants
24	4	referred to men's gratitude for the support received, however minimal. Limited knowledge
2.	5	of support suggests low expectations or preconceived ideas and might account for the
2	6	gratitude expressed when help was provided. Yet, knowing that support is available is not

enough. Abused men require assurance that as a victim it is acceptable to seek support, that
their experiences are serious and important enough to do so, and that seeking help will not
threaten their male identity. The reluctance or inability to identify as a victim for reasons of
shame and gender expectations are barriers to help seeking (Tsui *et al.* 2010; Machado *et al.*2016). These barriers coupled with limited knowledge of provision can result in prolonged
periods of abuse.

DASs supporting men should ensure promotion materials/events directly target men.
Male victimisation requires "normalising"; for men to know it is acceptable to seek help, it
has to *become* acceptable. Thus, a male victim/survivor seeking help becomes an ordinary
assumption not influenced by gender or domestic abuse assumptions.

Practical support

Participants highlighted several practical issues that could influence men's decision to access support to leave an abusive relationship. Financial obligations to joint mortgages or tenancies can make accessing alternative accommodation and the means to support daily living difficult. Child contact was described as a 'really big issue' and employment was identified as a barrier to accessing DASs and additional support (housing benefit and legal aid). Providing detailed and accurate information that can support men to leave is essential. Demonstrating understanding and an awareness of practical issues is important and affords men the confidence to know they and their experiences matter. DASs might consider partnership working with local legal services and organisations like the Citizens Advice Bureau to offer free surgeries. pesearc Employment can present barriers to accessing "nine-to-five" services. DASs should be creative and consider how they can be accessible outside standard working hours. Financial restrictions, staffing (numbers and availability), or health and safety might hinder flexibility. Nonetheless, the availability of support should reflect the needs of all

victims/survivors. Options might include dedicated or pre-arranged weekday evenings and/or alternate weekend access, online and/or email support, or text messaging (where appropriate and safe).

Study limitations

The study reported is part of a larger completed PhD study. It contributes to an underdeveloped area of research, adds to a limited qualitative knowledge base and offers future
practice considerations. Findings from a sample of 20 participants cannot be generalised,
nonetheless, it is a rich source of data and offers a valuable base on which to build (Procter,
Allan, and Lacey, 2010). Future studies might recruit larger samples or follow-up qualitative
findings with a larger quantitative survey.

Conclusion

Against the tide of recognition, highlights the lack of recognition for abused men. The
perpetuating cycle (Figure 2) is persistent and entrenched, but not irreversible. Government
policy has the power to shape socioeconomic conditions and cultural beliefs (Perryman and
Appleton, 2016). Those at the helm of decision making, funding and policy development are
in a position to initiate real change and advocate equal recognition for all. Researchers and
practitioners also need to raise questions and challenge practice and policy (Perryman and
Appleton, 2016).

However, with ongoing austerity measures, DASs face competing priorities. For mangers, funding cuts translate to fears of future provision and a choice of providing services for women or men. For practitioners, it leads to increasing caseloads, frustration at the long wait for referrals to additional support and a sense of '*not offering a full service*'. To ensure equal recognition for all victims/survivors in any future debate and decision-making, a shared strategic commitment is required from government policy, practice and research to raise the agenda for abused men in all devolved countries in the UK. In Wales, to support this work,

1	future research should quantify the magnitude of the problem, and identify unmet needs and
2	gaps in services. This would help identify appropriate group and individual interventions,
3	and inform future planning and policy development. Doing so will afford men the
4	confidence and ability to accept and recognise their victimisation and seek help. Men
5	experiencing domestic abuse need to have their expectations of support raised and be assured
6	that specialist help is available. They require accessible, targeted provision that recognises
7	their needs. Above all, men need to know their experiences are important and that as
8	victims/survivors, they are recognised and accepted.
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2 Figure 1: Map of overarching and subthemes - Managers and practitioners Mirror image need _____ Mirror image support Children as a means to control WA as a barrier Shame of victimisation Female victim as priority Inequality of male assessment Against the tide of recognition A need to recognise & accept Gratitude for support DA Gender expectations Knowledge of Low numbers provision Desire to support all Ideas for change The horrendous wait to rebuild Practical support Resources (time & funding) Rebuilding Employment as barrier

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1 Figure 2: The norma	tuating cycle of a lack of recognition and provision
1 Figure 2: The perpe	tuating cycle of a fack of recognition and provision
2	
	Lack of
	Limited
	provision
	Un-
	(substantiated) (Inability to)
	need accept DA
	Low Knowledge
	numbers
3	