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AN INVESTIGATION INTO
BATTERED WOMEN'S SHELTERS:
FEMINIST COOPERATIVES OR SOCIAL SERVICE INSTITUTIONS,
CASE STUDIES OF CANADA AND NEW ZEALAND

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Abstract

The battered women's movement has faced challenges and experienced tensions. The establishment of ongoing government funding for the battered women's movement was significant as shelters which were established as feminist collective organisations were transformed into hierarchical and bureaucratic organisations. This study has examined both the external constraints and the internal dynamics that have impacted on the movement's transformation through two case studies, one Canadian transition house and one New Zealand refuge. More specifically the study has explored the influence of external funding and internal factors on the social change agenda that feminist collective organisations support.

The study has drawn on empirical and historical data derived from the transition house and the refuge and from documents and the academic/research literature. These have provided an understanding of the impact of the external environment, particularly governments, (and in New Zealand the influence of the refuge movement, through the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc. (NCIWR)) on the two shelters. The study examines to what degree they have been able to balance the exacting requirements that governments impose whilst remaining feminist organisations and social change agents.

The relationship with the external environment (that is, with governments and non-government organisations) impacted differently for the transition house and the refuge in the study. The transition house focused on sustainability issues by ensuring that it maintained and expanded its resource base. In its engagement practices with government it sought and negotiated opportunities for expanding services for battered women and children as well as promoting feminist principles. Internally the transition house accommodated the characteristics of bureaucracy within its operations, its service delivery models and its staff, as it met the challenge of changes in women's needs and responded to funding opportunities and requirements. For the refuge, which was undergoing transformation during the research period, it was the tensions that were salient as a result of bureaucracy replacing a collective structure. The internal changes were influenced by the external environment which through government and non-government intervention imposed governance, administrative, financial and service delivery requirements within a funding environment that prohibited innovation and participation. These changes strained the refuge's internal governance/staff relationship and undermined its feminist framework, which was the justification for the original structure and practice.

When feminist organisations and the battered women's movement experience transformation processes they may increase internal conflict and organisational instability with the loosening of shared values and experiences and a breakdown in participatory and collaborative systems. Although transformation processes may be detrimental to these organisations due to the bureaucratic and hierarchical structures instituted, there can be positive outcomes. Government funding provides stability and sustainability. Bureaucratic structures can provide effective infrastructures for managing externally-imposed governance, administrative and service delivery systems. For feminist organisations and shelters, balancing these structures with

policies and processes that reflect and reinforce their feminist philosophy and collectivity is not just an ideal, but critical. Through such expressions of strength these organisations can continue to promote social change as an organisational objective as well as using it to negotiate external constraints so that they continue to retain their autonomy and independence as well as promulgate a feminist philosophy externally.

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Abbreviations

AGM	Annual General Meeting
CAP	Canada Assistance Plan
CFA	Community Funding Agency
CHST	Canada Health and Social Transfer
CMHC	Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation
CPR	Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation
CWLU	Chicago Women's Liberation Union
CYFS	Child, Youth and Family Services
CYPFS	Children, Young Persons and their Families
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
ECDU	Early Childhood Development Unit
ERA	Equal Rights Amendment
FVPI	Family Violence Prevention Initiative
HROS	Human Resources, and Operating Statistics
IYC	International Year of the Child
KOPPS	Key Operating Policies and Procedures, and Control Systems
LGB	Lottery Grants Board
LWC	Labour Women's Council
MAS	Ministère des affaires sociales
MLA	Minister of Legislative Assembly
MMP	Mixed Member Proportional Representation
NAC	National Action Committee on the Status of Women
NCIWR	National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges Inc.
NOW	National Organisation for Women
NSASW	Nova Scotia Association of Social Workers
NZCFA	New Zealand Community Funding Agency
OAITH	Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses
OWD	Ontario Women's Directorate
PCFV	Provincial Committee on Family Violence
PWC	PriceWaterHouseCoopers
QA	Quality Assurance
SCNZ	Save the Children New Zealand
SIRCH	Supportive Initiatives for Residents in the County of Haliberton
SMO	Social Movement Organisation
SOS	Standard Operating Structures
TDD	Telephone Device for the Deaf
THANS	Transition House Association of Nova Scotia
THC	Transition House Committee
UWC	United Women's Convention
WEL	Women's Electoral Lobby
WLM	Women's Liberation Movement
YWCA	Young Women's Christian Association

INTRODUCTION

In the process of coordinating the work of government agencies and institutions, ... aspects of the mobilization of a movement for political change got lost. The work done with battered women has become, in many cases, the site for professional and voluntary service provision. This has taken the place of consciousness-raising within the context of a fully mobilized women's movement, which might allow the issue to be linked with others in the wider struggle against women's oppression. Working in women's shelters has become part of a career process in which women develop experience and expertise as social service workers or use their existing skills to provide services. This is not in itself negative or culpable, but it is assimilative. It is in this way that women's movement representatives come to be professionalized as experts speaking for and about battered women. The contradiction embodied in this process of professionalization lies in the fact that its very success eliminates the possibility of a more radical critique (Walker, 1990b, pp.85-86).

A number of houses have adopted a semi-institutional model of organization for their internal management. In this model, information and decisions are communicated along hierarchical lines. The group does not talk about equality in managing the house, and this reflects a lack of any such equality in practice ... the co-ordinator is the 'manager.' This entails certain privileges. ... The manager makes the decisions and looks after relations with the outside world, which means that she controls practically all information. ... Decisions and the basic ideological orientation of the house are communicated directly by the manager, who acts either alone or with the board of directors. Each member of the group has clearly defined tasks, making it less likely that staff will switch jobs around or combine several different roles. Boards of directors are compulsory for non-profit organizations subsidized by the state, and this is where institutional influence first gains a foothold. ... boards of directors ... became extensively involved in all aspects of decision-making and orientation in the houses, reducing the sphere of management to the bare essentials. ... In the semi-institutional solution, there is very strong cohesion and little disagreement between the manager and the board of directors. ... Power relations are not diffuse; lines of authority are highly visible (Beaudry, 1985, pp.58-59).

This thesis explores the manner in which the two factors that are characterised here have been influential for the battered women's movement generally, and for two specific battered women's shelters in particular. The first factor is the significance of state intervention, primarily through the advent of government funding, and the resulting accountability measures that are connected with it. Examining the role the

state has and continues to play in the development of shelters aids our understanding of how government intervention has shaped and influenced the battered women's movement, and how it in turn has dealt and continues to deal with the tensions and conflicts that have arisen as a result of the cooptation of a movement that traditionally was feminist-driven (Ahrens, 1980; Beaudry, 1985; Schechter, 1982).

Furthermore the ability of the battered women's movement to negotiate effective and consistent partnerships with government which it has come to rely upon is also significant and yet the movement's organisational ability to adapt and change is testimony to its strength and determination not to lose sight of its fundamental feminist principles (Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). The obvious compromises that the battered women's movement adopted, that of relinquishing autonomy and independence in exchange for guaranteed funding, changed its underlying structure and operations as it became more accountable and increasingly bureaucratised (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR), 1998; Reinelt, 1995). It is therefore critical to examine through the Canadian and New Zealand case studies in this thesis the impact and effects of bureaucracy on the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge in terms of authority and hierarchy, rules and division-of-labour/specialisation (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

These compromises however have not diminished the transition house and the refuge's responses in terms of acting in the best interests of the women they seek to help, but have influenced somewhat organisational goals and the objectives and aspirations to maintain an active and overt political agenda for social change (Ferree & Martin, 1995; Schechter, 1982; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). The dilution of a 'pure' feminist ideology that can be attributed to cooptation by the state has not however prevented the battered women's movement from engaging with the state to influence various policy developments that impact on battered women and domestic violence issues (Ferree & Martin, 1995; Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999).

The second factor is the complex and dynamic interactions of the players within the organisations that are shelters and refuges. The supposition that structures of society benefit from and therefore tend to be bureaucratic and hierarchical (Michels, 1962; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) has held sway and influenced the development of shelters, in particular those in North America. Examining the movement away from collective structural forms generally espoused by many feminist organisations and in particular the early shelters has been critical for understanding the changes to the internal dynamics that have resulted from the intervention of the state and the various key players who have embraced hierarchical and bureaucratic structures. Not only are there implications for structural and for operational aspects of coordinating shelters but also implications for the social and practical relationships that are derived from individuals working closely together and in a particular way.

Furthermore the divisions that arise between participants as a result of hierarchical and authoritarian formulations has a 'knock-on' effect on relationships with the women the shelters seek to assist. The relationships shift from the feminist ideal where relationships are characterised by mutual sharing, participatory democracy and equal decision-making processes to ones in which women become recipients of services, the clientele, in need of help and support (Davis, 1988a; Murray, 1988; Walker, 1990b). This relationship, although conceived within a feminist ideology and definition of self-help, empowerment principles and independent decision-making options for women, also embraces and depends upon a broader understanding of a dual approach to service delivery, that of a social service model which focusses on addressing the individual concerns of battered women (Davis, 1988a, 1988b). The tendency toward hierarchy and bureaucratic structures thus has implications for the roles and responsibilities of shelter staff (that is paid workers) and the management body, which like the phoenix rising from the ashes replaced the collectively mandated body (Freeman, 1975; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Shelter staff became professionalised and specialised and boards of directors were generally drafted from various professions and businesses and not as previously derived from the organisation's volunteer pool or from women who had previously experienced domestic violence (Ahrens, 1980; Potuchek, 1986; Schechter, 1982). However, within this revised ideological framework shelters countered by providing a balance between hierarchical

characteristics and an overt feminist constituency (Schechter, 1982). For example, staff and boards alike were hired/recruited on the basis that they had an understanding of the feminist values which were integral to shelters and which underscored the manner in which they practiced their activities.

This thesis is a study of two organisations that support battered women and their children who witnessed domestic violence, both within the context of sheltering and through the provision of outreach services and programmes. The actual empirical study was undertaken between 1996 and 1998 but the period that has been reviewed can be traced back to the establishment of the organisations. In the case of the Canadian transition house this was 1983, and in New Zealand, 1985. Consequently through these case studies an examination of the various external and internal dynamics and influences will be undertaken as these factors have been critical for the developmental structure and operational aspects of the transition house and refuge.

This thesis also examines inferences that can be drawn in relation to the particular development of shelters in America and Canada but these cannot be simply applied, for example, to Great Britain, New Zealand or Australian experiences. Although there are various similarities and differences within the battered women's movement across countries it should be noted that it is not a homogeneous movement as it embraces various forms and philosophies (Church & Church, 1985; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Ferraro, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Lupton, 1984). Shelters and refuges thus cannot be stereotyped as being the same, although by their very nature they each have common goals that of providing safety and shelter to battered women. Shelters and refuges are distinct as they establish, and/or adapt and change goals and objectives germane to their experiences and political understandings (Currie, 1989; Ferraro, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990). The battered women's movement has been explored in great detail spanning the past two decades by various academics, researchers and practitioners who can attest to the movement's distinct and varied characteristics (Ahrens, 1980; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990a, 1990b).

This thesis is not concerned with a comprehensive examination of the battered women's movement from a global perspective as such a study could not do justice to the topic within the thesis framework. Dobash and Dobash (1992), activist academic researchers, have written widely on the subject of domestic violence and in 1992 published a comparative study of the battered women's movements in America and Great Britain, *Women, Violence and Social Change*. They interviewed and discussed the issues with key informants on both sides of the Atlantic. In her seminal work on the battered women's movement in America, Schechter (1982) spent several years gathering information, collecting data, conducting interviews and speaking in workshops and seminars prior to the two years it took to write, *Women and Male Violence - The Visions and Struggles of the Battered Women's Movement*. Such works take an enormous amount of time and a considerable budget to enable the writer/researcher to travel and conduct more broadly-based research. But it is important within this thesis to compare and contrast the battered women's movement within the North American, British, Australian and New Zealand contexts as this provide insights into what has influenced their development and their ability to maintain their social change ideology.

This study aims to provide an overview of the past two decades in the Canadian and New Zealand battered women's movements, and particularly, to examine the experiences of one transition house in Canada and one refuge in New Zealand. Such a comparison has not been done previously and provides considerable insight into the manner in which these organisations have evolved under different circumstances and situations. Furthermore very little has been documented on the New Zealand refuge movement other than what was written during the 1970s and 1980s regarding the establishment of refuges. Some of the documentation has been sponsored and/or supported by the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) (Ash & Neal, 1984; Good, 1985; PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC), 2000; Review Team, 1986; Snively, 1996). Other books and articles have been written by refuge activists about their particular refuges and/or the refuge movement more generally (Banks, Florence & Ruth, 1979; Church & Church, 1985; Dunedin Women's Refuge, 1978; Sutton, 1990; Thompson, 1976) but there are very few independent pieces of research that provide insights into refuge development and practices (Cammock,

1994; Fisher, 1991; Hancock, 1979). In the Canadian context documentation of the battered women's movement has tended to focus on the 1980s with the establishment of the movement (Barnsley, 1985; Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; L. MacLeod, 1980, 1987; Walker 1990a, 1990b) and more latterly commenting upon the changes within the movement (Barnsley, 1995; Stern & Leppard, 1995; Untinen, 1995). These works have been written from both a national and a regional perspective and have been sponsored by government, women's organisations and individual activists, practitioners and academics.

However, the New Zealand refuge and the Canadian transition house have to be studied and contextualised within the context of development and change. The diverse aspects of the battered women's movement influence the manner in which shelters and refuges do their work and maintain their organisational structures.

This thesis also examines the women's liberation movement (WLM) as a social movement and its feminist organisations as social movement organisations (SMOs). Social movement theory provides a context for the development and maintenance of feminist organisations including shelters and refuges as it offers a theoretical framework for understanding the survival and rationale for such organisations. Social movement theory therefore has to be considered in context with feminist organisational theory (Dahlerup, 1986; Freeman, 1975, 1979; P.Y. Martin, 1990; V. Taylor, 1983) as they are both critical for understanding not only the organisational forms shelters have taken but also how and why the WLM as a social movement and individual feminist organisations, SMOs have evolved in the manner that they have. For example research by Broom (1991) on women's health centres in Australia, and Riger's (1994) studies in America of feminist organisations, provide a framework for understanding the life cycle of feminist organisations and what has influenced their growth, decline and change processes (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Zald & Ash, 1966). Such understanding can be located within the framework of social movement theory and knowledge. Furthermore feminist WLM researchers (Freeman, 1975, 1979; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor, 1989) along with other social movement theorists (Aveni, 1978; McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Oberschall, 1973; Zald & Ash, 1966) have also provided analyses of social

movements, their growth, decline and change. These feminist and social movement theorists have proposed that social movement development be seen in the context of three factors: i) the existence of political constraints/opportunities that impact on social movement development and their ability for collective action; ¹ ii) the mobilisation of resources that include human resources and external links with other groups and the state; and, iii) the sharing of meanings that enable individuals to come together with a common understanding that enables collective action to take place (McAdam et al., 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977).

In characterising the decline and change of social movements, social movement theorists have stated that internal and external tensions revise the ideological positioning of movements as opportunities for social change diminish. This occurs as a result of focussing on the establishment of the organisation and the subsequent reliance on external support systems including funding for their maintenance. Thus preservation of social movements and their organisations becomes normative. These tensions have been characterised as i) "goal transformation" brought about by internal changes in the original leadership group and goals resulting in more conservative and homogeneous leadership and revised, attainable organisational goals; ii) "organisational maintenance" that preserves the organisation through stable funding sources and sustainable membership; and iii) "oligarchisation" that enables the power

¹ For example, access to electoral politics is easier in New Zealand with MMP (mixed member proportional representation) which has enabled the environmentalists known as the "Greens" to gain six MPs as a result of the 1999 general election. This has reduced opportunities for social movement growth as the environmentalists become mainstreamed within political life. "The Greens are now third behind a mighty Labour vote and a depleted National vote. ... Green is a fashion that's going mainstream. ... Labour might depend on the Greens rather than the Alliance to form the next government" (Clifton, 2000). As McAdam et al., (1996) reflected " ... a focus on *changes* in the structure of political opportunities can contribute to our understanding of the shifting fortunes of a single movement" (p.12). This has also been true of the battered women's movement within North America in that the acceptance by the state that domestic violence was a significant social problem that required attention, in the form of funding for shelters and in policy development areas, both legal and social, reshaped the movement as feminist activists left, shelters became concerned with government accountability and maintaining service provision at all costs and other social services including church organisations began to establish shelters (Ahrens, 1980; Ferraro, 1983; Johnson 1981; Schechter, 1982).

to be held by a minority group that endorses hierarchical structures and the introduction of rules (Aveni, 1978; Gamson, 1975; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; J. Wilson, 1973; Zald & Ash, 1966). Furthermore external tensions also contribute to social movement decline and transformation. These external factors take the form of: i) developing external networks that are more likely to be traditional in nature; ii) divisions within the social movement/organisation regarding the implementation of goals; and, iii) the increasing radical views of members. These actions result in the change in membership as the organisation consolidates around a revised agenda in order to preserve and maintain the organisation (Ahrens, 1980; Gamson, 1975; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966).

Feminists have significantly contributed to the body of knowledge regarding social movement theory in relation to feminist organisations within the WLM (Freeman, 1975; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor, 1983). They suggest that debate and discussion are elements essential to the understanding of feminist politics and the architecture of the WLM manifested through its feminist organisations. Furthermore these feminist theorists embrace a conception of feminism that remains inclusive and therefore gives expression to women's presence within a wide range of feminist and other organisations both as individuals and as representatives of the WLM (Dahlerup, 1986; Ferree & Martin, 1995; Freeman, 1975; Katzenstein, 1995; Mansbridge, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999; Staggenborg, 1989; Taylor & Whittier, 1999).

This thesis seeks to examine the battered women's movement as part of the WLM and therefore the two case studies as feminist organisations. As part of the WLM battered women's shelters and refuges can be identified as social movement organisations which have various characteristics worthy of examination. As feminist organisations, shelters and refuges are subject to the transformational processes that are integral to social movement organisations (Freeman, 1975, 1979; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Sealander & Smith, 1986; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor, 1983). Thus social movement theory in conjunction with feminist theory of feminist organisations requires further examination in context of shelters and refuges as it provides an understanding of the evolutionary process and the resulting maintenance issues necessary for the sustaining

of social movements and their organisations (Broom, 1991; Riger, 1994; Zald & Ash, 1966).

The research undertaken within this thesis regarding the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge can be characterised as using a feminist methodology that demonstrates and contextualises how the research was undertaken. Using feminist ethnography it seeks to explore the manner in which the women primarily involved within, and the users of services of the transition house and refuge, and who are part of the battered women's movement, have managed divergent events and achievements that have arisen from various external constraints and internal dynamics. The aim of the research is therefore to record the existence and actions of the varied participants in the transition house and the refuge, be it the management group, staff and the women who use the services provided by the transition house and the refuge in order to comprehend the experiences and circumstances of these participants from their perspective. It is also critical to perceive the context in which the participants construct and administer their reality and their actions within their individual organisations, and in relation to the external exigencies that impact on their organisations (Bograd, 1990; Reinhartz, 1992). The importance of exploring the actions of the participants as they perceive them provides knowledge and understanding of women's organisations generally and battered women's organisations specifically. This enables a greater cognizance of the influences that are brought to bear on organisations that are reliant on the state for their survival and which compel organisations to construct their reality within very specific frames of reference.

Having said this, the use of feminist methodology, specifically feminist ethnography is also complemented by the use of grounded theory that generates theory from observations and data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Martin & Turner, 1986). This theory also utilises theory gleaned from other studies, utilising a comparative analysis (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Researching into women's lives within the context of organisation lends itself to a theory that is generated from close interactions and observational methods. The process of conceptualisation then is not necessarily characterised by previously discovered theories that influence and dictate hypotheses, although they do hold some relevance as they can guide the researcher in terms of basic questions and

concepts to ponder. The opportunity however to communicate experiences and contextualise behaviour enables rich and informative data to be generated. Not only this but feminist ethnography brings to bear new understandings about what has been discovered (Harding, 1987). This holds particular relevance for women, and the study of women, as women have tended to be studied within a male perspective of society and humanity (D. Smith, 1974). It is critical therefore to study and understand through the feminist lens, to make sense of the particularities that guide the conceptual understanding, the experiences and the actions that women undertake from the perspective of women (Harding, 1987; Stanley & Wise, 1993).

The framework of this thesis has not been organised into distinctive sections as its structure and design are not only integrated but illustrate the progressive nature of social movements and social movement organisations. This progression is also paralleled by the evolution of the battered women's movement which has been subject to various external constraints and internal dynamics that have influenced the development process and the ability of the movement to remain feminist, activist and to advance the cause of social change within a context of cooptation as identified earlier. Thus the thesis characterises the development and changes experienced by the battered women's movement through the two case studies, the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge.

Chapter 1 is concerned with the development of feminist theory within the WLM and its subsequent impact on the battered women's movement. The discourse that surrounds two main features of feminist theory will be examined as the radical (social change) versus the reformist (social provision) debate, which has had repercussions for feminist organisations and therefore the battered women's movement and for the analysis of domestic violence. However the feminist perspectives within the WLM, that is the radical, liberal and social feminist perspectives, are critical as they have influenced the growth and shape of the WLM and provided a broader understanding of what constitutes feminism, feminist organisations and the concept of social change. This broader conceptualisation has consequently impacted on the battered women's movement's structure and organisational responses and activities. This chapter also addresses the development of social movements and their implications for the WLM.

This chapter reviews the growth, decline and change aspects of social movements and how this can be applied to the WLM. The chapter also examines specific feminist social movement organisations in order to identify the theoretical models that have been applied to the WLM and which can be helpful in understanding the emergence and maintenance discourse that is, organisational preservation, and its subsequent impact in relation to the battered women's movement and its particular organisations.

Chapter 2 is concerned with examining the literature that describes the establishment and maintenance of the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand. Parallels will be drawn from the literature derived from research on the American, Canadian, British, New Zealand and Australian movements in order to understand what has impacted on them and how they have dealt with transformation and change. Within this chapter an examination of the external exigencies, particularly the state and its funding regime, will be considered as the movement has moved toward bureaucracy and hierarchical structures that facilitate stability and constancy, moving away from the autonomy and independence epitomised by collective organisations. The movement toward bureaucracy and hierarchy has also influenced internal dynamics within the battered women's movement in such a way that the various internal constituents (organisational structure, governance, administration, human resources and service delivery) have undergone changes. Consequently this has enabled a more conservative and traditional structural model to supersede the radical and alternative organisational model, in keeping with social service organisations that promote organisational maintenance.

Chapter 3 provides an opportunity to examine the methods used in conducting the research study and their methodological implications. The theoretical perspective that is brought to the case studies is grounded in a feminist methodology utilising various research methods, and in theory that is generated from close encounters regarding behaviour and experiences of the participants and from data collection.

The purpose of Chapter 4 is to provide a description of the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge in order to profile them for the case studies. The opportunity to characterise the structure and organisation, human resources, services,

clientele and funding aspects provides a framework for understanding the management profile, operations, roles and functions of shelters and refuges as women's voluntary organisations. Furthermore the profiling of the transition house and the refuge enables some comparisons to be made between the two as they also provide a context for organisational and service development in both countries. Additionally the profiling of women and children aids understanding and provides insights into the diversity of women who require sheltering to escape from abusive partners, and adds weight to the need for specific social and legal policies to support women in crisis. ²

Chapter 5 examines more closely the manner in which social movement organisations, specifically feminist social movement organisations are useful exemplars for understanding the growth, transformation and change processes that have occurred within shelters and refuges and in particular the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge being studied. The chapter thus identifies specifically the historical development of both from the perspective of feminist organisational models that identify transformation processes within feminist organisations.

Chapter 6 investigates more systematically the Canadian transition house's methods of addressing the transformation process that had occurred within the battered women's movement in Canada during the 1980s. An examination of external exigencies namely the impact of government funding on the movement and the transition house more specifically will be undertaken. Furthermore an examination of the bureaucratic and hierarchical structures that are derived as a result of external influences and the resulting imposition of accountability criteria by government will aid an understanding of the change processes within the transition house's organisational structure and the balancing of accountability with social change.

Chapter 7 explores the roots of the New Zealand refuge that were based in collective structures and the impact of transformation processes upon the refuge. An examination of the impact of government on the refuge will provide an opportunity

² Such profiling also adds support for augmenting the existing inadequate levels of funding (especially in New Zealand) to address the increasingly complex needs of women and children who seek services and programmes from shelters and refuges.

to understand the changes that have occurred within the battered women's movement in New Zealand as a result of government funding. The New Zealand refuge's accountability to various funding bodies including the government remains significant and complex and requires further exploration in order to understand the bureaucratic features that result from transformation processes.

Chapter 8 investigates the internal features that have influenced the Canadian transition house's ability to balance feminist ideals with an expediency of dependency and accountability to government. Issues such as the development of alliances with government in order to advocate on behalf of clientele and influence policies that impacted on the house will also be examined. The opportunity to explore and understand the repercussions of maintaining a fine balance can be further illustrated in the development of management, staff and client relationships within the transition house. Differences experienced by staff and management provide a critical understanding of the tensions and conflicts that may arise in women's organisations as they move toward a transformational position characterised by revision of organisational ideals, member displacement, financial stability, external modes of support and acceptability and limited access to decision-making processes. This chapter also examines the bureaucratic dimensions that address service delivery, professionalism and specialisation. The balancing of a feminist service delivery with the need to focus on the individual needs of women established through the specialist roles and a professional persona will also be explored.

Chapter 9 examines the New Zealand refuge's management and staff relationships as a result of transformational processes. The process of transformation for the New Zealand refuge staff and management illustrates the potential tensions and conflicts that can arise from the structural and organisational differences that result from the uneasy transition from the collective organisational formation to a hierarchical structure.

Chapter 10 examines the bureaucratic dimensions established within the New Zealand refuge that address service delivery, professionalism and specialisation. The balancing of a feminist service delivery with the need to focus on the individual needs of women

remains a challenge for the battered women's movement as it develops specialist roles and a professional persona in order to address the increasing needs of women and children. Chapter 10 also reviews the changing structure and operations of the New Zealand refuge in terms of the declining availability of volunteers within the battered women's movement in New Zealand and the resulting impact on the refuge's ability to provide services, in light of the inadequate funding levels to meet the increasing needs of women and children.

Chapter 11 provides an opportunity to discuss and analyse the impact of organisational change on the battered women's movement and the two shelters. This has been accomplished in part throughout the results chapters from Chapters 5 through to 10, thus only key findings are discussed.

Chapter 12 contextualises the impact of both external exigencies and the influence of internal dynamics on the battered women's movement and the transition house and the refuge. It also considers the opportunities for feminist organisations, including shelters and refuges, to remain agents of social change even though the WLM is in abeyance. Chapter 12 also highlights policy implications not only for the battered women's movement, but also for governments that fund such agencies and for those refuge representative bodies such as the NCIWR who are struggling to deal with the ever watchful eye of the state and yet have not eliminated the need for shelters and refuges for battered women.

CHAPTER I

Development and Change for Social Movements - Implications for Feminist Organisations

Introduction

THE STRUGGLE WAS BEGUN [emphasis added by authors] by five hundred women and children and one cow. On a spring afternoon in 1971 this unlikely group marched down the streets of an English town and unknowingly began a movement that was to grow to international proportions within the next few years. Some of the women were members of a local women's liberation organization who, like many women at that time, had decided to put their feminist principles into practice by working on various community problems. This particular group began with a campaign against rising food prices in the local shops and soon organized a march protesting a proposed reduction in free milk for school-children. The cow served as an apt symbol of their protest, and the sight of the beast casually strolling down the middle of the main street in the company of hundreds of women and children ... drew even greater attention to their cause.

Despite their efforts, the march was not a direct success. ... but the solidarity created among the women by the march resulted in their successful effort to set up a community meeting place for local women. The local council made a derelict house available to them for the annual rent of one peppercorn, and by November 1971, Chiswick Women's Aid was open (Dobash & Dobash, 1979, p.1).

This account from *Violence Against Wives* by Dobash and Dobash (1979) describes the emergence of the battered women's movement in Chiswick, England in 1971. The combined efforts of these women, who drew upon feminist principles, were to ensure that battered women would be helped. They embodied the strength and purpose of the women's liberation movement (WLM), to change the lives of women. Erin Pizzey, 'founding mother' of the battered women's movement, was the catalyst for the movement's emergence when, on this particular day, she and a group of feminist women came together through collective action and social protest to bring about social change in their lives and those of other women (Pizzey, 1974; V. Taylor, 1983; West & Blumberg, 1990).

The purpose of this chapter is to examine and contextualise the emergence and development of the WLM during the 1970s, as it served ultimately to frame the influences and constraints on the development of the battered women's movement. The emergence and development of the WLM cannot be discussed without including some recognition of how it was influenced by various strands of feminism (Freeman, 1975; Harding, 1991; Schechter, 1982; V. Taylor, 1983; Taylor & Whittier, 1999). It is critical therefore to examine the discourse intrinsic to the development of feminism as it profoundly influenced the manner in which the WLM emerged and developed. This in turn has direct bearing on the emergence and development of the battered women's movement which will be explored more fully in Chapter 2.

Feminist scholars have suggested that the WLM was manifest in parallel branches, that is, that the liberal branch of the movement emerged concurrently with the radical branch of the movement and that their co-existence facilitated social change irrespective of their particular ideological approaches (Ferguson, 1984; Freeman 1975; Iannello 1992; V. Taylor 1983). The impact of feminism within the movement will be examined more fully in this chapter as it is a perspective, characteristic of the movement, that can acknowledge varying philosophical approaches, be adaptive to change and remain prepared for the challenges that are placed before it (Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1993). Various feminist scholars also state that the WLM consists of two distinct structures, that is bureaucratic and collective structural forms, which have converged and adopted features of both structures (Broom, 1991; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1993). This paradigm shift for the WLM illustrates its ability to be adaptable and able to change as it incorporates features found in both structures (Taylor & Whittier, 1993). Taylor and Whittier (1993) note that this change was due to bureaucratic organisations working in the mainstream and collective organisations expanding as feminist goals broadened and new feminist groups were established. As a result this led to a shift in focus for social movement feminist organisations:

Structural distinctions between the bureaucratic and collective branches of the movement diminished along with ideological distinctions, as small and large groups alike became institutionalised, and the thriving women's movement community drew participants from both traditions of feminist activism (p.539).

As a consequence this paradigm shift enabled the WLM to embrace a confluence of ideas and practices that empowered feminist social movement organisations (SMOs) to continue to focus on providing a feminist perspective within the WLM and later in mainstream organisations (Gelb, 1995; Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Ryan, 1992; Whittier, 1995).

Like the WLM, the battered women's movement cannot be seen as a homogenous movement but rather one that displays diversity of thought and practice (Church & Church, 1985; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Ferraro, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Lupton, 1984; Rankine, 1985). The WLM consists of diverse philosophies as to feminist thought and its practice implications (Iannello, 1992; Radford-Hill 1986). It has been strongly argued that a feminist analysis is paramount in order to gain understanding of the power dynamics and oppressive practices inherent in domestic violence and usually instigated and maintained on gender lines (Yllo, 1990). The WLM began with this premise and continues to identify methods of organisational structure and ideological concepts within this framework.

Examining the WLM in the larger context of emerging social movements and their transformation and maintenance is critical as this furthers an understanding of how the battered women's movement has responded to and accommodated social change issues within its organisations.

Pizzey's notable march along Chiswick High Street on that spring day in 1971 was arranged to bring about change in the lives of women, and impact on the lives of women universally. It marked the culmination of several street protests that had previously brought women together to protest increasing grocery prices and the reduction of free school milk (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pizzey, 1974). Although free school milk was viewed as an institutional hallmark of the British welfare state Pizzey and her friends were unsuccessful in their struggle to ensure its retention in schools. However, on this particular occasion, Pizzey successfully sought the provision of a house where local women could " ... come to meet and escape, for a time, from loneliness" (Pizzey, 1974, p.9). This meeting place, a derelict house due for demolition and owned by the Borough of Hounslow, became not just a meeting place

but the first acknowledged refuge for battered women and their children (Pizzey, 1974).

Without the WLM it is doubtful that the battered women's movement would have emerged in the powerful manner in which it did. Beaudry (1985) has stated that:

Perception of the existence of battered women as a social phenomenon rather than a series of individuals with individual problems contributed to the growth of a new solidarity among women. Without the women's movement and the lobbying and protest groups that nourished it, the problem of battered women would still be considered a private, individual problem, as it had been for centuries (p.19).

This was reinforced by V. Taylor (1983) who identified the difficulty in organising women into a coherent, forceful and organised movement:

... the long and arduous struggle of women to gain equality and the frequency with which this struggle has risen to become a massive social movement compels us to recognise that the more central a social pattern is to the perpetuation of a way of life, the more difficult will be the process of altering that pattern (p.435).

The Emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement

V. Taylor (1983) has maintained that prior to the advent of the WLM, women's collective action regarding their own position in society was only achieved when there had been a general social outcry against injustice, inequalities and discriminatory practices in society (Rowbotham, 1992). Thus during other periods in history concerns identified by women were viewed as specific, individual problems with no organisational base and no defined communication network system in place (Banks, 1972; Freeman, 1975). It is clear that the WLM emerging at a period in history when other social movements, such as the civil rights movement, were also finding their voices, acted as a catalyst for the battered women's movement to be established (Schechter, 1982; V. Taylor 1983). V. Taylor (1983) has maintained that the WLM " ... like its predecessor movements in this country, was influenced by women's past efforts to gain equality in American society, and grew out of and remains closely tied to other social movements which seek to alter various aspects of society" (p.435).

According to Freeman, (1975) the emergence of the WLM was dependent on three pre-conditions being *in situ*; i) a preexisting network to form the movement's base; ii) a willingness to be open to new ideas and iii) a crisis situation that acts as a catalyst for the instigation of the movement. In reference to the Danish WLM, Dahlerup (1986) added a fourth pre-condition, iv) a movement that could disseminate ideas globally. The WLM like other social movements was founded on these premises.

V. Taylor (1983) also maintains that the emerging WLM's ideology focused on changing society and overcoming patriarchy in its various racist, sexist and capitalist forms (Gilligan, 1993; Harding, 1991; Schechter, 1982). V. Taylor (1983) states that women occupied subordinate positions to men in society and therefore received fewer rewards and little prestige. D. Smith (1975) has gone further in strongly arguing that women:

... have been deprived of the means to participate in creating forms of thought relevant or adequate to express their own experience or to define and make socially conscious their situation and concerns. They have never controlled the material or social means to the making of a tradition among themselves or to acting as equals in the ongoing discourse of intellectuals. They have had no economic status independent of men (p.2).

Betty Friedan's (1963) *The Feminine Mystique* articulated women's dissatisfaction and lack of fulfilment with their expected roles as women, wives and mothers as 'the problem that has no name'. Friedan maintained that prior to the emergence of the WLM, the status of women was subordinate to that of men because of their position within the home as maintainers of the family and as wives and mothers (Gavron, 1966; Weisman, 1992; Zaretsky, 1976). Friedan (1963) noted this when women spoke of their experiences within the family, "I feel as if I don't exist" (p.18) and "I feel empty somehow ... incomplete" (p.18). Friedan concluded that " It has barely begun, the search of women for themselves. But the time is at hand when the voices of the feminine mystique can no longer drown out the inner voice that is driving women on to become complete" (1963, p.331). West and Blumberg (1990) suggested that "Women who construct their own meanings and traditions threaten patriarchal values; they cease to be invisible and unreal, as they challenge the records that men have created" (p.8). Friedan (1963) thus gave a voice to women's experiences. In citing

the works of Kate Millett (1971) and Germaine Greer (1973) on violence against women, Spender (1983) provides argument for understanding women's roles when she states that patriarchy had absorbed both the minds and the bodies of women, and:

A long formulated feminist principle has been that women's minds, *and women's bodies*, have been colonised under patriarchy, that women's oppression has taken both emotional and physical forms, and as both are inextricably linked, it is no solution to try and attain one form of liberation without the other" (p. 374).

Thus, Friedan's book made clear the role of women within society and also gave voice to women's experiences. She enabled women to articulate their feelings and frustrations by recognising that the dissatisfaction and frustration experienced could be traced directly to their role within the family, that is of wife and mother. This early recognition of women's position in society was critical to the WLM (Freeman, 1975; V. Taylor, 1983). In 1966 the liberal strand of the WLM was formulated in America as a result of *The Feminine Mystique* (Friedan, 1963). Through the lobbying efforts of feminists, and the establishment of the President's Commission on the Status of Women in 1961 and state commissions which conducted research on women's status in society with the expectation that actions would result (from this women in the commissions developed extensive networks), and the inclusion of the word "... 'sex' to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibiting employment discrimination" (Freeman, 1999, p.17) enabled the National Organisation for Women (NOW) to be established with Friedan as president (Freeman, 1975; V. Taylor, 1989; Taylor & Whittier, 1993).

The WLM thus contended that gender defined the position of women in society and within the family (Bograd, 1990; Firestone, 1971; Saville, 1982; Walker, 1990a). The WLM identified that male domination defined how women were rendered powerless in familial settings, in economic and status terms within the labour force, around issues of control of their health, and in sexual terms - identifying the double standard that exists between men and women (Anderson & Zinsser, 1988; Rowbotham, 1992).

Dobash and Dobash (1992) state that:

The knowledge that women are in a secondary position to men both in society and in the family, and that this results in numerous problems for women, including economic disadvantage and the use of violence against them, was becoming common currency in the women's

movement. The new issue of the physical abuse of women in the home simply extended this knowledge of women's oppression beyond the more public spheres of wage work, safety in public places and the like and into the very heartland of private life, the family (p.17).

In her study of the British and American battered women's movements, Lupton (1994) also asserted that the WLM enabled the transference of the traditional perception of wife assault as an aspect of family life into the public arena placing it firmly within a social and political context. Schechter (1982) in her history of the battered women's movement in America also contended that:

... the private and the social were no longer separable categories. By claiming that what happened between men and women in the privacy of their home was deeply political, the women's liberation movement set the stage for the battered women's movement (p.31).

Schechter (1982) identified the impact of the WLM as being a catalyst for furthering the understanding of battering in women's lives, which ultimately resulted in the provision of shelters and refuges and crisis intervention services for battered women.

In terms of WLM feminist theorists, Haug (1989) stated that "The women's movement emerged at the end-phase of economic growth, of the extension of the welfare-state provisions and, more or less, of socio-democratic government majorities" (p.109) (Oberschall, 1973; Roberts & Kloss, 1974). Haug (1989) has argued that the WLM was perceived as a middle-class movement that was led by women who were either involved by accident or as a pastime activity but she also stated that it was these women who were both educated, and intellectuals who established the movement:

... it can be said that the increase in women's education is itself a step towards liberation. It is first of all a result of the connexion between economic growth and social democratic compromises ... and as such it is a precondition for the first steps towards liberation in space and time. Finally, it is in addition one of the first achievements of the women's movement (p.111).

The second feature that influenced the emergence of the WLM was the ability of women to make demands for equality, to bring to the attention of governments and media the experiences of women and social structures that enabled the WLM to emerge:

And the more narrow-mindedly the women from the conventional socialist organizations insisted upon the demands for equal pay, equal work and social compensation, the more quickly did groups and activities around issues of the body open up in the rest of the wider movement (Haug, 1989, p.115).

It is important to examine the roots of the WLM in order to understand the changes that occurred as it evolved into a diverse movement in its analytical responses and practical solutions (Dahlerup, 1986; Harding, 1991; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Stanley & Wise, 1993; V. Taylor, 1983). According to Freeman (1975) the WLM "... manifests itself in an almost infinite variety of groups, styles, and organizations" (p.49) whilst she maintained that the movement formed from two distinct origins. V. Taylor (1983) agreed that originally there were two movement strands to overcome the unequal and subordinate position of women in society. Both Freeman (1975) and V. Taylor (1983) considered that change could be sought through, on the one hand a liberal feminist perspective and on the other, through a more radical feminist approach. Freeman (1975, 1979) in her case studies of the two strands of the WLM maintained that it:

... actually has two origins, from two different strata of society, with two different styles, orientations, values, and forms of organization. In many ways there have been two separate movements that have not entirely merged. Although the composition of both branches tends to be predominantly white, middle-class, and college-educated, initially the median age of the activists in what I call the older branch of the movement was higher. Too, it began first. ... In addition to NOW, this branch contains ... almost 100 different organizations and caucuses of professional women. Their style of organization has tended to be traditionally formal, with elected officers, boards of directors, bylaws, and the other trappings of democratic procedure. ... In 1967 and 1968, unaware of and unknown to NOW or to the state commissions, the other branch of the movement was taking shape. While it did not begin on the campuses, its activators were on the younger side of the generation gap. Although few were students, all were under 30 and had received their political education as participants in or concerned observers of the social-action projects of the preceding decade (1979, pp. 558-559).

V. Taylor (1983) asserted that liberal feminists:

... tend to define patriarchy in individualist, rather than structural, terms; for example, as a problem of certain men oppressing certain women. ... the liberal conception of equality involves equality within government, law, and the economic sphere, or more generally, in the

public arena, and fails to recognize how women's inequality is rooted in rearing children, performing domestic responsibilities and dependence on men in the context of traditional heterosexual marriage- in other words, in the complex interplay between the public and private spheres of social life. Liberal feminism is, in essence, a reform movement. It asks for equality for women within a structure that is patriarchal (p.437).

Freeman (1975) stated that the liberal movement known as the "older branch of the movement" (p.49) was so named because activists tended to be older women and the movement's roots were based in the women's rights movement of the 18th and 19th centuries (V. Taylor, 1983). Freeman (1975, 1999) also stated that the 'older' branch of the movement was formed by women previously involved in the civil rights and labour movements, and experienced in bureaucracies, who supported traditional and formal structures including boards of directors, elected officers to management boards and established legally binding constitutions (Aron, 1967; Ferguson, 1984; Ianello, 1992; Staggenborg, 1989). Freeman (1975) also stated that this liberal feminist strand was founded with a national perspective of women's organisations, such as NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus. The liberal strand of the movement wanted change from within existing social structures and focussed on economic and legal reforms as a means to include women in society along equal lines with men. Freeman (1975) maintained that the differences manifested in the two branches of the movement were often viewed by women within it as conflicting, but in fact, she has maintained they have been a source of strength for the movement.

Staggenborg (1989) in her research on two Chicago women's organisations identified that the Chicago National Organisation for Women was liberal feminist in its philosophy and the chapter had developed out of the civil rights movement as it called "... for equal rights and opportunities for women, rather than a revolutionary program for changing the political and economic system" (p.78). V. Taylor (1989, 1990) also noted that the founding of NOW in 1966 relied heavily upon long-time feminists, union activists and civil servants for membership. It defined itself as a liberal feminist organisation and led the liberal strand of the WLM. V. Taylor (1983) concurred with Staggenborg's (1989) analysis that liberal feminism maintained that women lacked power because they were unable to compete equally with men in the public domain.

Women according to this ideology needed to be mainstreamed so that they could fully participate in society.

Various strands of feminism proliferated during the 1970s and greatly influenced the way in which the WLM gathered momentum. Various women's organisations were formed from a feminist analysis that was as diverse as the organisations. In New Zealand and Canada the WLM was influenced by the movement in America (Bunkle, 1979; Dalziel, 1993a; Teather, 1976). In both countries the WLM was fragmented, uneven and in the New Zealand context assimilation of feminist issues was not straightforward as women took ownership of what was an overseas movement. "Our feminist ideas arose in other countries. We must know where these ideas come from if we are to select and naturalise what is appropriate for ourselves" (Bunkle, 1979, p.24). In both countries the WLM included women's rights, women's liberation and feminism as strands of the movement, which in 1969 "... emerged as separate branches" (Teather, 1976, p.316). Women's rights and women's liberation branches reflected the liberal strand and socialist feminist strand within the movement and the feminist branch represented the radical feminist approach (Wall, 1982). Kreps (1972) a founding member of the radical feminist movement in Canada described the WLM in similar terms but also noted that "... all three segments have their own validity, all three are important. One belongs in one segment rather than another because of personal affinity with the aims being striven for" (p.75). This perspective was also shared by a Canadian lesbian feminist who preferred to remain anonymous when she stated:

Asserting our lesbianism doesn't mean that women who are in relationships with men are not really committed to the feminist struggle or that lesbians are the vanguard of the women's movement. ... for any one person or any small group of people to claim to be leading the Canadian revolution is arrogant, self-destructive and absurd. ... Women's liberation has to include all women. Male supremacy affects us all in different ways. It is the sharing of those differences that can help us all to survive and struggle (Anonymous, 1972, p.173).

In New Zealand the WLM was diverse and included NOW groups that reflected liberal feminists, those older and professional women willing to work within existing structures. The liberal women's rights strand established NOW organisations in 1972

which "... provided an outlet for women who were interested in feminism but who had reservations about the ideas and/or methods of the women's liberation movement" (Dann, 1985, pp.10-11). Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) groups were also formed and influenced the political arena in that they lobbied for social, economic, legal and political equality for women whilst radical feminists focussed on revolutionary change (Dalziel, 1993a; Julian, 1993b).

Like the Canadian WLM differences in ideology existed but New Zealand feminists in the early days of the movement came together to attend and participate in the United Women's Convention (UWC) where "an extraordinary range of organisations was represented at the first convention in 1973" (Dalziel, 1993a, p.65). Furthermore organisationally there was also a separation in terms of bureaucratic and hierarchical forms and collective forms (Bunkle, 1979; Dalziel, 1993a; Dann, 1985; Hayward, 1993). The 1979 UWC was also characterised by the diverse nature of feminism, which then raised conflicting perspectives about collective structures and about the nature of feminist politics, and which ultimately led to the demise of the UWC forum (Dalziel, 1993a; Dann, 1985; Shawyer, 1979). Feminists wanted to escape the traditional hierarchical structures they saw as being male oriented and establish collective organisations that focused on consensus, informality and shared responsibilities (Dalziel, 1993a; Ridington, 1977-1978). The diversity of the movement in turn, impacted greatly upon the manner in which the battered women's movement was formed and maintained. In Canada the WLM formed the National Action Committee on the Status of Women (NAC) which was a "coalition of women's groups rather than an organization with individual membership" (Rebick, 1992, p.47). NAC is an organisation that does not support any particular political party and includes many and varied women's organisations organising across "class and race lines" (Rebick, 1992, p.47).

Conversely, Freeman (1975) identified the radical feminist movement as the 'younger' branch of the movement which has been defined by its establishment in the 1960s and 1970s, after the 'older' branch of the movement. She stated that this 'younger' branch was established within the radical community and Freeman (1999) maintained that the radical branch of the WLM was committed to:

... concepts of participatory democracy, equality, liberty, and community [which] emphasized that everyone should participate in the decisions that affected her life, and that everyone's contribution was equally valid. These values led easily to the idea that hierarchy is bad because it gives some people power over others and does not allow everyone's talents to develop. The belief was that all people should be able to share, criticize, and learn from one another's ideas--equally. Any structure, or any leader who might influence this equal sharing, was automatically bad. The logical conclusion to be drawn from this train of thought--that all structure and all leadership are intrinsically wrong--was not initially articulated. But the potential was clearly there, and it did not take long for the idea of leaderless, structureless groups to emerge and eventually dominate this branch of the movement (pp.228-229).

Unlike the liberal strand of the WLM equated with more bureaucratic organisations, the radical collectively-structured groups (Taylor & Whittier, 1993) consisted of various groups with a mass base but with no national focus and consequently its inter-group linkages were minimal. V. Taylor (1983) also maintained that radical feminists contended that:

Radical feminism, unlike the liberal position, does not deny that men are privileged as men and that they benefit as a group from their privilege - not just in the public arena, that is in the labour force and in politics, but also in relation to housework, sexual reproduction, sexuality, and marriage. Rather, patriarchy is a system of power which structures and sustains male privilege and female subordination in every sphere of life, in the nature of the economic, political and domestic institutions - religion, the law, and the sciences (p.437).

This radical feminist analysis also provides a conceptual context for domestic violence. Radical feminism has suggested that the traditional structure of the family with the male as the head of the household and the female and children as his dependents and 'property' is an optimum breeding ground for domestic violence (Bograd, 1990; Schechter 1982; Weisman 1992). Bograd (1990) maintained that even though men may not themselves use physical violence against their partners they benefit as a class in knowing that the physical movements of women are often restrained as they fear violence not only from men they live with but from strangers too (DeKeseredy & Hinch, 1991; Spender, 1983). Bograd (1990) has suggested that:

Wife abuse is not viewed as a rare and deviant phenomenon that results from the breakdown of family functioning, but as a predictable and common dimension of normal family life as it is currently

structured in our society. ... It has been ... cogently argued that wife abuse is closely related to the historical development of the isolated nuclear family in a capitalist society, to division of the public and private/domestic domains, to specialization of 'appropriate' male and female family roles, and to the current position of wives as legally and morally bound to husbands (pp.14-15).

In the early days of the battered women's movement radical feminism was an important factor in establishing shelters and refuges as the movement was premised on breaking down patriarchal systems that were reflected in hierarchies and bureaucracies. These organisations reflected consensus, collaboration and participation in decision-making processes (Schechter, 1982) and promoted social change as a primary objective.

V. Taylor (1983) identified radical feminist ideology as a recognition of " ... women's identity and subordination as a 'sex class', which means that the distribution of all of society's scarce goods, services and privileges is profoundly related to, if not determined by, whether one is female or male" (p.437). V. Taylor (1983) also maintained that in order to change gender-based inequalities in society there must be a radical transformation of all societal institutions. Thus, radical feminism advocated non-hierarchical structures, facilitated collectivity in the work environment and actively promoted consensus in decision-making processes (Rowbotham, 1992). In accordance with this philosophy, V. Taylor (1983) argued for the construction of " ... a fundamentally new social order that alters all the established patriarchal ways of seeing, defining, thinking about, structuring, and experiencing the world" (p.437). These factors were considered critical for women in everyday practice so that they could establish alternate organisational structures and practices and as a result separate themselves from men and their patriarchal methods of control (Ferguson, 1984; V. Taylor 1983).

Lupton (1994) stated that "Although sharing common origins and aims, the development of UK refuges and that of their American counterparts have been characterised by different historical tendencies" (p.55). She asserted that in Great Britain the refuge movement emerged in the 1970s from a radical feminist perspective with an emphasis on social transformation (V. Taylor, 1983) while in America shelters

developed a liberal feminist 'social provision' perspective. In Canada the early shelters were based upon collective formations but became hierarchical as a result of government funding much like their American counterparts (Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982). In New Zealand the establishment of the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) reinforced a feminist collective philosophy within its member refuges (Banks, Florence & Ruth, 1979; NCIWR, 1992b). Chapter 2 examines these changes in more depth.

The post-collective era of the battered women's movement was characterised by the transformation from collective structures to hierarchical structures as it revised its goals to conform to accountability issues imposed by government. Being provided with funding meant that shelters reshaped their organisations, and redefined their philosophical approach to conform to government and to gain broader community support (Ahrens, 1980; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990).

The Development of Social Movements

In order to contextualise the development of the battered women's movement over the past two decades it is important first of all to discuss the WLM as an emerging social movement. The conceptualisation of the emergence and development of social movements is also relevant as this provides an understanding of the continued discourse and practical implications of the evolution and change within the WLM and within the battered women's movement.

In identifying how social movements have emerged, Freeman (1975) recognised the difficulty in deciphering how a social movement originates. She blamed this lack of understanding on sociology which she stated had not addressed movement origins but tended to focus on the development and wider ramifications of "social phenomena" (p.45) (McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Freeman (1975) suggested that emphasis had been on " ... cultural processes rather than people as the major dynamic of social change" (p.45; Dahrendorf, 1972) and that this lack of understanding of what constituted social movements was because they tended to be studied from two particular theoretical perspectives, either as collective behaviour or from an interest group

perspective. Freeman maintained that social movements in fact consisted of both elements, " ... being purposive in direction, involving a critical amount of group consciousness, and resulting in both personal and institutional changes" (1975, p.47, 1999). V. Taylor (1983) maintained that social movements have their foundation in conflict in society. She referenced the protracted struggle by women to gain equality and the constancy with which women coordinated this effort into a social movement:

All social movements originate in some contradiction or conflict in the larger social order. When a social movement persists throughout modern history, as the American feminist movement has, we can only assume that the injustices, grievances, and oppression on which it is based are deeply rooted in society (pp.434-435).

Roberts and Kloss (1974) in their work on what constitutes social movements stated that their view of "... social movements is dominated by the idea that they develop in class, racial, national, or sexual struggles" (p.11) and consequently focused their review on theorists who studied " ... social, economic, and political power and the way in which power relationships change through history" (p. 12). In terms of social movement identification Roberts and Kloss (1974) cited Von Stein's (1964) study of the history of French social movements in which he viewed French movements from a class perspective and stated that in the emergence of French revolutionary movements, conflict existed between workers and employers (the ruling class).

According to Roberts and Kloss (1974), Marx (1959) viewed conflict between the bourgeoisie and proletariat as inevitable and asserted that class was paramount in his theory of social movements. For Marx (1959) the workers would take up a revolutionary stance as a result of their poor economic circumstances (Tilly, 1978). According to Roberts and Kloss (1974), Marx (1959) asserted that revolutionary activity resulted from workers empowered to negate the ruling class as it attempted to maintain control even though it no longer could. Roberts and Kloss (1974) have asserted that this explanation accounts for Marx's lack of recognition for other movements, such as race and sex issues, which are secondary to the domination of class.

Roberts and Kloss (1974) identified that Heberle (1951) also departed from both Marx and Von Stein in that he saw social movements as being more extensive than the

proletarian worker movement. He acknowledged that there were other movements in existence. "The main criterion of a social movement, then, is that it aims to bring about fundamental changes in the social order especially in the basic institutions of property and labor relationships" (Heberle, 1951, p.6). Social changes occur in society particularly in the areas of property and employee relations. Heberle (1951) has asserted that a social movement "... is always integrated by a set of constitutive ideas or an ideology" (p.11) and he was able to separate social movements from political parties as he saw the latter as having structures held together through a "... network of individual patronage" (cited in Roberts & Kloss, 1974, p.14) and not as much a community of ideas. Heberle (1951) thus identified social movements as constituting ideas, people and groups with the same concerns who through their collective action shift "... the power relationships in a society's basic institutions" (pp. 14-15).

Alexis de Tocqueville (1956) described the circumstances leading up to the French revolution as more likely to occur as people's social and economic situation improved. "... Nations that have endured patiently and almost unconsciously the most overwhelming oppression often burst into rebellion against the yoke the moment it begins to grow lighter" (cited in Roberts & Kloss, 1974, p.36). This view was supported by Davies (1962) who maintained that when economic reforms are unexpectedly reversed then the people whom it will impact upon experience outrage and disappointment:

Revolutions are most likely to occur when a prolonged period of objective economic and social development is followed by a short period of reversal. ... The actual state of socio-economic development is less significant than the expectation that past progress, now blocked, can and must continue in the future (p.6).

Thus the catalyst for the battered women's movement was when Erin Pizzey and other women decided to protest the reduction in free school milk for children which culminated in the first women's refuge being opened (Dobash & Dobash, 1979). In Canada members of the federal government's House of Commons expressed levity at the statistic that one in ten women were battered by a husband or partner (L. MacLeod, 1980). Although in Canada transition houses for battered women had been established during the 1970s it was not until a public outcry in 1982 that the Canadian

government understood that it had to act upon this concern not only in terms of determining policies but also in providing funding for transition houses (L. MacLeod, 1987).

McAdam, McCarthy and Zald (1996) noted that although social movement theorists have traditionally held diverse perspectives on social movements, they have adopted a more comparative view as a result of " ... confronting cases from a number of different national contexts" (p.xii). This has resulted in social movement scholars unifying and drawing together to combine their knowledge. McAdam et al., (1996) have stated that what emerges from this consensus of opinion can be identified as three elements that assist in the analysis of the emergence and development of social movements. These elements have been identified as i) a supporting framework of political opportunities and constraints that the movement encounters; ii) the availability of formal and informal organisational forms to participants; and iii) negotiation of such opportunities, within an organisational form, followed by an action component that frames the shared meanings that participants bring to the movement.

McAdam et al., (1996) suggested that social movement theorists have emphasised the importance of identifying political opportunities and constraints as a political system that structures opportunities for collective action. Thus the connections made between political systems and social movements have enabled European theorists to seek a comparative dimension, " ... cross-national differences in the structure, extent, and success of comparable movements on the basis of differences in the political characteristics of the nation states in which they are embedded" (McAdam et al., 1996, p.3). Tilly (1978) cited in McAdam et al., (1996) has drawn on the linkage between institutionalised politics and the emergence of social movements and has shifted from the American perspective that sought to identify emerging social movements as a result of " ... changes in the institutional structure or informal power relations of a given national political system" (p.3).

According to McCarthy and Zald (1977) American sociologists have understood that the preconditions for social movements can be identified in terms of discerning differences but also acknowledged that there must be an agreement regarding

consensual discontent, and belief systems regarding the causes and the manner in which discontent can be addressed. The former perspective supported by European theorists produced research that describes social movements as one movement differing in national perspectives only (Gamson, 1975; McAdam et al., 1996). The latter perspective espoused by American scholars has focused on social movements as singular movements described through various case studies (McAdam et al., 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). Proponents of both perspectives believe however, that social movements are framed by political opportunities and constraints embodied within a national context.

In terms of the battered women's movement it was established as an outgrowth of the WLM. This movement in both Canada and New Zealand was influenced by the WLM in America and Great Britain (Bunkle, 1979; Dalziel, 1993a; Dann, 1991; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Matheson, 1976; Teather, 1976). The battered women's movement can be viewed as a singular movement with "... common origins and aims" (Lupton, 1994, p.55) but like the WLM has diversified in terms of external influences upon its internal structure and organisation. The battered women's movement has sought to ensure that safety and shelter were primary goals but the American shelters and the British refuges can be characterised differently as the former were more open to broad based support including government funding, increased accountability and in similar ways to the liberal strand of the WLM were hierarchical and bureaucratic. In Great Britain refuges adopted the more radical strand of the WLM ensuring that they retained a collective structure, participatory democracy, and mutual self-help philosophies (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Lupton, 1994; Schechter, 1982). The Canadian and New Zealand battered women's movements although following similar paths to their American counterparts have been framed by different political opportunities and constraints within their own countries (McAdam et al., 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977) which have influenced their growth and development. A comparative study of the Canadian and New Zealand battered women's movements has not previously been undertaken, and enables an examination of their similarities and differences and what has influenced their growth and change. As part of a greater social movement, the WLM - the battered women's movement has also been influenced by external and internal factors that have resulted in transformation

processes (Broom, 1991; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Riger, 1994; Zald & Ash, 1966). The opportunity to study the Canadian and New Zealand experiences shows the diversity of the movement and provides insights into the issue of social change and how both in their own unique ways ensure that social change remains a primary focus.

The second constituent identified by McAdam et al., (1996) is that of mobilising structures, those collective organisations that facilitate the movement of people to action. Two theoretical perspectives have been articulated. The first, 'resource mobilisation theory' exemplified by McCarthy and Zald (1977), addressed social movements in terms of growth, decline and change. This perspective, they maintained, "... emphasises both societal support and constraint of social movement phenomena" (p. 1213). Oberschall (1973) has asserted that "Mobilisation refers to the processes by which a discontented group assembles and invests resources for the pursuit of group goals" (p.28). McCarthy and Zald (1977) "... examine the variety of resources that must be mobilised, the linkages of social movements to other groups, the dependence of movements upon external support for success, and the tactics used by authorities to control or incorporate movements" (p.1213). Other models have focused on internal factors such as membership as being critical for the "success and survival in responding to strategic and doctrinal challenges" (Aveni, 1978; Zald & Ash, 1966). Oberschall (1973) also identified that leadership and organisational effectiveness were key facets in the mobilisation of a social movement:

... the benefits accruing to all members of a collectivity from a collective good are not a strong enough inducement for them to organize to obtain that good if they behave like rational actors, especially in a large collectivity. So far as the attainment of collective goods is concerned in a situation where negative sanctions and coercion can be applied against those individuals who start organizing, the prospects of mobilization are even dimmer. ... Furthermore, if the members of the collectivity are negatively privileged, lack economic autonomy, and possess few organizational skills due to lack of education, they will be extremely vulnerable to the social control mechanism and agencies of the society and even less likely to organize for the attainment of a collective good (p.159).

Within the battered women's movement stability and sustainability have been the elements that have resulted from the change aspects of the movement. Opportunities to mobilise a range of external resources, sustain membership and maintain an

organisational structure that is operationalised through formal and informal leadership and governance have acted to consolidate the movement (Aveni, 1978; Freeman, 1975; Oberschall, 1973; Zald & Ash, 1966). This has been accomplished in both Canada and New Zealand within individual shelters and within the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR), the umbrella organisation that has provided a variety of support for its individual member refuges (NCIWR, 1992b).

Oberschall (1973) maintained that an emerging leader was critical as:

Leaders are the agents of group mobilization and the architects of organization. They are exposed to considerably higher risks and penalties and have to expend more time, energy, personal resources, and make more economic sacrifices than the followers who subsequently join a social movement when its nucleus is already formed (p.159).

Aveni (1978) has also acknowledged the importance of leaders within social movements as they provide a figurehead and may bring financial resources to the organisation. Aveni (1978) has asserted that the introduction of leadership enables structural input into the organisation in areas such as membership of a board of directors, committee involvement and holding advisory positions that may ultimately influence policy decisions.

Aveni (1978) has also suggested that linkages with other organisations or individuals "... have positive consequences for movement organizations" (p. 187). Such linkages can facilitate the mobilisation of resources, for example: i) organisational membership is critical for the development of organisations that due to lack of externally-sourced financial resources may have to rely heavily on person power; ii) legitimacy is a pre-requisite in periods of opposition and therefore defense of the organisation is critical; iii) linkages enable financial stability which can be further resourced as the need arises; iv) prestige supports the sourcing of funding, membership and is influential; v) information is important for the changes that can occur within a movement; and vi) power as "Movement organizations only are viable if they are capable of promoting their interests, which are usually at the expense of other individuals or groups" (Aveni, 1978, p.188). Aveni (1978) has stated that social movement organisations are

required to exercise the use of power through direct or indirect means by influencing those that are powerful. Thus the requirements of any social movement are encapsulated in these major resources.

For the battered women's movement linkages are critical and have been utilised widely within the movement. In the Canadian context transition houses have maintained external linkages including opportunities to engage with the state and mainstream organisations in order to ensure funding viability, establish and sustain membership links and promote a feminist philosophy within other organisations (Barnsley, 1995; L. MacLeod, 1987; Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995). In New Zealand the movement has sought to ensure its viability through its linkages with its national organisation the NCIWR. In promoting the national interests of individual refuges (Aveni, 1978) the NCIWR has ensured funding stability and has through its interactive processes maintained a feminist philosophy with its member refuges.

The second theoretical perspective espoused by McAdam et al., (1996) is the political process model which identifies the importance of grass roots organisations, friendship networks within employment organisations and the community in forming collective action. McAdam et al., (1996) noted the significance of black religious and educational institutions in the emergence of the civil rights movement in America as well as the growth of the WLM through its informal friendship networks and its base in the civil rights and the new left movements (Freeman, 1979; Oberschall, 1973; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor, 1983; Zald & Ash, 1966).

The third element identified by McAdam et al., (1996) is what they call framing processes, those:

... shared meanings and definitions that people bring to their situation. At a minimum people need to feel both aggrieved about some aspects of their lives and optimistic that, acting collectively, they can redress the problem. Lacking either one or both of these perceptions, it is highly unlikely that people will mobilize even when afforded the opportunity to do so (p.5).

This is exemplified in the emergence of various social movements including the civil rights movement, and describes the heyday of the WLM and the battered women's

movement where feminists and victims of domestic violence came together to open shelters and refuges and alert government and society to the issue of domestic violence (Beaudry, 1985; Bograd, 1990; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hancock, 1979; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990a). According to Dobash and Dobash (1992), the WLM emerged as a social movement in the following manner:

The great mobilization of women began with a vision supported by action. The vision was of a world transformed, of a society in which women occupied a place no longer subordinated and participated fully in all facets of society. A world in which women were revalorized, fully integrated and set free from male domination was a bold notion. This transformative vision could not be achieved without major social changes in all facets of cultural, political and economic life. Such an expansive vision was suggestive of limitless arenas for action (p.15).

Social Movements and Organisational Preservation

However for the WLM and other social movements once the focus had shifted from action and membership support to maintenance of the organisation and increased reliance on external support, the likelihood of social change was diminished (Staggenborg, 1989). In their analysis of social movements, Zald and Ash (1966) maintained that "goal transformation" (p.327) led to a more conservative perspective. They discussed the development of social movements in terms of their transformation, stemming from the Weberian (Gerth & Mills, 1946) and Michels (1962) model of analysis in that:

Social movements manifest themselves, in part, through a wide range of organizations. These organizations are subject to a range of internal and external pressures which affect their viability, their internal structure and processes, and their ultimate success in attaining goals (Zald & Ash, 1966, p.327).

Zald and Ash (1966) in reviewing the Weber/Michels model asserted that as social movements attain a social and economic viability and as the charismatic leader is replaced, bureaucracy emerges and with it the defence of its structure "The participants in this structure have a stake in preserving the organization, regardless of its ability to attain goals (p.327).

This is reinforced by Michels (1962) who stated in *Political Parties* that:

We may even say that the more conspicuously a bureaucracy is distinguished by its zeal, by its sense of duty, and by its devotion, the more also will it show itself to be petty, narrow, rigid, and illiberal (p.192).

Gamson (1975) has asserted that "By creating a structure of roles with defined expectations in the place of diffuse commitments, a challenging group can better assure that certain necessary tasks will be routinely performed. It gives the challenging group a higher readiness for action" (p.91). This reinforcement of bureaucratic structures has enabled the survival of organisations (Ferguson, 1984; Staggenborg, 1989). Zald and Ash (1966) noted that there exist three types of change that are involved in the process of organisational preservation. Internal pressures include: i) 'goal transformation' which is a change in leadership and organisational goals so that the latter become more diffuse, attainable and more traditional; ii)'organisational maintenance' which is a need to conserve and protect the organisation by sustaining membership, funding and other requirements; and iii) 'oligarchisation' which is a concentration of power in the hands of a minority that focuses on a hierarchy of official structures and rules (Ferguson, 1984; Ianello, 1992; Michels, 1962; J. Wilson, 1973). Michels (1962) maintained that bureaucracy is essential for the maintenance of power in the hands of an elitist body. "Like every centralizing system, bureaucracy finds its justification in the fact of experience that a certain administrative unity is essential to the rapid and efficient conduct of affairs" (Michels, 1962, p.192).

This is particularly relevant for the Canadian transition house movement which in focusing on sustainment and survival has been subject to organisational preservation (Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987; McDonald, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966) in order to ensure that battered women and children continue to receive sheltering and services. In New Zealand the refuge movement's NCIWR has also been subject to organisational preservation in its strategies to ensure that refuges continue to provide services to battered women and children (Koopman-Boyden, 1992).

However, Zald and Ash (1966) have maintained that this analysis of social movement change is deficient. Internal pressures remain only part of the equation of social movement change. They noted that there existed several external pressures involved in the transformation of social movements. They identified: i) the importance of the formulation of associations with other organisations; ii) the disintegration of organisations; iii) factions and splits within groups; and iv) an increase not a decrease in radical views within organisations. Zald and Ash (1966) stated that they followed the "... general sociological approach to organisations" (p.328). This approach, defended by Selznick (1948, cited in Zald & Ash, 1966) was identified by them in the following manner:

... large scale organizations are seen as a collection of groups harnessed together by incentives of various kinds to pursue relatively explicit goals. Both the ends and means of subgroups may conflict with those established by the authoritative elements in the organization: there may be conflict over the distribution of power and rewards within the organization. Organizations exist in a changing environment to which they must adapt. Adaptation to the environment may itself require changes in goals and in the internal arrangement of the organization. This view of organizations treats goals as problematic, and as changing in response to both internal and external pressures (p.328).

Organisational Preservation within the Women's Liberation Movement

Organisational preservation within WLM organisations has been well documented and is exemplified within the liberal strand of the WLM as endorsing hierarchical and bureaucratic structures. These organisations were sustained and successful in their ability to be maintained (Staggenborg, 1989). Radical women's organisations within the WLM were less successful as they endorsed informal structures, were leaderless and encouraged open and flexible membership which reduced opportunities for actioning the ideas that women generated (Freeman, 1975; Staggenborg, 1989).

In *The Politics of Women's Liberation*, Freeman (1975) described in more detail the 'younger' branch of the WLM as contributing to its own demise. She highlighted the notion of 'structurelessness' that was integral to this branch of the movement. By this Freeman (1975) meant that there were no established formal leaders as the WLM had rejected traditional structural forms. As a result of this structurelessness, Freeman

(1975) maintained that within this 'younger' branch of the WLM various women were identified by the media as spokespersons (albeit informal) for the movement. As a result these women were able to establish themselves as quasi-leaders and as their positions were not formalised or ratified by the general movement neither could they be removed from these informal positions. Freeman (1975) stated that these so called 'media stars' were under attack from within the movement, which could not differentiate between women who were there for personal gain and women who had the interests of the WLM at heart. This internal dynamic led to many committed women leaving the movement whilst those that remained became more isolated. "Thus the movement's greatest fear became a self-fulfilling prophecy. The ideology of 'structurelessness' created the 'star system' and the backlash to it encouraged the very kind of individualistic nonresponsibility that it most condemned" (Freeman, 1975, p. 121). The early battered women's movement exemplified the notion of structurelessness and leaderless organisations as collective organisations eschewed the formalisation of roles and supported consensus decision-making amongst its membership. However the battered women's movement became more formalised which influenced the structure and organisational aspects of Canadian transition houses, the NCIWR and the refuge in the study (Aveni, 1978; Currie, 1989; Freeman, 1975; NCIWR, 1999; Oberschall, 1973; Schechter, 1982).

Zald and Ash (1966) have asserted that social movement organisations (SMOs) need leaders in order to maintain the organisation:

Because the situation of the MO [movement organisation] is unstable, because the organization has few material incentives under its control, and because of the non-routinized nature of its tasks the success or the failure of the MO can be highly dependent on the qualities and commitment of the leadership cadre and the tactics they use (p.338).

Although the 'younger' branch of the WLM had no formalised leaders, it did have informal ones as previously identified by Freeman (1975). This lack of formalised leadership may have impacted upon social movements as Zald and Ash (1966) noted that a change in leadership tends to impact more acutely on those organisations that are less bureaucratic. They identified that: i) membership was likely to decrease as a result of the departure of a founding member who was the leader (and they asserted that member adherence was more likely to be focused upon the leader over and above

the goals of the organisation); ii) factions may also form as a leader is replaced by individuals who maintain a differing ideology for the organisation; and iii) a change in the professionalisation and administrative function of the organisation may occur due to a change in its incentive base. This leads to an increase in organisational conservatism. Although this may not directly apply to the WLM's 'younger' branch, there are some elements identified that are critical. For example, in the case study of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union (CWLU) the imposition of left-wing sectarian groups forced the Union to change its structure, as informally identified leaders left the Union, membership declined and ultimately, a lack of formal leadership and organisational structures led to its demise (Freeman, 1975; 1979; Staggenborg, 1989).

Change in leadership presents internal organisational problems when membership changes, and when the organisation refocuses its ideology with the introduction of new members, and restructures the organisation as a result of an ideological shift toward hierarchical structures (Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). These elements of change remain critical for the New Zealand refuge and are discussed in Chapter 9.

There are two interpretations regarding what happened to the WLM 'younger' branch. Freeman (1975) has stated that although there was a revival of the movement in the 1970s it remained without structure and leadership, and therefore was easily dissolvable as women generated new ideas but had no form with which to take action. She noted that due to the high turnover of members, much time and emphasis was placed on the education of new members in order to familiarise them with the issues central to the WLM. Freeman (1975) maintained that groups had no more than a two year life span before they 'burnt out'. New groups were constantly emerging. "There is a phoenix like quality to the movement - different groups simultaneously dying, reforming, and emerging - so that it is hard to get an accurate reading on the state of its health" (Freeman, 1975, p.143).

Conversely, V. Taylor (1983) identified that this 'younger' branch of the movement relied heavily upon its flexibility, its loose structure and its open membership to seek social change:

This type of movement structure is highly adaptive in affecting social change and in helping a movement to survive in the face of strong opposition. Because it permeates every institution of society, operates in multiple localities, and recruits from different socio-cultural and socio-economic groupings, it becomes difficult to suppress. It also maximizes innovation in strategy and ideology through its diversity and is a functional structure by which to recruit new membership (p.440).

Staggenborg's (1989) research into two specific social movement organisations provides an overview of the women's movement in action during the 1970s and the manner in which external and internal factors influenced the sustainment or demise of these organisations. Examining these movement organisations also further an understanding of the battered women's movement as it is based on the ideological foundation of the WLM.

Staggenborg (1989) maintained in her study of two social movement organisations, the Chicago chapter of NOW, and the CWLU, that various ideological and structural differences between them were the deciding factors in the success/failure of their branch affiliation/organisation. The structural disparities identified by Staggenborg (1989) and clearly formulated by V. Taylor (1983) were:

... what has traditionally been termed the liberal feminist approach, holds that society should make a greater effort to *redistribute persons* (women and men) between the core and the periphery, for example, through affirmative action. The second, and the more radical approach, is for society to *redistribute rewards* between the core and the periphery, that is, to replace the present hierarchical relations between them with an egalitarian structure, which ultimately means transforming all the existing forms of hierarchy and stratification that sustain and perpetuate patriarchy, in other words, fundamentally changing the whole social system (p.436).

These two strategies for change were reflective of bureaucratic and collective structures and as previously stated the important difference was the degree of social change sought (Freeman, 1975; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Taylor & Whittier,

1993). Staggenborg (1989) noted the importance of introducing internal structural changes to sustain the effectiveness of social movement organisations:

SMOs with more formalized or bureaucratic structures have established decision-making and operational procedures, a developed division of labour by function, explicit membership criteria, and formal rules governing any subunits such as chapters and committees. SMOs that lack formalized structures have few established decision-making and operational procedures, a minimal and changing division of labour, and loose membership requirements (p.76).

According to Gamson, (1975) those social movement organisations (SMOs) are centralized that have a "single center of power within the organization" (p.93) whereas in decentralized SMOs power is dispersed to the membership through the chapters or other subunits. Gamson (1975) also viewed organisations with bureaucratic and centralised power structures as contributing to the success of a SMO in that they addressed internal conflict, promoted unity and organisational maintenance.

The success that Gamson (1975) referred to was characterised by the liberal feminist strand of the WLM. The 'older' branch of the movement exemplified by Freeman (1975, 1979) as the NOW has been paralleled by Staggenborg (1989) in her study of the Chicago chapter of NOW. Staggenborg (1989) has taken a pragmatic view of the Chicago NOW's structure and function in relation to addressing its problems. In agreement with Gamson (1975), Staggenborg (1989) has noted the introduction of bureaucratic systems, oligarchical tendencies in decision-making, and prioritising of activities as critical ways to maintain the organisation and sustain member participation (Freeman, 1975). This has had implications for the chapter's "strategies and tactics" (Staggenborg, 1989, p.85) exemplified by a reduction in the number of projects to the point that in 1977 it focused all of its attention on the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) campaign. This " ... trade off between innovation and organizational maintenance" (Staggenborg, 1989, p.89) although inevitable, was "... decidedly more successful than the Chicago Women's Liberation Union in creating a stable organization capable of mobilizing impressive financial resources as well as activists for special projects" (Staggenborg, 1989, p.79).

Although the 'younger' branch was innovative, developed ideas and involved in education, at the same time because of its loose structure it was not skilled or able to participate in particular activities (Freeman, 1979). Freeman (1975) has noted the irony of this as the branch became more oligarchical and specific project driven and although "... good for personal change; it is bad for institutional change" (p.145). She asserted that although the 'younger' branch of the movement was ideological, without the national perspective provided by organisations such as the NOW their ideas would not be developed.

Staggenborg (1989) like V. Taylor (1983) has also suggested that both strands of the WLM have had an opportunity to use their strengths. For the Chicago chapter of the NOW its strengths were in its focus on organisational maintenance and the special projects that it identified as being critical for women. For the CWLU its strength was in its ability to facilitate alternative structures and therefore produce cultural changes. Staggenborg (1989) maintained that a combination of these two facets increasingly facilitated collective activity. Freeman (1975) suggested that they have a symbiotic relationship that enables the movement to be successful:

The irony is that it is not the centralized social-movement organization, NOW, that has moved toward conformity with the Weber/Michel model of oligarchization, conservatism, and goal transformation. It is the nonbureaucratic, noncentralized small groups. They are the ones run largely by oligarchies, who have sufficiently accommodated themselves to their environment to have transformed their goals, in practice if not in theory, from radical social change to ameliorative service projects (p. 145).

Freeman (1975) noted that "... what is necessary for movement survival is to opt for neither the apotheosis of efficiency nor the apotheosis of participation, but to maintain a balance between them both" (p.146). The combination of key characteristics of the two strands of the WLM enabled V. Taylor (1983) to suggest that all women's activity is revolutionary activity. By this she identified that: i) social change occurs as women's consciousness is raised; ii) traditional institutions change as a result of women providing new problem-solving techniques; and iii) the emergence of feminist ideology coupled with practice (i.e.praxis) to address patriarchy has impacted on all institutions in a favourable manner (Katzenstein, 1995; Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt,

1995). V. Taylor (1983) has maintained that collective activity thus impacted on all aspects of social life:

Indeed, this appears to be the means by which feminism is likely to dismantle the complex structural base of patriarchy and ultimately to transform society. If this is the case, then the organization and the strategies of the contemporary feminist movement would seem to be highly adaptive in helping the movement to survive and to reach its ultimate objectives (p.441).

V. Taylor (1983) has analysed the WLM from a broader perspective and has suggested that it can be visualised as a "multi group model" (p.438). In citing the model developed by Gerlach and Hine (1970; Gerlach, 1999) and applied by Cassell (1971), as being useful in conceptualising the 'younger' branch of the WLM, V. Taylor (1983) has stated that:

It views any general or broad-based social movement as comprised of a number of relatively independent movement organizations that differ in ideology, goals and tactics, are characterized by a decentralized leadership, and are loosely connected by multiple and overlapping membership, friendship networks, and cooperation in working for common goals" (pp.438-439).

V. Taylor (1983) advocated that the WLM should be known as an inclusive movement that sought to reflect the interests of all women and cited Bunch (1981) who suggested that the movement builds "... a broad base by forming coalitions among feminist groups and other human rights movements" (p.440). Although the WLM has various strands of feminism within it to which women align themselves, it has also adopted an inclusivity (Dahlerup, 1986; Freeman, 1975; P.Y. Martin, 1990; V. Taylor, 1983) as it understands that the movement has been open to transformation and change as a result of cooptation, that is structural and organisational change from collective to hierarchical structures embracing bureaucratic features such as authority, division-of-labour and rule formation (Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). This structural change has had an impact on the battered women's movement which has also been open to cooptation (Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1989; Lupton, 1994; Pahl, 1979; Schechter, 1982). This is critical for the thesis which examines in ensuing chapters the impact of cooptation on the movement and its ability to maintain social change as part of its agenda.

Staggenburg (1989) demonstrates in her research on SMOs, the integration of organisations with collective structures with aspects of bureaucracy in order to be more effective at a time when the WLM was becoming less distinct. The decade from the 1970s to the 1980s saw the WLM in America in its heyday and involved with various issues pertaining to the ERA, abortion rights and women in politics which brought feminists from various persuasions together to work on these issues (Taylor & Whittier, 1993). During the 1970s the WLM broadened its feminist goals as the movement became more radical which resulted in the proliferation of various women's groups. Taylor and Whittier (1993) point out that as the movement grew, distinctions between radical and liberal strands diminished, and the liberal strand of the movement incorporated aspects of collectivism such as "... modified consensus decision-making, and the use of direct action tactics and civil disobedience" (p.539). Furthermore feminist collectives were more likely to channel their activities in service-oriented issues such as establishing battered women's shelters and rape crisis centres and in doing so "... assumed a more reform-oriented stance and adopted relatively institutionalized structures and strategies for change" (Taylor & Whittier, 1993, pp. 539-540; Ryan, 1992) as the issues that they supported gained political credence resulting in financial support. This groundswell of acceptance of women's issues enabled the movement to grow and incorporated a variety of activities and events across a wide spectrum of issues, from marches against rape to cultural events to conferences on spirituality and substance abuse (Taylor & Whittier, 1993).

Feminists within the WLM in Canada established transition houses and eventually adopted bureaucratic structures in order to gain government funding and credibility at a time when domestic violence was being accepted as a social problem (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; L. MacLeod, 1987). These organisations also retained aspects of collectivism in their attempt to maintain a feminist perspective within their organisations while newer transition houses were established along hierarchical lines (L. MacLeod, 1987). In New Zealand feminists also established refuges (Cammock, 1994; Hancock, 1979) and perpetuated aspects of collective structures through their relationship with the NCIWR. The eventual adoption of a hierarchical structure was however evident in the NCIWR's internal structure

(NCIWR, 1999) as it gained government funding and with it more bureaucratic in its structure and organisation.

In both Canada and New Zealand WLM groups focussed on various single issue campaigns but from varying theoretical perspectives which eventually fragmented and caused conflict within the movement (Wall, 1982). According to New Zealand feminist activists, by the mid-1970s the WLM was on the wane (Dann, 1985; Gillespie, 1980). The splits and fractures identified by Staggenborg (1989) and Zald and Ash (1966) within social movements placed too great a strain on feminist groups which because of their success (Dalziel, 1993a; Taylor & Whittier, 1993) had also attracted women with diverse views who could not always agree and who could not always resolve differences.

In similar ways to the WLM in America, both Canada and New Zealand experienced the fragmentation of feminist organisations. Dann (1985) suggests that in New Zealand as early as 1973 specific groups focusing on particular issues were becoming the norm and that some feminists believed that these single issue activities caused the demise of the movement. Later NOW and WEL organisations went out of existence and in both countries radical feminists established and channelled their feminist ideology through women's service organisations including refuges, women's centres and rape crisis organisations (Dalziel, 1993a; Novitz, 1982; Ridington, 1977-1978; Wall, 1982). Dann (1991) writing about the 1977 United Women's Convention in Christchurch, New Zealand, noted that the diversity of the WLM was disabling:

I think of the period as the rise of 'qualifying adjective' feminism. The women's liberation movement was no more. Instead there was radical, liberal, lesbian, socialist, cultural, anarchist, Maori, and spiritualist feminism. The last New Zealand gathering to use the name women's liberation, the Women's Liberation Congress held in Piha in 1978, was split into these camps. ... It was my first experience of the tendency of radical movements to dissolve into bitter internal struggles as external circumstances turn against them, or fail to respond fast enough to their efforts (p. 81).

Lesbian feminists within the WLM saw themselves as the vanguard of the movement, the only true feminists who refused to comply with and work within existing

structures (Freeman, 1975). In discussing the progress Canadian lesbian women made in the 1970s, Wall (1982) stated that:

Lesbians share with their heterosexual sisters the common oppression of women. But their demand for the right to be lesbians puts them in a unique position politically and in making this demand they speak for all women. The advent of autonomous lesbian feminist organizations gives voice to their conviction that their liberation depends on their establishing their own communities as part of the women's movement, from which they can speak in a collective voice (pp.22-23).

In New Zealand separatism, that is the ideology that women should live with other women in their own female communities eschewing men all together (Dann, 1985), was voiced by many lesbian feminists. They gave both practical and political reasons including a safer environment, the exclusion of women from providing the infrastructure that enables men to continue to function, otherwise men won't change, and that inevitably men "... are incapable of changing" (Dann, 1985, p.31). Dann (1985) states that lesbians did organise separately along with Māori women and by 1980 the lesbian community was a reality and included involvement and organisations that supported social, legal and political activities.

The ambitious nature of the WLM in America during the 1970s gave way to a more conservative approach during the 1980s with the election of the Republican Party in 1980 with Ronald Reagan as President, with the subsequent retrenchment of funding for feminist social services and the establishment of a counter women's movement that was opposed to abortion rights. Taylor and Whittier (1993) state that the WLM suffered from its success as the media and political structures illustrated that women's equality had been reached and thus women did not need a WLM (Schreader, 1990). Furthermore the internal ramifications within the WLM which separated radical feminists, who wanted an alternate feminist culture, from feminists who "[retreated] from confronting and changing social institutions" (Echols, 1989, cited in Taylor & Whittier, 1993, p.543) caused conflicts to occur and led to fragmentation of the movement. According to Taylor and Whittier (1993) the movement moved into abeyance in order to:

... survive in hostile political climates. ... A movement in abeyance is primarily oriented toward maintaining itself rather than confronting the established order directly. ... The structure of the women's

movement has changed as mass mobilization and confrontation of the social system have declined. Nevertheless, feminist resistance continues in different forms (p.543).

Whittier (1995) also suggests that the WLM's abeyance was due to change in the membership of radical feminist organisations, which over time influenced change within those organisations to the point that many experienced members left the movement (Freeman, 1975). This, coupled with loss of funding and a hostile political climate, reduced the number of women's organisations. "By the 1980s feminists were increasingly pursuing their goals within mainstream institutions such as social service and government agencies, the judicial system, colleges and universities" (Whittier, 1995, p.196). These perspectives have resonance for the battered women's movement as the issue of convergence and separatism within the WLM also provides an understanding for its transformation and change during the 1980s (Gelb, 1995; Novitz, 1982; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1993; Whittier, 1995). Chapter 2 will address these matters in the context of the emergence of the battered women's movement in more detail.

Exploring social movements and their organisations and the manner in which they have evolved and changed provides a context not only for characterising movement success, that is the ability of feminist social movements and their organisations to be maintained through resource provision and specific activities (Staggenborg, 1989), but also the ability of feminist organisations to include aspects of both hierarchical and collective structures in order to further feminism within their organisations:

Feminist groups have sought new organizational forms including "modified collectives" and other structural hybrids, in order to sustain their original commitments but also to operate more effectively and efficiently (Gelb, 1995, p 130).

Feminist scholars writing about the WLM have suggested that each strand of the movement contains facets that were of assistance to the other. Although formed from differing ideological perspectives both identified very clearly as part of a feminist movement that had historically worked, and currently continues to work, both separately and collectively as the need arises (Gelb, 1995; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1993). It is certain that each strand desires that the situation of women

within society will change, and uses the opportunities which arise to facilitate changes through membership, women's networks, leadership, bureaucratic means and ultimately an overriding philosophy of women's power and hopefulness for the future:

... following the advice of an earlier feminist, Mother Jones, who urged: "Don't mourn, organize!" In this phrase lies the future of feminism in the 1980s, only this time women will come to the movement with far more political sophistication and organizing experience than they have had at any other period in the history of women's struggle to gain equality. And the demands they will make on society will be far more radical than their feminist foremothers might ever have dreamed possible (V. Taylor, 1983, p.448).

Subsequent chapters within this thesis will explore evolution and change within the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand and will examine the internal and external factors that have impacted on their ability to be sustained. The movement and in particular the transition house and the refuge involved within this thesis have undergone change as they continue to provide a valuable service within the wider community and balance this with maintenance and preservation issues.

Conclusion

This chapter has had as its focus the emergence and development of the WLM in the context of social movements and social movement organisations. In order to understand the battered women's movement it is critical to review its ideological foundations, rooted not only in theory but also in practice, i.e. praxis. The battered women's movement is part of the WLM which has enabled the former to emerge and develop in very specific ways. The purpose of the thesis is to examine the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand in relation to its emergence and continued development. This is critical to determine as the thesis focuses on various internal and external influences and constraints that impact on the battered women's movement's philosophy and practice.

As the thesis has a cross-national perspective, that of New Zealand and Canada, Chapter 2 and subsequent chapters will also focus on the battered women's movement's similarities and differences between the two countries. This focus is useful

to determine the emerging and developing facets of the movement within both countries and to further understanding of the meaning of social change.

Focusing on various strands of feminism also furthers an understanding of the WLM. The theoretical underpinnings suggest very clearly that the WLM can be identified as evolving from liberal and revolutionary understandings into a model where these have converged, embracing both bureaucratic and collective structures "... in order to survive a shrinking membership and an increasingly nonreceptive environment" (Taylor & Whittier, 1993, p.534). It is this model that has influenced to a greater degree the structure and organisational forms the movement has taken and which ultimately has influenced the battered women's movement's evolutionary progress.

The review of social movements also facilitates a greater understanding of the WLM as a social movement. Both internal and external dynamics impact on social movements and their social movement organisations and influence the concept of both as agents of social change. According to Freeman (1975) and V. Taylor (1983) it is only a matter of degree of social change and whether an understanding can be reached as to the modelling of revolution versus reformism politics for the WLM. All women's activity impacts on the institutions of society to some degree and women's consciousness is raised by their very involvement in women's 'issues' (Mansbridge, 1995; V. Taylor, 1983).

The cooptation of the battered women's movement (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990) paralleled the transformation of the WLM and its organisations (Taylor & Whittier, 1993). The maintenance of social movement organisations replaced ideology and action as a result of a necessary focus on sustaining social and economic viability (Zald & Ash, 1966). The three aspects of change for social movement organisations that are influential for the battered women's movement include internal factors: i) 'goal transformation' meaning leadership change and the redefinition of goals which are more attainable and conservative; ii) 'organisational maintenance' focusing on sustainment of the organisation through human and financial resourcing; and iii) 'oligarchisation' promoting hierarchy and authority driven structures (Ferguson, 1984; Michels, 1962; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

External factors that influence change within social movements and their organisations include promoting associations with other organisations; organisational breakdown; rifts and splits within groups and increasingly radical views within organisations (Zald & Ash, 1966).

These external and internal factors have been applied to women's movement organisations (Broom, 1991; Freeman, 1975; Riger, 1994; Sealander & Smith, 1986; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor, 1983) and the battered women's movement (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Potuchek, 1986; Schechter, 1982). The importance of leadership within social movements has been critical for the sustainability of organisations not only for maintaining continuity and stability but also for procuring resources (Aveni, 1978; Freeman, 1975; Oberschall, 1973; Zald & Ash, 1966). Organisational maintenance is also supported by homogeneity within organisations as it enables social control and reduces the risk of organisational breakdown (Oberschall, 1973; Staggenborg, 1989) as exemplified by the 'younger' branch of the WLM. These external and internal factors have a resonance for the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand and will be examined more closely in the following chapters.

The convergence of both bureaucratic and collective structures is also important for the battered women's movement which has been coopted, that is the movement has adopted hierarchical structures, and bureaucratic tendencies in order to comply with funding requirements, but within this structure the battered women's movement has demonstrated its independence regarding the balancing of accountability requirements that have resulted from funding shelters and refuges with maintaining a feminist perspective (Hoff, 1990; Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982).

CHAPTER 2

The Battered Women's Movement -

Maintenance of a Fine Balance

Introduction

... the movement against domestic violence is not a response to any increase in the level of violence against women. Rather it is a by-product of the women's movement and the patriarchal analysis of society it produced (Hopkins & McGregor, 1991, p.132).

This chapter examines particular aspects of the historical development and maintenance of the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand since its inception in the early 1970s. The movement's development has been identified and analysed from both national and cross-national perspectives (Dobash & Dobash, 1987, 1992; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990a). Particularly, Dobash and Dobash (1987, 1992) have studied the battered women's movement within an American/British comparative framework whilst Schechter (1982) has written extensively on the American shelter movement. Walker (1990a) and others (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; MacDonald, 1995; L. MacLeod, 1987; Ridington, 1977-1978) have written within the context of the Canadian transition house movement placing particular emphasis on movement development within various provinces, such as British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec and the Atlantic provinces. This thesis draws on current literature in North American, British, Australian and New Zealand contexts in order to describe and analyse the Canadian/New Zealand setting that is the specific context of this research. Some parallels can be drawn between the American and Canadian systems and the British and New Zealand systems of shelter/refuge provision which provide a context for their particular development.

Moreover, this chapter examines the impact of various internal and external constraints that influenced the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand, and the particular ways in which these constraints influenced its philosophy and actions. Neither this chapter nor the thesis explore to any great extent the development of the refuge movement's bi-cultural policies (National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR), 1991) nor its lesbian visibility policy

(NCIWR, 1992a). Both issues remain important within the battered women's movement in New Zealand and need to be explored in greater detail than this thesis can accommodate. The intent of this study is to examine two specific shelters and what has impacted on them, and in doing so recognises the limitations not only from a research perspective but also in terms of the two shelters, such as anonymity and confidentiality. This thesis comments on the battered women's movement within the context of the two shelters being studied but does not seek to provide a comprehensive nor extensive study of the movement itself. This chapter does not examine the specific data collected as part of the research conducted within the Canadian and New Zealand contexts for this thesis. These data will be analysed in the following chapters.

In the beginning, shelters¹ pursued dichotomous interests: they provided direct services to battered women and also worked toward ending violence against women (Currie, 1989; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; Pahl, 1985; Schechter, 1982). Examining this process is crucial for this thesis as it elucidates and provides an explanation for the changes and for the impact constraints have had upon the battered women's movement. For example, it has been argued that the state has intervened in such a way that it has generated tensions within the Canadian transition house movement (Currie, 1989), to the extent that transition houses have increasingly found it difficult to maintain a political agenda for social change (Walker, 1990b). It is also clear that analysis of the direction the battered women's movement has taken is not cut and dried. Radical versus reformist feminist analyses have been a point of contention for several authors within the battered women's movement and women's liberation movement (WLM) literature (Freeman, 1975, 1979; Schechter, 1982; V. Taylor, 1989). In order to understand the direction which the battered women's movement has taken it is critical to understand the fine balance that is required for the sustaining of a system that has been reliant not only upon the goodwill of the state, the

¹ The term 'transition house' tends to be used in Canada, and in America shelter is the more common term and in Great Britain, New Zealand and Australia the most frequent term used is refuge. For the purposes of this thesis the term transition house will be used specifically within the Canadian context, the term refuge in context for New Zealand and the term shelter for general usage.

WLM and communities for its funding base but also on women volunteers for its physical maintenance (Gilman, 1988; Schechter, 1982). Thus it is necessary to consider the manner in which shelters have survived, and been able to retain elements of autonomy and independence whilst being influenced by various restrictive practices. It is also critical to consider the contribution that the battered women's movement has made to the significant reforms that have been undertaken by the state, for battered women (Barnsley, 1985). Barnsley (1985) in reference to the transition house movement in British Columbia noted the conflict between state intervention and its ramifications and the transition house movement's need for a social change perspective:

... what strategies will enable us to take advantage of the opportunities for useful institutional reforms without abdicating our responsibilities to the longer-term struggle to build an analysis of (and take informed action against) the role of the state in maintaining women's oppression (p.83).

This thesis identifies the importance of internal factors that influenced the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand and around the world. It is important therefore to focus on the structure and organisation of transition houses and refuges as well as the role of governing bodies, staff and volunteers that also influence structure and practice.

Establishment of Shelters for Battered Women

The emergence of the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand in the early 1970s was a direct consequence of the efforts of women involved in the WLM:

In March of 1975 the Dunedin Collective for Women held a feminist seminar where it was suggested that a women's shelter be established for women facing extreme situations at home and in need of a haven for themselves and their children. A small number of women within the Dunedin area had the vision and energy to see that the Refuge would become a reality in the following eighteen months (Cammock, 1994, p.9).

As an offshoot of the WLM, the battered women's movement was generally organised by middle-class white women who had been involved in consciousness-raising groups, and some with personal experience of domestic violence. These women had a dual

purpose, to provide battered women with shelter and safety and to end violence against women through various political and educational means (Cammock, 1994; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; P. Morgan, 1981; Schechter, 1990). The emergence of the WLM enabled women to speak out about the violence in their personal lives and to draw media attention to the social problem of domestic violence and the need for shelters for battered women and their children (Hafner, 1979; Pizzey, 1974). The idea that women could leave abusive partners was critical, as women organised to establish shelters, places where women could be safe and free from violence (Banks, Florence & Ruth, 1979; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982).

The first shelter established for battered women, Chiswick Women's Aid was opened in England in 1971 by Erin Pizzey. The opening of this refuge facilitated much media attention with Pizzey as the "media star" (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Freeman, 1975; Hafner, 1979; Schechter 1982). This new departure acted as a catalyst for other women to open shelters throughout the western world. In America the first shelter opened in 1973 and consisted of a one bedroom apartment operated by "Women's Advocate" in St. Paul, Minnesota (Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Schechter 1982; Weisman, 1992). Shelters and refuges emerged during the 1970s throughout North America, Great Britain, Europe, and in Australia and New Zealand. In Canada, the first shelter, "Ishtar" opened in Langley, British Columbia in 1972 and the "Vancouver Transition House" opened in Vancouver, British Columbia in 1973. In Sydney, Australia, the first shelter, "Elsie" opened in March 1974 quickly followed by "The Halfway House" in Melbourne in September 1974 (Christchurch Women's Centre, 1975; Gilman, 1988; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; D. Martin, 1976; NCIWR, 1992b; Ridington, 1977-1978; Schechter, 1982; Women's Liberation Halfway House Collective, 1977).

Emergency shelters for battered women also opened in Alberta in 1973 (Vis-A-Vis, 1989) and in various provinces throughout Canada. The first shelter in Ontario, "Interval House" was opened in Toronto in 1973 and in Montreal and Sherbrooke, Quebec, shelters opened in 1975 (Beaudry, 1985; Gilman, 1988). The first shelter established in the Atlantic Provinces was "Bryony House" located in Halifax, Nova

Scotia in 1978 and in 1981 three more shelters were opened in Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia (Gilman, 1988).

In New Zealand, the first refuge for battered women was established in the South Island in Christchurch in 1974 (Christchurch Women's Centre, 1975). Two other refuges soon followed, one in the North Island, the Auckland Halfway House opened in 1975 (Banks et al., 1979; Thompson, 1976) and a second refuge in the South Island, Dunedin Women's Refuge was established in 1976 (Cammock, 1994; Dunedin Women's Refuge, 1978). Other refuges soon followed, Napier Women's Emergency Centre and Nelson's Women's Emergency Centre both opened in 1976. The latter two refuges were established as a result of International Women's Year projects (Hancock, 1979). Ten more refuges opened between 1977 and 1978 in both islands and included the capital Wellington, Rotorua, Tauranga and Lower Hutt (Good, 1985).

In her history of the Canadian transition house movement Gilman (1988) stated that:

The first decade (1972-1982) had produced a style of social-service delivery that was putting down its roots. Despite the existence of a relatively progressive social-service network supported by government funding, and despite an array of professionals in health, social services, and mental-health fields, women had volunteered spontaneously from one end of the country to the other to meet a need that had been so quietly hidden in the privacy of Canadian homes. This movement threatened to be "here to stay" whether or not a funding commitment was made (p.15).

As Gilman (1988) noted, the early battered women's movement was built on the volunteer commitment of women (Beaudry, 1985; Hancock, 1979; NCIWR, 1992b; Women's Liberation Halfway House Collective, 1977). These women recognised that it was important to address domestic violence from a practical perspective by opening shelters and to work toward ending violence against women through political means (Colgan, 1986; Hancock, 1979; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; Review Team, 1986; Schechter, 1990; Synergy Applied Research, 1983). Synergy Applied Research (1983) in their research on New Zealand refuges noted the importance of refuges when they stated:

The importance of the refuge movement is that it provides a sense of community and a support system. By association with positive role models in an atmosphere that promotes self-esteem, battered women

in refuges are encouraged to realise they are not helpless victims. They discover that the institutions of society can and will help them, that they can have power over their own lives and that there are people who care (p.32).

The early years of the battered women's movement reflected the need to develop shelters for women, to provide safety and shelter and according to Schechter (1982) to provide it in a mutually supportive, group sharing setting. The feminist shelters of the 1970s were established on the principles of collaboration, cooperation and collectivism (Ahrens, 1980; Cammock, 1994; Hancock, 1979; McDonald, 1989; P. Morgan, 1981; Schechter, 1982) and stressed " ... egalitarianism and informal, nonprofessional, and nonbureaucratic forms of organisation" (McDonald, 1989, p.113) as well as seeking " ... to empower women with a vision and a politics of equality" (Currie, 1989, p.19). In New Zealand refuges were also established on collective lines, for example, Auckland Halfway House and the Dunedin Women's Refuge operated as collectives and espoused non-hierarchical practices (Banks et al., 1979; Dunedin Women's Refuge, 1978; Synergy Applied Research, 1983; Tennant, 1993; Thompson, 1976). Synergy Applied Research (1983) noted that within the twenty five refuges established by 1983, "Each refuge is run autonomously; each operates principally on a collective basis. ... Day-to-day responsibilities are generally shared between paid workers, volunteers and resident women" (p.43). In Canada, Ridington (1977-1978) stated that the first transition house in Vancouver was established as a collective and noted the importance of hiring staff who would work collectively in " ... agreement with non-hierarchical decision making, or [whose] experience in working collectively was important" (p.566). In Quebec, Colgan (1986) also noted that transition houses in the province worked cooperatively and Currie (1989) in her study of transition houses in the Atlantic provinces also noted that " ... early transition houses ... began as non-hierarchical, feminist collectives, tangible examples of alternatives to traditional power relationships" (p. 19). In identifying the characteristics of shelters, Schechter (1990) stated that:

... activists created new, empowering services grounded in the belief that any woman could be beaten and that alternatives to domination could be found. Abused women were not the "clients" they are in some programs today, but rather participants in a joint struggle. ... an ideology of sisterhood, and the inspiration and support that led thousands of women to work ceaselessly, often for no money (p.300).

Funding Issues for the Battered Women's Movement

Although the 1970s were a period of growth for the battered women's movement and an opportunity to provide " ... new theoretical insights about women" (Schechter, 1990, p.300) it was fraught with economic difficulties as women struggled to provide shelter and security for battered women. Even though many women's groups throughout North America, Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand had established shelters and refuges for battered women funding sources for shelters remained problematic, inconsistent and limited (Colgan, 1986; Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; Hancock, 1979; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; Scutt, 1983). In *Violence Against Wives: A Case Against the Patriarchy*, Dobash and Dobash (1979) identified the problems that Women's Aid groups in Great Britain had in accessing suitable facilities to house refuges:

... a local Women's Aid group would engage in an open squat in order to secure a refuge from a reluctant local authority ... or secured a refuge ... which ... was usually a dilapidated structure slated for demolition and located in an area distinguished by its lack of amenities (p.228).

Dobash and Dobash (1979) also identified the funding that was received usually came from donations with minimal contributions from local authorities.²

Writing about transition houses in the Canadian Atlantic Provinces, Currie (1989) also identified the problem of limited funding:

Maritime women had to fight hard for transition houses. They struggled against a pervasive acceptance of violence against women. ...Understaffed, underfunded, undervalued; transition houses have not been accepted as an important and fundamental social need (p.18).

Currie (1989) maintained that during the 1970s assisting and supporting battered women and their children was not a funding priority for government as they preferred to address the 'safer' issues of health and education. She observed that " ... as the politics of profit gain more and more ground in federal and provincial budgets, this

² The equivalent of local authorities in Canada are municipal governments and in New Zealand, town and district councils.

marginalization of the rights of battered women seems likely to continue" (p.18). In Canada, at that time, government funding was tied to a three tier political system consisting of federal, provincial and municipal levels of government. The federal government established ministries, developed policies and provided funding to the provinces and territories. Provincial governments remained primarily responsible for health, education, social services and justice programmes (Status of Women Canada, 1995). Funding was derived (on a 50/50 cost sharing basis with the provinces) from block funding from the federal government known as the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) established in 1966.³

Cost-sharing arrangements ... have seen transfers of tax dollars to the provinces through the Canada Assistance Plan, under which the provinces paid half of the cost of social programs, such as services for abused women and their children, and the federal government kicked in the other half ((Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (OAITH), 1995, p.9).

Thus, both federal and provincial governments provided equal amounts of funding for services for battered women and their children. Consequently provincial governments maintained responsibility for funding transition houses.

In Quebec, Beaudry (1985) described the difficulties transition houses experienced in the 1970s as they were under-funded and relied heavily on women's voluntary labour to maintain services (Colgan, 1986). Not until 1980 and only after a number of regional conferences were held on violence against women did the Quebec government agree to fund transition houses (Beaudry, 1985). According to Colgan (1986) "only after seven shelters were established by women's groups did Ministère des affaires sociales (MAS) provide funding for two shelters in 1979" (p.48). Colgan (1986) stated that even during the 1980s funding remained inadequate as transition houses received only partial funding from the Quebec provincial government and were expected to apply for supplementary funding from other funding bodies, "The shelters ... are left to continue the annual treadmill of fundraising, and tensions are created

³ In 1996 the Canada Health and Social Transfer (CHST) was to replace the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP), meaning that "... provinces will be doled out a lump sum and told to do the best they can" (OAITH, 1995, p.9).

within their organizations as difficult policy and priorities decisions must be made on the basis of inadequate funding" (p.50).

In Ontario, although the first transition house was established in 1974 it was not until 1981 in response to transition house workers and other groups that the Ontario government established " an-all party Standing Committee ... on Social Development to examine the problem of wife assault" (Ontario Women's Directorate (OWD), 1995, p.1). From this development flowed various provincial government initiatives including the establishment of the Family Violence Unit in 1983 (Walker, 1990a). Although these new initiatives were positive, funding for Ontario transition houses was still only partial, with the province only agreeing to provide funding at 80% of their required annual operating budgets. The remaining 20% needed by them was to be raised by other means, from within the community and/or from other funding bodies (OAITH, 1995; Vis-A-Vis, 1989).

In British Columbia, the "Vancouver Transition House", established in 1973 was a transition house with a strong feminist ideology:

Recognition of the male violence and misogyny at the core of patriarchy was crucial for the development of feminist thought in the 1970s. It helped constitute a distinctly radical feminism, different from earlier liberal, maternal, and social variants. It also put the issue of women's safety - on the streets and in the home - at the forefront of feminist practice (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993, p. 361).

The establishment of the transition house meant that women could experience an alternative environment that promoted egalitarianism between staff and residents and empowered women to regain control of their lives through sharing, living cooperatively and advocating on their own behalf (Barnsley, 1985; Kenny & Magnusson, 1993; Schechter, 1982). This ideal was supported financially by the provincial government under the rubric of Community Resource Boards ⁴ which promoted participatory democracy, as did the Vancouver Resource Board which became the "granting agency" for the transition house (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993,

⁴ Community Resource Boards, were elected agencies and established on the same lines as the school board model. Their purpose was to "provide decentralized, democratic control" (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993, p. 362).

p.362). The transition house was established on the premise of, " ... its commitment to feminist principles of organization and advocacy" (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993, p.363). However, the newly elected provincial Social Credit government of 1975 dissolved the Community Resource Boards and by 1977 responsibility for funding was moved to the provincial Ministry of Human Resources which did not support the Trudeau philosophy of "autonomy and democratic control ..." (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993, p.362). The Ministry's requirement of the transition house was "conformity to conventional administrative controls" meaning that the house " [resembled] a more traditional social service agency" (Kenny & Magnusson, 1993, p.363).

The 1970s thus provided the period for establishing and maintaining transition houses in Canada, although funding remained sporadic and limited (MacDonald, 1995). Not until the 1980s was the Canadian transition house movement increasingly mainstreamed into provincial social services' budgets (Gilman 1988; Hilton, 1989; MacDonald, 1995).

In the beginning New Zealand refuges relied heavily upon donations, pledges and grants to sustain their work as they did not receive any funding from the state (Good, 1985; Hancock, 1979; NCIWR, 1992b; Synergy Applied Research, 1983). In this regard New Zealand established and maintained its refuges on similar lines to Great Britain (Dobash & Dobash, 1992), but unlike Australia, where as early as 1975 refuges received funding from government (Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; Scutt, 1983). In Canada transition houses could receive government funding through their "... [eligibility] for cost sharing under the 'homes for special care' provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP)" (Gilman, 1988, p.15; L. MacLeod, 1987). CAP was not universally applied as only 69 shelters had applied and received funding through this programme and only for operating costs (Gilman, 1988). Australia is unique in that the refuge movement received state support through the advocacy role of "femocrats" (Eisenstein, 1990). These "femocrats" were women employed within the bureaucratic state apparatus and who had penetrated it in such a way that their views had become normative, "... what was striking about the femocrats was their undisguised commitment to feminism, and the acceptance of this within the bureaucracy" (Eisenstein, 1990, p. 90; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991). Australian

refuges received government funding as early as the 1970s but in small amounts as the federal government responded to the increasing number of refuges being established. During the early 1980s the federal government in wanting to transfer responsibility for funding to state governments stopped all refuge funding, and in 1981, "The states were told that after the budget that year it was entirely their concern whether or not refuges continued to be funded" (McFerren, 1990, p.198). Consequently the states varied in their funding of refuges, for example the New South Wales state government funded six refuges whilst in Western Australia the state government was opposed to funding refuges. Not until the 1980s and the return of a federal Labor government was federal funding renewed (Hopkins & McGregor, 1991, McFerren, 1990). Although not an easy time for feminists active in the refuge movement the 1988 governmental review of refuges finally decided that " ... collectives, properly constituted, are effective forms of management and should be encouraged" (Hopkins & McGregor, 1991, p.25). Although the state in New Zealand could not avoid women's issues in its policies it did not consistently address the issue of domestic violence until the 1980s. State involvement in welfare concerns was more systematic during the 1980s at which time women's refuges became government funded (Tennant,1993).

Influence of the Women's Liberation Movement

The WLM in New Zealand like the movement in North America and Great Britain was diverse (Cahill & Dann, 1991; Curtin & Devere, 1993; Dalziel, 1993a; James & Saville-Smith, 1992; Tennant, 1993). Curtin and Devere (1993) speak of a 'plurality of feminisms' where the WLM in New Zealand like North America (Freeman, 1975; Staggenborg, 1988) embraced a range of ideologies. "Early women's liberation groups contained members from Trotskyist, Marxist, radical, and middle-class liberal groups" (Curtin & Devere, 1993, p.9). Likewise James and Saville-Smith (1992) also noted the diversity in feminist ideology and identified three strands of feminism; liberal feminism, which focused on changing women's position in society through institutional means; radical feminism, which sought to transform oppressive and patriarchal institutions and practices, "... fundamentally changing the whole social system" (V. Taylor, 1983, p.436); and socialist feminism which was concerned with women's

oppression from the perspective that women have no control over the means of production and reproduction, and that although reforms are required radical economic and familial changes are equally necessary (James & Saville-Smith, 1992).

In 1970 in response to the WLM in New Zealand the government established the Committee on Women which was an advisory committee to government concerned with women's issues (Dalziel, 1993a). In 1973 the incumbent Labour Government established a Select Committee on Women's Rights which addressed discrimination against women and ways to eliminate it (Dalziel, 1993a; Julian, 1993a). However, although the Labour Government was defeated in 1975 and did not return to power until 1984, the Labour Women's Council (LWC) continued working on women's issues including the *Working Women's Charter*, and through unions and the Working Women's Council. Although clauses 12 and 15 of the *Working Women's Charter* were controversial - they dealt with universal childcare, and abortion as a choice issue along with sex education and contraception, the stalwart issues of the women's movement, it was adopted at the Labour Party Conference in 1980 (Julian, 1993a). During the 1970s the independent women's organisation the Women's Electoral Lobby (WEL) also provided a direct link with government as it actively addressed women's equality and promoted women in politics through its annual conferences which developed policies regarding women's issues, lobbying " ... actively for these policies, making submissions and publicising issues through the media " (Julian, 1993b, p. 105). In 1979 WEL developed the Women's Appointment File the forerunner of the Ministry of Women's Affairs Nomination Service (Julian, 1993b). However not until 1983 did a Ministry of Women's Affairs emerge as a concept at the Labour Party's women's policy conference. This resulted in the 1984 Labour Government's Women's Affairs Minister Ann Hercus being appointed (Julian, 1993b). This appointment in conjunction with the inclusion of the LWC chairperson participating at the weekly Women's Caucus Committee, and the election of three women Labour MPs were positive steps for bringing to the attention of the state a women's agenda:

The LWC has been an important agent for change in New Zealand society, as a launching pad for women and women's policies. Labour is generally regarded as the party of reform; the Labour Women's Council has sought to ensure that any reforms include the promotion of women's rights (Julian, 1993b, p.104).

Canada also saw a WLM that was considerably diverse and from its early days had been able to influence the state to a greater point of receptivity regarding women's issues (Rebick, 1992; Schreder, 1990; Status of Women Canada, 1995; Walker, 1990a). Judy Rebick, past President of the Canadian National Action Committee on the Status of Women, noted that, "In 1970, the Canadian government established a Royal Commission on the Status of Women in response to intensive lobbying by a newly born women's movement" (1992, p.49). Rebick maintained that the recommendations resulting from the Commission's findings included " ... a virtual agenda for women's equality" (p. 49).

In the 1990s Rebick also noted that "Today, the federal government and all provincial governments have departments or ministers responsible for the status of women. Most governments also have advisory councils on the status of women" (1992, p. 49).

According to Status of Women Canada, (1995):

Addressing violence against women has been a key priority of all provinces and territories. Every jurisdiction has been involved in a range of initiatives including designing and setting up crisis shelter models, public education campaigns, setting up joint provincial government departments and community agencies' advisory committees, humanising the legal system for survivors, funding sexual assault centres, transition houses, training programs for police and treatment programs for assaultive men (pp.8-9).

Thus the lobbying efforts by women's groups endured and remain testimony to their commitment to established services and programmes for battered women and their families in Canada. According to Rebick (1992):

Ending male violence against women and children has become the central issue of the women's movement in Canada. For many years, women working at rape crisis centers, shelters, and transition houses pressured the government and society to recognize the problem (p.52).

This had enormous impact on the transition house movement as it came to rely consistently on the state for funding support (Walker, 1990b).

Although the New Zealand WLM had somewhat similar experiences to Canadian women it has not had a history of women's involvement in government which was

manifested in various "status of women" portfolios. During the 1970s government-funded projects were not available to women's liberation organisations in the same way as they were in Canada but funding was available in the 1970s and 1980s for voluntary welfare organisations which were funded on a "grant-in-aid" basis (Nowland-Foreman, 1996; V. Smith, 1996; Tennant, 1993; Woods, 1996). This type of funding enabled voluntary organisations to maintain their autonomy and independence. The responsibility for promoting women's issues of a various nature, such as education, health, violence against women, lobbying and promoting equality however remained within the community sector. Thus, domestic violence was not viewed as a social problem for the New Zealand government until refugee women made visible to government the impact of domestic violence on women (Cammock, 1994; NCIWR, 1992b).

Women's involvement as advocates for women's issues within government bureaucracy did not exist in New Zealand as it did in Canada or Australia (Eisenstein, 1990; Hopkins & Mc Gregor; 1991; McFerren, 1990; Rebick, 1992; Schreder, 1990). In New Zealand there were women involved in external organisations such as WEL (Dalziel, 1993b) but they were outside the government bureaucracy.

Funding Disparities and Government Intervention

Throughout the past two decades funding for Canadian transition houses and New Zealand refuge services has taken very different paths. Canada established provincial transition house associations that provided a wide range of functions including lobbying, networking and information exchange. The first established was the Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (OAITH) in 1978. Other provincial transition house associations were established during the 1970s and 1980s (Beaudry, 1985; OAITH, 1995; M.J. Smith, 1992) but the mandate of these associations was not to secure funding for their transition house members. Funding has always remained the responsibility of each Canadian transition house to negotiate with their provincial and municipal governments.

In New Zealand, the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) was established in 1981 as a result of consolidating refuges into a cohesive movement, with funding assistance from the Mental Health Foundation and the New Zealand Lottery Board (Good, 1985). The purpose of the NCIWR was to act as spokesperson for its member refuges and to access government funding on their behalf (Good, 1985; NCIWR, 1992b). Refuges saw the role of the NCIWR as one which would coordinate the refuge movement, locate funding and provide a lobbying mechanism (Good, 1985; NCIWR, 1992b). Prior to this period funding for refuges was somewhat piecemeal with funding accessed through donations, trusts and pledges and it was not until 1981 when the Wellington and Upper Hutt refuges and two trusts, the J.R.McKenzie Trust and the International Year of the Child (IYC) Telethon Trust approached the Minister of Social Welfare, George Gair, for funding, that government funding became a consideration (Good, 1985) even though the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) had subsidised programmes since 1972 (Nowland-Foreman, 1995). The Minister proposed that funding for refuges would only be considered on a national basis and that a funding proposal needed to include statistical and evaluation research components regarding the need for refuges. As a result of this meeting the NCIWR commissioned Synergy Applied Research to conduct the research which was completed in 1983 (Good, 1985; Synergy Applied Research, 1983). When the member refuges were asked by Synergy Applied Research (1983) about government funding they all agreed that it was necessary as it enabled them to continue with their work as well as having more paid workers although they also expressed concerns regarding maintaining their autonomy. They indicated that:

... with improved government funding a base level of activity can be guaranteed and refuges will be acknowledged for the important and necessary public service they provide. ... the general consensus among the refuges [was] that Government funding is essential coupled with a consensus that Government administration would be neither desirable, nor beneficial to the work of the refuges. Each refuge felt a need to protect its autonomy which it felt would be endangered by becoming "an extension of the Social Welfare system". They believe that the effectiveness of refuges is largely due to their independence, confidentiality and personal, caring and supportive atmosphere. They explained that inclusion in a bureaucracy would greatly undermine these qualities and may frighten off potential users. Refuges do not want to become "Establishment Institutions" and as such be accountable to the Government, as they feel that in the long term they must be accountable firstly to the women whom they serve (p.46).

Thus, as a result of the Synergy research the NCIWR received for the first time, "base level funding for refuge services" (NCIWR, 1992b, p.2) which although translated into a NZ\$195,000 budget it remained only 40% of what had originally been proposed by the NCIWR (Good, 1985). This funding was to be distributed across the 27 member refuges in the form of part-time salaries and administrative support for the national office (Good, 1985).

Funding continued to be provided by the government to the NCIWR on an annual basis. Within a four year time span funding had been substantially increased and by the 1987-1988 budget year the NCIWR received almost NZ\$1.7 million from the government for its 47 member refuges, three national office salaries, operations and the Core Group⁵ (NCIWR, 1992b). Funding continued to rise and reached NZ\$2.7 million for the 1993-1994 budget year for the NCIWR's 48 member refuges for the coordination of 56 houses and the national office (NCIWR, 1992b; New Zealand Women's Refuge Foundation, 1997). Thus on average each member refuge received during that time period approximately NZ\$48,000 from government.

The funding of transition houses in Canada has been a different experience to New Zealand. In 1985, L. MacLeod (1987) found that individual houses reported an average annual operating budget of C\$172,597. Although Canadian transition houses have not been fully funded by their provincial governments they have received more substantial annual budgets than their New Zealand counterparts. In 1989 *Vis-A-Vis*, a national newsletter on family violence, surveyed transition house associations about funding levels for transition houses and found that it was unevenly distributed across Canada. Funding provided to transition houses from provincial governments ranged from 50% to 75% of their annual budgetary needs. The survey estimated that in British Columbia the cost for operating houses was C\$200,000 annually although they only received half of that amount from their provincial government (*Vis-A-Vis*, 1989). In Ontario with a population of 10.5 million, there were 97 transition houses and second stage shelters in the 1994-1995 period and the Ontario provincial government

⁵ The Core Group is the NCIWR's Managing Committee which represents member refuges and national office staff.

spent almost NZ\$56 million on shelter provision (Ontario Women's Directorate (OWD), 1995). The 97 transition houses could expect to receive on average more than NZ\$575,000 annually. In Nova Scotia, in the 1993-1994 year the 13 transition and safe houses received nearly NZ\$3.0 million for their shelters (Department of Community Services, 1994). If averaged out then each shelter was eligible to receive approximately NZ\$225,000 annually. "Bryony House" the largest shelter in Nova Scotia with a 24 bed occupancy serving two major cities, population size of approximately 0.3 million, received more than NZ\$333,000 from the provincial government to operate and staff its transition house (MacDonald, 1995).

There is obviously a funding disparity between Canadian and New Zealand transition houses and refuges. In 1985 Canadian transition houses' annual operating budgets were three times higher than that of New Zealand refuges 10 years later. Making comparisons between New Zealand and Nova Scotia, Canada, is a useful one as both have rural and urban geographies. Both have considerable farming and tourism activities and populations of 3.8 million and 0.9 million respectively and 48 member refuges and 13 transition houses respectively. If each New Zealand refuge received approximately NZ\$48,000 from government and each Nova Scotia transition house received approximately NZ\$225,000 from government it can be seen that each New Zealand refuge receives less than 25% of the funding that Nova Scotia transition houses receives. If we accept these funding figures as realistic by comparing the population base of 0.9 million for Nova Scotia with New Zealand's 3.8 million people then New Zealand refuges should be receiving nearly \$10 million. This reinforces the Snively Report (Snively, 1996), *Economic Cost of NCIWR Refuge Services* which reported that New Zealand refuges should have received approximately \$11.9 million in the 1994-1995 time period. V. Smith (1996) in her conference paper on the relationship between the government and voluntary sector has stated that funding by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA), "On average ... represents 25% of the actual service cost to the service provider" (p.8). If this figure is accurate then it is in keeping with Snively's (1996) conclusions that what refuges receive is only approximately 25% of what is required to provide comprehensive and consistent services. This is further supported by the number of women and children receiving shelter in New Zealand, as some preliminary comparisons can be made between

Canada and New Zealand regarding annual figures of women using residential services provided by shelters in both countries.

Table 1 outlines similarities regarding the number of women being sheltered and the differences with the number of children being sheltered.

Table 1: Admission of women and children by country and province (Canada, New Zealand and Province of Nova Scotia) and number of shelters

Client Status	Canada 1992-1993 (n =303) ⁶		New Zealand 1994 (n = 56) ⁷		Nova Scotia 1993-1994 (n =9) ⁸	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Women	45,777	53	5,744	37	1,063	52
Children	40,527	47	9,753	63	973	48
Total	86,304	100	15,497	100	2,036	100

This means that on average each Canadian transition house (n=303) provided safety and shelter for 151 women and 134 children (285) during 1992-1993. In New Zealand, each individual refuge (n=56) sheltered on average 103 women and 174 children (277) in 1994 and in Nova Scotia (n=9) 118 women and 108 children (226) were sheltered on average in each transition house in the 1993-1994 time period. We can calculate from these annual statistics that proportionately occupancy levels for women and children were fairly similar for Canada as a whole and Nova Scotia as a province. There was however a greater proportion of children (63%) compared with women (37%) in New Zealand refuges unlike Canada where they were more evenly distributed. These statistics are significant for a number of reasons and although this thesis is not specifically concerned with considering the impact of such refuge statistics they are critical when it comes to funding refuges. For example women in New Zealand refuges had more children with them than Canadian transition houses

⁶ Statistics Canada (1994).

⁷ NCIWR's Annual Report (1995a).

⁸ Nova Scotia Department of Community Services Annual Report (1994).

when comparing similar time frames, and yet services and/or resources available for children in refuges remain inadequate. Women remain responsible for their children whilst in refuges so it is probably more difficult for them to participate in programmes or make any real progress to independence and stability, if they have no means of childcare. Furthermore women's options may be limited due to lack of adequate and affordable housing, the economic realities of a limited Domestic Purpose Benefit, lack of affordable childcare provision and lack of opportunities to gain new skills, education etc. These may be precipatory factors that force women to return to abusive partners.

The reasons for the funding disparity will be discussed in the next two sections of this chapter which address the impact of the state on the Canadian and New Zealand transition house and refuge movements and the internal factors that have influenced both. It is to the external factors that this chapter now turns.

First of all it is important to provide some background and context to the influence of the state on the battered women's movement in Canada and New Zealand. As already stated the Canadian government not only recognised the importance of women's issues but assimilated them into the orbit of the state whereas the New Zealand government excluded funding until the 1980s. This next section addresses how this was achieved and the repercussions of that assimilation for the battered women's movement.

Battered Women's Initiatives

From the mid-1980s through to the mid-1990s Canada provided federal and provincial funding to address issues pertaining to battered women from both rural and urban communities in various unique and innovative ways. The establishment of transition houses was one aspect of the growth in services to battered women. By 1982, 85 transition houses had been established across Canada, and by 1987 this number had grown to 264 (MacDonald, 1995). By the 1990s more than 300 transition houses were operational across Canada (Statistics Canada, 1994). Although many more houses had been established problems still persisted with regard to their funding. L. MacLeod's study of Canadian transition houses found that government funding

remained insufficient and did not "provide sufficient funds for ... a critical service" (1987, p.53). Such services included counselling, child-care, follow-up and outreach support and client advocacy (L. MacLeod, 1987). The remaining budget costs had to be accessed from various sources, including fund raising, donations and from municipal governments in the form of a daily *per diem* rate or an annual block grant⁹ (Vis-A-Vis, 1989). It must be noted that in Canada funding also includes paid staff who not only provide shelter services on a 24 hour basis, but along with their boards of directors they initiate many new services and programmes with the expectation that they will be funded by provincial governments. So it is not surprising that L. MacLeod (1987) noted that transition houses were underfunded. Funding issues pertaining to the transition house and refuge will be examined in more detail in forthcoming chapters.

In terms of actual funding for transition houses in Canada and refuges in New Zealand there are several considerations that require more attention and include both external and internal factors that have impact in both countries. An external factor worthy of addressing (and alluded to earlier), is the funding of various women's activities and how this impacted on transition houses and their funding; a second factor is the impact of direct government funding on transition houses. In New Zealand this occurred in 1991 with the establishment of contract funding for refuges and other welfare and social services. In Canada this occurred in the 1970s and 1980s with the advent of block funding for transition houses.

Internal factors included the structural and organisational aspects of shelters which remained important to the battered women's movement and the use of paid staff and volunteers which differed in context and experience for Canada and New Zealand. These latter considerations will be examined more fully in the next section of this chapter which deals with the internal factors that influenced transition houses and refuges.

⁹ Canadian municipal governments have the choice to either fund individual transition houses in the form of an annual block grant or pay an individual daily *per diem* rate for each woman and child during their stay in a transition house.

A review of state funding of women's activities from the 1970s onwards furthers an understanding of the relationship of the Canadian transition house movement with the state. It is therefore critical to catalogue the level of government impact on addressing domestic violence particularly during the 1980s and 1990s in order to contextualise the problems that remained.

Impact of Government on Women's and Welfare Programmes

In 1988 the Departments of Health and Welfare Canada and Status of Women Canada made available C\$40 million to be spent over a four year period to fund projects that would address the issue of family violence (Goyette, 1989).¹⁰ More than half of the budget, C\$22.2 million was allocated to Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation¹¹ (CMHC, 1994) to develop emergency shelters for battered women, this was known as the Project Haven programme (Weisz, Taggart, Mockler & Streich, 1995). In their paper on housing and family violence in Canada, Weisz et al., (1995) described the new programme:

The Project Haven program provided interest-free mortgages which were to be forgiven over 15 years to non-profit community groups to create shelters for abused women on the condition that they continue to operate the facility as a shelter under the terms of the mortgage agreement (p.3).

This enabled transition house societies to own their transition houses as CMHC noted in their programme evaluation, through " ... non-repayable financing which was fully-forgivable and interest-free for non-profit community groups to create shelters for abused women on a short-term tenure basis" (CMHC, 1995, p.6).

In 1991 the Canadian federal government announced that funding for family violence initiatives would continue for a further four years with a C\$136 million budget.

¹⁰ Other funding was provided for a wide range of projects, including conferences and the research and evaluation of domestic violence programmes, under the auspices of the newly established Family Violence Prevention Division of Health Canada.

¹¹ A crown corporation of the federal government incorporated on 1 January 1946 by an Act of Parliament, in response to the 1 million plus Canadians in the armed forces requiring housing in post World War II peacetime Canada.

Included in this budget was C\$16.6 million for the CMHC Next Step Programme, which was a second stage housing programme for battered women. A further C\$4 million was also allocated to continue the Project Haven Programme (CMHC, 1995). The federal government's commitment to providing capital funding for transition houses was joined with provincial and municipal governments that provided funding support¹² for shelters over the six-year period.

In 1995, the federal Family Violence Initiative was extended for one year. In response to a 1994 housing consultation process CMHC " ... decided to launch the Shelter Enhancement Program. This program provided funding to allow enhancements to existing shelters to meet property standards, security requirements and to address the special needs of children, persons with disabilities and older clients" (Weisz et al., 1995, p.4)

Many important activities had been funded by the Canadian federal government's Family Violence Initiative. Projects funded addressed all facets of family violence, including funding pilot projects, such as men's treatment programmes, children's programmes, projects on elder abuse, aboriginal issues, evaluation of programmes, development of education kits regarding sexual assault and sexual abuse for professionals and the community, women and the law workshops etc. The number of funded projects was tremendous, they were varied, unique and critical for addressing the issue of family violence (National Clearinghouse on Family Violence, 1995). These projects clearly exemplified the federal Progressive Conservatives government's commitment to support and enable communities, women's organisations and transition houses to develop a variety of responses including services and programmes that addressed family violence and violence against women issues within their own communities. And then the bubble burst!

In 1994 there was a general election in Canada and the change in federal government resulted in refocused federally-funded family violence initiatives. In 1996 the Liberals

¹² Provincial and municipal governments funded operational costs and daily *per diem* rates.

under the prime ministership of Jean Chretien reduced federal funding to domestic violence programmes as it shifted its focus to youth and crime initiatives. Sullivan (1982) maintained that changes were inevitable when "An issue builds up credibility and importance, becomes fundable, and then, after a few years, loses its place in the limelight to the next fundable issue" (p.43). P. Morgan (1981) recognised the limitations of the state in addressing the needs of the battered women's movement when she referred to the Reagan administration's withdrawal of funding to battered women's programmes in America, as they, " ... felt threatened by the programs that would be funded" (p.35). This happened in Canada with the collapse of the multi-million dollar Family Violence Initiative in 1996. Schreader (1990) also identified the relationship between the state and the women's movement as one that has always been " ... a funding relationship" (p.185). Sullivan (1982) stated that this resulted in " ... groups twisting themselves into pretzels to change the focus of their work to match the requirements of funding agencies, and losing self-direction in the process" (p.43). According to P. Morgan (1981) this led movements such as the battered women's movement to be transformed as they relied heavily on the state apparatus to meet their funding needs. This has been the situation in Canada with women's organisations, which have in their funding applications had to reform their projects in order to fit issues being funded by government programmes.

The roots of transformation for transition houses in Canada can be traced back to the 1970s and the establishment of the federal Secretary of State Women's Program. Schreader (1990) addressed the role of the state in engaging with women's issues when she noted the particular significance of the establishment of the Secretary of State Women's Program in 1973, as an opportunity for the state to work directly with the WLM in Canada (Rebick, 1992). The Women's Program was set up to provide:

... financial and technical assistance to women's groups and other voluntary organizations to carry out activities in the areas of economic equality, social justice, and access and participation. ... In the area of social justice, family violence is a major issue for the Women's Program. Since its beginning in 1973, the Program has formed a strong partnership with women's groups and has supported their efforts in addressing all forms of violence against women (Department of the Secretary of State, 1993, p.3).

During the early part of the 1970s the Secretary of State Women's Program provided funding to various radical feminist groups including transition houses and women's centres for a variety of projects that focused on the empowerment of women by developing their skills, enabling women to be more involved in decision-making processes and projects that promoted women's issues (Schreader, 1990). However by the late 1970s the Women's Program had made an ideological shift and was promoting projects for nationally-based and traditional women's groups in preference to the smaller, locally-based feminist grassroots groups (Schreader, 1990). Schreader argues that this transformation was in part due to changes in the Women's Program itself but also in response to how the WLM had evolved. The smaller, locally-based feminist groups preferred not to be involved with projects that sought to focus on funding larger projects of national significance or have to make their concerns 'fit' into state identified issues. Consequently these groups were not "... organizationally prepared" (Schreader, 1990, p.187) for the Women's Program's restructuring.

Schreader (1990) maintained that three issues influenced the down turn in Women's Program funding of radical feminist women's programmes. The first concerned the introduction of federal funding cuts to the Women's Program in the early 1980s which changed the operational and structural aspects of the Women's Program. These changes rebounded on women's groups, transition houses and women's centres in such a way that they were unprepared for the introduction of various accountability and bureaucratic measures that were required of them by the Women's Program.

The second issue was concerned with the bureaucratic nature of the Women's Program which no longer allowed for "... direct representation of would-be advocates" (Schreader, 1990, p. 190). Feminists hired in the early 1970s to administer the Womens' Program represented a threat for the state as there were very few internal candidates hired that knew anything about women's issues. Once feminists were hired they realised very quickly that their role was not to advocate on behalf of women's groups but to act as mediators for the Women's Program. Feminists were eventually replaced by managers adhering to bureaucratic principles, " ... in general women's demands are now clearly mediated through the overall concerns of the state" (Schreader, 1990, p.192). Furthermore, following the International Women's Year

in 1975 in which it was concluded that the WLM was in abeyance (Rebick, 1992; Schreder, 1990) there was less support for the Women's Program outside of the state apparatus.

The third issue addressed the citizenship component of the Women's Program which according to Schreder (1990) focused on women as a minority interest group much like francophones and First Nation peoples. The focus therefore was on enabling women and these other minority groups to establish equal status within society by promoting projects that would enable them to do so. The transformation away from radical grassroots women's organisations to a more liberal approach of establishing equal status for women as a minority group meant that women's groups had to negotiate with the state and compromise in order to access funding grants:

Each year the Women's Program makes funding decisions based on its prioritization of issues, which provides a powerful incentive for groups to address their projects to these same issues. This, coupled with the practice of helping groups formulate proposals, implies that women's groups are being substantially constrained in their own autonomous development (Schreder, 1990, p. 195).

In New Zealand, Woods (1996) also identified that the impact of changes to the welfare funding criteria by the DSW from grants-in-aid to contract funding in 1991 meant:

... a dramatic effect on voluntary welfare organisations. Instead of receiving grants which they had relative freedom to allocate between their various services, organisations were now in a position of only being able to apply to Government for funding of particular services chosen not by themselves but by Government. To get the funding they needed to continue to exist, they were developing the services which Government deemed as important. Often this was at the expense of meeting community needs which were their reason for being. There were large areas of their work for which there was no Government funding" (pp.2-3).

This view is reiterated by Higgins (1997a) who referred to this change in the funding criteria as "resource exchange" (p.5) whereby the government was able to use voluntary organisations to provide government-identified services. Higgins (1997a) maintained that in accomplishing this government was able to "crowd out other work by community groups" (p.5) This occurred:

... from the requirement that the Community Funding Agency be able to specify delivery of a complete service from an agency while only delivering part of the funding for that service. This meant that agencies must direct their own fund-raising efforts towards raising money for essential state services, effectively crowding out work they might otherwise have performed with that money (p.5).

This is also applicable to the refuge movement in New Zealand and although it received funding it remained subject to delivering services whilst being only partially funded (NCIWR, 1996a; Snively, 1996). Moreover, the grant funding received for operations, travel and "time grants" that covered either staff wages or volunteer expenses have not adequately covered them nor any other services and activities that refuges may want to provide (NCIWR, 1996a).

Furthermore Higgins (1997a) maintained that the issue of citizenship, the right for each person to maintain a reasonable living standard and therefore be able to participate in and be part of society was up until 1991 "... a fundamental principle of New Zealand's welfare state" (p.9). However, in the DSW's corporate plan there was an undeniable shift in social policy from citizenship identification to a focus on individuals' self-reliance and responsibility, thus placing the most vulnerable within communities outside of the "mainstream system" (Higgins, 1997a, p.9) and as a result removed from them their rights to participate in society (Boston, 1999; Higgins, 1997a; Vellakoop-Baldock, 1990). In similar ways to Canada, it can be noted that such policies have promoted exclusion to the point that women's organisations have not applied for funding or if they have, have had to assimilate their needs within a state framework in order to assist people who have required welfare and social services (Higgins, 1997a; Schreader, 1990). Higgins (1997a) has maintained that voluntary organisations by their very nature have promoted participation and therefore citizenship and as such have been well equipped to deal with people who have remained outside the welfare system. As a result they appeared to have provided the state with a solution of "... contracting of essential services for these people to the community" (p.10). Thus voluntary agencies have assumed state responsibilities and have done so at a reduced cost. Nowland-Foreman (1996) maintained that the very nature of voluntary organisations:

... is that they are as much about participation as provision; as much about citizenship as service. The voluntary sector can provide an outlet for the expression of community concerns, advocacy for clients or members, an opportunity for people to give to others, and a place to work for change (p.9).

However the prospects of participation, empowerment and integration of individuals into the community are less likely as funding inhibits such actions. Government no longer provides funding for such endeavours as advocacy work, prevention and community development as it strives to maintain a specific service delivery focus (Higgins, 1997a). The "ambulance at the bottom of the cliff" response has been the inevitable outcome of social policies that only respond to maintaining welfare reduction (B. Robinson, 1998; Trebilcock, 1995).

In New Zealand the responsibility for funding welfare and social programmes has always rested with private as well as public funders. For example, the Lottery Grants Board (LGB) was established in the 1960s and has always supplemented public funding. In the 1996-1997 period the LGB received almost 7000 applications worth \$250 million but was only able to accommodate applications valued up to NZ\$75 million (Sell, 1997). According to Sell (1997) writing about charity funding quoted West-Newman in *The New Zealand Herald*:

Government cutbacks are putting an ever-increasing pressure on the charity dollar, and charities are finding themselves more and more providing life-and-death services, rather than complementing the work of Government agencies (p. A11).

In Canada transition houses without a long-term political perspective have remained vulnerable and subject to further evolutionary changes because they relied in part on the Women's Program for funding various non-operational components of their activities, which enabled them to fill the gaps left by inadequate levels of funding (Currie, 1989). Such actions had wider implications for the future of a wide range of programmes for battered women and their children. Many women's organisations and community groups depended on project funding to support other core programmes. Sullivan (1982) expressed concern when she stated that:

... it is still important to analyze the cooptive effects of funding agencies because the more repressive government, preferring outright denial to token handouts, creates an even more forceful threat of

cooptation- the threat that unless we move to the right in our expectations, we get nothing at all. The right wing trend of denial of social problems combines with the liberal approach of coopting social change movements to create a very difficult terrain for radicals attempting to get funding for social change efforts (p.42).

This was specifically evident in Canada with the election of a new federal government in 1994 in which the Liberal leader Jean Chretien reduced capital funding for new transition houses and only retained funding for transition houses through the CMHC, and the Shelter Enhancement Program which provided funding to shelters for their repair and maintenance. A CMHC (1994) consultation report *What We Heard - Family Violence Prevention and Housing Consultation, 1994*, stated that the issue of funding remained critical. The report said that "Most participants indicated that the greatest problem for shelters is acquiring appropriate operational funds. They reported that for many shelters fundraising had to support over 40% of their operational costs" (Weisz & van den Boogaard, 1994, p.14).

Cooptation within the Battered Women's Movement

The maintenance of the battered women's movement in Canada was not without cost (Ahrens, 1980; Barnsley, 1985; Currie, 1989; Sullivan, 1982). The impact of government funding on shelters in both America and Canada was profound and influenced shelters in various ways. For example, the maintenance of a particular way of providing services to battered women, coupled with the stress that came with listening to women's experiences, and devising ways to support and provide assistance with limited budgets and services eventually took its toll on the battered women's movement (Barnsley, 1985; Currie 1989; L. MacLeod, 1989). The pressure to conform to government expectations as funding was accessed and granted, matched with the way in which shelters were organised, and the tremendous stress of providing services, was too much for most shelters (Currie, 1989). Currie (1989) identified that:

... a feminist approach soon came under severe pressure. It was hard enough to devise non-hierarchical ways of working together, but it was even tougher to do so while acting as front-line workers in the domestic war zone. The relentless stresses of responding to the needs of victims of violence led most houses to adopt an institutional model for the workplace. Executive Directors - administrators who

coordinate the work of the house and are accountable to a Board of Directors - started to appear (p.19).

Ahrens (1980) identified that the Texas shelter she worked in was transformed from a feminist shelter into a social service agency. Ahrens (1980) noted that the shelter became more institutionalised with the advent of government funding, and the ideological changes that occurred moved the shelter away from its collective roots and eventually embraced a hierarchical structure, the implementation of an elected board of directors, and paid specialist staff with no previous knowledge or understanding of the shelter's philosophy. Sullivan (1982) also noted that the implementation of a board of directors could result "... in a complete redirection of the organization's politics and work; because of their fiscal and legal responsibilities a board can often override the objections of staff" (p.45).

Potuchek (1986) in her research into America shelters has written cogently about the impact of government funding on them. She identified that the criteria for funding social services were based on merit such as "need and effectiveness" (p.423) but found in her research with shelters that this was not the case. She showed that the organisations themselves that applied for government funding (shelters) came under scrutiny, not the services they provided, and blamed this on the lack of "clear standards for evaluating social service effectiveness" (p.426). Tucker (1981) identified in his research on voluntary social service organisations that voluntary social service agencies were not part of the traditional network and as such were "poorly understood, and highly indeterminate" (p.605) and unable to show tangibly that they made a difference.

In reviewing the characteristics of funding relationships in order to understand how funding decisions were made Potuchek (1986) maintained that there were three characteristics involved in the funding relationship: i) the relationship between funders and funded, ii) constraints imposed upon shelters by funders and iii) evaluation of shelters by funders.

The first characteristic concerned the relationship between funders and shelters, Potuchek (1986) identified the relationship as being asymmetrical in that shelters

remained dependent on funders while funders were not dependent on shelters. This would lead to a power imbalance as funders provided the majority of funding required to an organisation. In citing Zald's work (1970), Potuchek (1986) observed that funders could exert political and economic control over the organisation, in this case a shelter, and in turn jeopardise "... the autonomy of an organisation" (p.428). Reinelt (1994) also identified that shelter autonomy could be threatened as funding caused cooptation which resulted in a focus shift, for example, services replaced politics, hierarchical structures replaced collectivism, and establishing credibility with funders replaced the ideology of social change. Potuchek (1986) noted that various effects of the loss of autonomy for shelters could be identified, for example funders with control over financial resources could impose constraints which were varied in nature (Ahrens, 1980; Davis, 1988a; Ferraro, 1981, 1983; Fried, 1994; Johnson, 1981; Potuchek, 1986; Reinelt, 1994; Rodriguez, 1988; Schechter, 1982; Sullivan, 1982; Tice, 1990; Tucker, 1981).

Levesque (1996) documented the impact of state welfare policy on voluntary organisations in New Zealand as one in which the state has been able to threaten their autonomy by its "... increased intervention into the planning and provision of welfare services"(p.6) (Boston, 1999; B. Robinson, 1998). For individual refuges in New Zealand this has meant that they have been afforded some protection by the NCIWR which since its inception has been directly accountable to the government. However constraints have also been imposed on the NCIWR which have been transferred to individual refuges. These constraints have meant that although refuges continued to focus on delivering services to women and children and maintain a working base of volunteers (Snively, 1996) they have also been compelled by the NCIWR, and they in turn by government to provide statistics, reports and audited accounts in order to access and maintain a minimal level of funding (NCIWR, 1992b):

The national office, together with core group, negotiates and manages the national service funding contract with the Community Funding Agency. The changing funding environment means that refuge collectives increasingly have to describe not only what they do but how they do it.

The accountability requirements of the major funding agencies are increasing in complexity and volume. As refuge (along with other voluntary groups working in the social services sector) comes to term

with the new reporting requirements, national office has been called on more and more to provide model standards and procedures for that reporting. It is frustrating for our members, as these demands have arrived simultaneously with an increased demand for the services we offer (Piper, 1994, p.9).

According to Potuchek (1986) the second characteristic was one in which funders imposed constraints on shelters. Constraints included funders identifying types of programmes to be established, imposing professional staff criteria, and advising on users of the services, that is the clientele. This also occurred in New Zealand in the 1990s, with social and welfare programmes provided by voluntary organisations including refuges (Higgins, 1997a; Levesque, 1996; Trebilcock, 1995; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). Shelter budgets were expected to conform to funder guidelines and were not to be used for new activities not previously identified. Other restrictions included establishing budgeting procedures, prohibiting shelters from lobbying and conducting political advocacy, and establishing an organisational structure that included a board of directors and an executive director, thus replacing the collective with a hierarchical organisational structure (Potuchek, 1986).

A third characteristic required by funders was to evaluate shelter services and programmes. Evaluation was viewed as critical as it added legitimacy to the agency seeking funding. Although Potuchek (1986) acknowledged the difficulty in establishing this type of evaluation she stated that funders resorted to evaluating the "cost-effectiveness" of shelters. Quantitative measures were introduced such as collecting statistical data regarding the number of women and children served by a shelter and the type of service they received. In addition, qualitative data was also sought regarding personnel, that is, the service providers' ability to manage the programmes and budgets effectively (Piper, 1994). Potuchek (1986) maintained that "... funders' perceptions of the professionalism, stability, and accountability of applicant organizations are an important element in their evaluations of those agencies" (p.431). If positive these factors combine to identify the shelter as a "legitimate social service agency" (p.431). Credibility, was thus viewed as critical for the agency, and in order to maintain an image of professionalism and legitimacy, shelters had to adopt what Salancik (1981) called "'Standard Operating Structures'" (SOS) (pp.145-146). These SOS were critical for organisations as they incorporated

what Meyer and Rowan (1977, cited in Potuchek, 1986) stated as "... practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and institutionalized in society" (Potuchek, p.432). SOS for shelters included establishing a nonprofit status, a voluntary board of directors, a constitution, an executive director, professional staff with tertiary qualifications, and office space. In addition, applications made by shelters to funders had to prove their worth. This meant that funders could conduct reference checks and obtain assurances that the funded agency (shelter) was a good risk. Thus, to support funding applications, shelters were required to prove that they had a previous "track record" (Potuchek, 1986, p.433) that is stability through other sources of funding as well as support from other social service agencies and the community at large (Potuchek, 1986). These requirements resulting from funders insistence on establishing and maintaining a set of funding criteria had an enormous impact on shelters, on their philosophy and their practice (Ahrens, 1980; Ferraro, 1983; Lupton, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990).

These requirements of shelters set down by the American administration (Potuchek, 1986) remain critical in New Zealand. There are some tangible differences in terms of overriding philosophies but these pertain to the individual refuges. As Woods (1996) has noted, some agencies "... have held on to their identity and stood eye to eye with Government as they have negotiated contracts of mutual benefit" (p.6) but accommodation on the part of agencies seeking government funds has been inevitable (Nowland-Foreman, 1995; Woods, 1996). For example the NCIWR was formulated as a body that represented its member refuges and as such had to put in place accountability systems that all refuges would adhere to in order to accommodate the requirements of government (Higgins, 1997a; Piper, 1994; Review Team, 1986; Synergy Applied Research, 1983).

Furthermore the balancing of accountability and the targeting of additional funding for refuges was critical and was noted in Synergy Applied Research's (1983) needs assessment of refuges. "In considering the case of whether or not women's refuges merit increased Governmental assistance, the cost side would be relatively easy to evaluate, as it would be basically an accounting exercise" (p.8). As early as 1983 in response to government accountability the NCIWR had put in place the means to

assess refugees' socio-economic value in order to access funding. In 1986 the findings of a government interdepartmental Review Team at the request of the NCIWR asserted that:

The present Refuge funding procedure requires each refuge society to keep detailed records of its operation on a weekly basis, and collate these on a monthly basis. These are later forwarded to the National Co-ordinator, who collates the six one-monthly return sheets from all refuges on to a large half yearly return, presented to the Department of Social Welfare for funding approval purposes twice a year (p.20).

Thus funding for refuges has been tied to statistics concerning the number of women and children using residential services.

However, the Review Team (1986) also noted that refuges should not be required to continue with such detailed statistics but should however continue to keep records using a simplified format and continue to send the documents to the national office. The NCIWR's *Strategic Plan 1996* (1996b) coupled with the Snively Report (Snively, 1996) both served to establish the cost-effectiveness of funding refuges in New Zealand, and have legitimised both the national organisation and the individual refuges. The *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) outlined various responses to the identification of refuges as clearly necessary for assisting battered women and their children. The NCIWR (1996b) recognised and developed plans not only to increase their funding base but to standardise service delivery practice in refuges, improve training for refuge workers and maintain its position as a non-governmental policy advisor. The Snively Report (Snively, 1996) painstakingly identified the need for increased funding for refuges by analysing the real cost of providing refuge services (Potuchek, 1986).

In the 1980s the Canadian Secretary of State Women's Program was a prime example of the need for voluntary organisations to justify their programmes to government. It enforced "... rigid internal accounting and administrative procedures, while simultaneously creating significantly greater control over funded groups" (Schreuder,

1990, p.189). According to Schreader (1990) such control was enhanced when grant funding was replaced by contribution funding¹³ to groups. Thus participation in a contractual agreement with the Secretary of State Women's Program to undertake specific projects in line with its mandate was the outcome for women's groups. Schreader (1990) maintained that the intended impact of reduced funding was increased competition between women's groups so that government could weigh up the funding worthiness of organisations (L. MacLeod, 1987; Potuchek, 1986). Schreader (1990) clearly identified the kind of impact such an evaluation had upon women's groups as voluntary organisations:

Government demands for increasingly complex methods of bookkeeping and reporting with flowcharts, priority charts and excessive credibility criteria, far exceed the capability of most volunteer, community-based groups. Further, the government requirement that groups undertake quantitative evaluations of their performance places an emphasis on statistics as a measure of success or failure. Consequently, quality of work and the value women place on their own growth and development are not perceived to be relevant measures of success (p.190).

The impact of funding reduction was also felt by transition houses in Canada and identified by L. MacLeod (1987) in her transition house survey undertaken in 1985 in which she expressed the concerns of transition houses. "The first is the concern of most politicians to cut costs within a climate of overall financial restraint and the enduring reality of competing priorities" (p.50) and the second concern L. MacLeod (1987) identified was "... the current political fashion of emphasizing program autonomy, with the accompanying reluctance of the federal and many provincial/territorial governments to expand the government-supported social welfare service net" (p.50). She noted that Canadian, like New Zealand governments expected more for less as transition house workers continued to provide volunteer contributions in the hope that services would be increased.

Canadian transition houses have always maintained statistical records regarding users of their services and as Beaudry (1985) stated when writing about Quebec transition

¹³ "In accepting a contribution a group enters into a contractual agreement to undertake specific activities acceptable to the Program, whereas acceptance of a grant carries no such obligations" (Schreader, 1990, p.189).

houses, "The government ... proposed the use of forms similar to those used elsewhere in the social service network for compiling statistical data to identify the shelters' clientele" (p.27). F. MacLeod (1982) put it very clearly in her handbook *Transition House- How to Establish a Refuge for Battered Women* by stating that it was important for transition houses to maintain statistics: "because many transition houses are funded on a per diem basis by the provincial government, careful recording is required to support the billing procedure" (p.72). She also noted that maintaining records assisted with projecting yearly budgets and staffing needs as they provided a ready source of information for constructing annual budgets for governments. Thus there has been considerable rationale for maintaining records and accounting procedures within both the Canadian and the New Zealand battered women's movements. As a result of shelters evolving in this manner, Ferraro (1983) stated:

... the majority of shelters have rejected the self-help model and have adopted some version of a professional therapeutic model. Emotional counselling conducted by degreed professionals prevails; democratic, collective decision making is a rarity in shelters. ... To a large extent, shelters have been coopted into the traditional welfare, social service bureaucracy (p.291).

Structural and Organisational Implications

The internal factors impacting on transition houses in Canada and refuges in New Zealand have included the structural and operational aspects of shelters and the roles staff and volunteers undertake, and these have been critical for the battered women's movement's ability to enact social change. It has been pointed out that in response to the method of provision of funding, shelters in North America have changed their philosophy and therefore their political strategy, but this has not necessarily meant that shelters could not be agents for social change. It may be difficult however to provide services and work to end violence against women when the organisational form has been enticed and restricted by funding; thus it is critical to look to other factors that support a social change philosophy within the organisation itself. This section of the chapter will therefore focus on the structural and organisational aspects of transition houses and refuges and the staff and volunteer aspects. These factors have been expressed in significantly different ways for Canada and New Zealand and in their

evolution we can see different manifestations of the battered women's movement, both in form and in process.

According to Ferraro (1983) North American shelters were in fact only extensions of the "traditional welfare network" (p. 290), they functioned to assist women individually and they were not established to make institutional changes. Johnson (1981) also maintained that the majority of shelters were never feminist in their perspective. He identified 25% of shelters as established by church groups, and between 25% and 50% as founded by local branches of the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA). He also noted that government funding for shelters also defined how shelters operated, suggested ways in which services were to be provided and informed shelters as to the methods of client record-keeping and data collection (Johnson, 1981; Potuchek, 1986). Both Johnson (1981) and Ferraro (1983) maintained that the majority of shelters established had no feminist links (Schechter, 1990). This is somewhat reflective of Canadian transition houses in which the majority of shelters established after 1980 were not established as collectives but adopted a hierarchical model of structure and organisation (L. MacLeod, 1987).

In writing about the refuge movement in Great Britain Lupton (1994) identified two distinct models for providing shelter services to battered women:

Both the organisational forms of British refuges and the principles underpinning their work derive from the wider women's movement. In particular, most are committed to non-hierarchical, collectivist ways of working and to the principles of self-help and self-determination (pp.56-57).

This contrasts starkly with the American model of shelters. Lupton (1994) stated that " ... American shelters for battered women appear to be further along that continuum towards the more conventional 'social provision' model" (p.57). She maintained that American shelters focused on accessing funding for shelters and were therefore, privy to the exacting accountability requirements of government. The results of this compromise impacted on the organisational aspects of shelters "... a break in the essential link between aims and methods: away from the belief -central to the original feminist inspiration - that the way in which help is provided is as important as the help itself" (1994, pp. 57-58). Consequently the focus became one of providing services

not on how they were provided as American shelters embraced a more traditional form, eschewing the "... collective and democratic decision-making approaches" (Lupton, 1994, p.58), manifested in the establishment of hierarchical structures, professional staff, a management orientation and client/counsellor delineations in which shelters accepted a "... mental health approach which defined the 'problem' as the individual woman and her relationships" (Lupton, 1994, p.58).

MacDonald (1995) maintained that in Canada funding from government enabled transition houses to provide "basic services to women and children, in contrast to the early years when substantial energies were spent on the seemingly endless treadmill of grant applications and fundraising events" (p.6). Currie (1989) also analysed the transformation from feminist ways of organising shelters to a more institutional approach in terms of the opportunity to access core funding. She argued that an insistence on remaining community-based in conjunction with resisting funding was detrimental to shelters. For example, they would reduce their credibility as a social service for battered women, budgets would remain minimal, staff salaries would continue to be paltry and the opportunity to receive permanent government funding would be tenuous at best. Currie asserted that:

If transition houses were part of the social welfare system, every house would have a child-care worker. Staff would be unionized civil servants with decent wages and benefits. Annual funding would be guaranteed (1989, p.20).

According to L. MacLeod (1987) government support "... has been both a facilitator and a product of changes in philosophy among many shelter workers" (p.54). This was exemplified in 1983 when the Nova Scotia provincial government's Department of Community Services "... brought transition houses into the mainstream of its social services budget" (MacDonald, 1995, p.6). They "... initiated an on-going financial formula to provide houses with 75% of approved budgets" (Gilman, 1988, p.15). They also approved the opening of three more shelters. According to MacDonald (1995) the institutionalisation of transition houses continued to provide benefits, for example, over a five year period from 1990 to 1995 annual budgets to shelters increased, salaries were raised, new specialised positions were established as the Nova Scotia provincial government supported services to battered women and children. In

New Brunswick in 1987, the newly elected Liberal provincial government announced that it too would fund new transition houses in the province (Currie, 1989). Although transition houses in Canada have not received 100% of their funding needs from government they have been substantially funded by them for nearly two decades, in comparison to New Zealand refuges. Thus compromises have provided some houses in Canada with more reasonable budgets, better paid staff and new staff positions as government acknowledged that programmes for children witnessing domestic violence and for women were required.

Since the 1980s Canadian transition houses have experienced changes from within their own organisations. As stated previously Canada's transition houses, unlike those in New Zealand have remained autonomous organisations in that they are not affiliated with any national, centralised body like the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) for ideological or funding purposes. Each transition house in Canada has a mandate to develop and conduct its own services and programmes, train its staff and volunteers and establish a board of directors which is responsible for governance, policy development, funding and staffing (Department of Community Services, 1994; F. MacLeod, 1982). Since the advent of government funding and the ideological withdrawal of a collective approach the structure of Canadian transition houses changed from that of the early days of the movement (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982). Shelters adopted a structure that was based on a hierarchical model with an executive director responsible to a board of directors and in turn staff and volunteers responsible to the executive director (L. MacLeod, 1987; Statistics Canada, 1994). Statistics Canada (1994) reported that 90% (299) of the shelters surveyed in 1993 " ... were governed by volunteer Boards of Directors" (p.48). The shelter structure can thus be likened to a hierarchical structure (Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995) where the residents and staff are at the base, followed by the executive director, above her the board of directors and the government situated at the very top.

The change to a hierarchical model for shelters can be identified with the introduction of boards of directors established to fulfil funding and accountability requirements although originally they were in name only as collectives actually managed the shelter.

As the 1980s progressed and state funding became the norm, boards changed (Ahrens, 1980; Schechter, 1982; Sullivan, 1982). Schechter (1982) in her book on the history and development of the battered women's movement *Women and Male Violence* identified that at first:

... boards continued to respect the importance of internal democracy by leaving most policy and day to day decisions to the staff and residents. Disagreements between shelter staff and boards, however, have exploded frequently. Many board members stopped working within the shelter or indeed were invited to join boards without the knowledge of nontraditional organizations or battered women (p.100).

Professionals were encouraged to become board members and as they were volunteers it was expected that these professionals (for example, lawyers, teachers, accountants and social workers) would have much to offer - in terms of having access to government and other external resources such as funding whilst also increasing credibility within communities (Aveni, 1978; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982; Zald & Ash, 1966). Such boards were chosen:

... very deliberately for the influence they wield in the community, rather than for their pure philosophical commitment to the issue or for their friendships with staff members. These boards are fashioned on a business model. They are seen as political tools for increasing the visibility of and support for the house, and more generally, for the issue of wife battering, in the community (L. MacLeod, 1987, p.57).

Thus, boards could be extremely powerful even when they left the day-to-day operations and policy to staff:

... boards could wield considerable power. Clashes were inevitable and often erupted in the middle of a fiscal or personnel crisis when the board, seeing itself as legally responsible for the shelter, moved to "straighten out the mess", as they perceived it (Schechter, 1982, p.101).

A prime example of the power invoked by boards occurred according to MacDonald, (1995) in Nova Scotia transition houses. In her study of "Bryony House" MacDonald stated that the Board of Directors had changed from women involved in the battered women's movement to women from the professional community and as a result the power base had changed:

This shift in "power base" or "the community" from which women who make up transition house Boards is not peculiar to Bryony House: it has also happened to some degree in each of the other eight

houses in the province, although perhaps not so dramatically (MacDonald, 1995, p.10).

With this membership change, boards of directors were thus less likely to come from staff or ex-residents of shelters (Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987). MacDonald (1995) also documented the immense influence that boards had within transition houses. For example, "Bryony House" changed its structure in 1983 from a feminist collective to a hierarchy. The reason given by MacDonald (1995) was that funding problems and ideological differences among collective members led many of the radical feminist founders to leave the organisation (Ahrens, 1980). The structural change within the transition house prompted the Board of Directors to institute a hierarchy, hire an Executive Director and disallow staff from eligibility as Board members by amending the Memorandum of Association (MacDonald, 1995). Schechter (1982) also noted that the power and influence of boards had other repercussions for staff within shelters, "In one shelter, the board demanded that the director 'keep her staff in line' while the executive director asserted that staff had the right to participate with full access to information" (p.101) (Ferraro, 1983).

The change in shelter structure as organisations moved from collective to more hierarchical structures meant that generally shelters were likely to be defined as promoting a social service/mental health model identifying a psychological approach to battered women and the manner in which services could be provided (Bograd, 1990; Davis, 1988a; Epstein, Russell & Silvern, 1988; Ferraro, 1981, 1983; Schechter, 1990).

This change in philosophical perspective had repercussions for the women who staffed the shelters as in North America shelters became increasingly professionalised and specialised (Schechter 1982, 1990). According to L. MacLeod (1987) Canadian transition houses established a staff person who took on the role of executive director or coordinator and noted that 84% of transition houses had in place a "team leader or a director" (p.56). Transition houses also complemented this position with several specialised staff roles. According to L. MacLeod (1987):

It is not uncommon for a house to have at least a director, several crisis staff for dealing with the battered women, a child-care worker

and an administrative officer. In addition, several houses have an assistant director, a maintenance worker, a public relations worker, a volunteer coordinator, and a housekeeper or cook (p.56).

Women with tertiary education and professional qualifications were hired as shelters increasingly became part of the social service network. The increase in shelter credibility, the overriding need for funding and the maintenance of external linkages with various agencies in the community far outweighed any reluctance to shift from a "grass-roots movement" (Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1990). Schechter (1990) stated that "shelters had to lay their claims to expertise in order to ward off competition from more traditional agencies, and obtain funding" (p.307). Thus, the movement away from women with direct experience of abuse working in shelters to employing women with tertiary and professional credentials had a significant impact on shelters. As Schechter (1990) so succinctly put it, " ... imperceptibly, staff lost their connection to a movement in the process of learning their complicated jobs and becoming experts" (p.307).

Thus it can be seen that boards of directors had the power to act as change agents in the sense that they were able to influence both the philosophy and the practice of shelters. Beaudry (1985) in documenting some Quebec transition houses based on an institutional model stated that:

Although the early boards of directors were mostly window-dressing, they were eventually replaced with boards that became extensively involved in all aspects of decision-making and orientation in the houses, reducing the sphere of internal management to the bare essentials (p.38).

Even more so the introduction of specialised and professional staff to carry out the work previously done by ex-battered women was also fundamental to the structural changes for shelters as they became more like social service organisations (Currie, 1989). Davis (1988a) also noted that the dual approach to service delivery that is a feminist approach coupled with a social service model was significant. This type of influence in conjunction with government pressure to implement structural and practical changes was dramatic for the Canadian transition house movement (Beaudry, 1985).

In New Zealand there has been very little written on the refuge movement in terms of its structure and organisation and what has been documented is somewhat dated and may not adequately represent significant changes that may have occurred within individual refuges. What has been written has been confined to the 1970 and 1980s (Christchurch Women's Centre, 1975; Dunedin Women's Refuge, 1978; Hancock, 1979; Review Team, 1986; Synergy Applied Research, 1983; Thompson, 1976) or been sponsored by the NCIWR (PriceWaterHouseCoopers (PWC), 2000; Snively, 1996) or been some academic pieces documenting specific refuge histories (Cammock, 1994).

Reinelt (1994) in her case study of the shelter movement in Texas identified what DiMaggio (1983) called an "organisational field", as a strategy for the lobbying of and for serving the interests of a particular group. An organisational field consists of a group of organisations that come together for a specific purpose, for example in New Zealand the NCIWR may be viewed as an organisational field in that as many as 48 member refuges, shelter under the umbrella of a national body that represents their varied interests including refuge funding. In Canada transition houses are not represented by an organisational field for funding interests. Each house represents itself when applying for funding. If it is the case in New Zealand that the NCIWR represents an organisational field then it can be likened to Reinelt's (1994) case study of the Texas shelter movement in that:

Movement advocates mobilized to seek state funding on terms they primarily defined. Once funding was appropriated they remained intimately involved in the process of implementation thereby having a great deal of influence over the expansion of the organizational field (p.688).

Reinelt (1994) also stated that to undermine the threat to the movement's philosophy and political ideology in her case, the Texas organisational field consisting of shelters and state advocacy organisations, it is important for:

... movement activists ... to continually ... work ... to build feelings of trust and community among member organizations by empowering everyone to act collectively together to improve the lives of battered women, strengthen the services provided to them, and engage in social change (p.688).

The opportunity to achieve collective action at a national level was seen as achievable in New Zealand. At the request of the NCIWR an interdepartmental Review Team consisted of Justice, Social Welfare and Women's Affairs (1986) was established to review the " ... funding and administration of Refuge" (p.1). The Review Team (1986) reflected the role of the NCIWR and stated that:

The review team believes that the National Collective as a whole has experience and expertise in administering Refuge. The National Collective provides the best mechanism for the development of training programmes, raising of refuge standards, assisting women and children who have been abused, and supporting the workers providing such a service. ... The alternatives to funding through the National Collective as suggested to the review team were an allocation committee independent of the National Collective or direct Department of Social Welfare funding at district or head office level. The suggestion of an allocation committee was discounted as a cumbersome and expensive alternative since such a committee would not have access to the information about refuges available either to refuge national office or DSW. It would also establish an undesirable precedent for funding national services. Direct DSW funding would have the drawback of removing some of the autonomy of refuges, reducing the incentives and opportunities for refuges to work together and eliminating co-ordination and standards at a national level (p.24).

In New Zealand the refuge movement appeared to retain elements of autonomy whilst in Canada transition houses tended to be assimilated to funding requirements. In some Canadian provinces, transition houses have worked to strengthen services and through their provincial associations worked for social justice and social change but they may not have the structures in place that identify them as a cohesive, singular movement. Sullivan (1982) in her study of the cooptation of the shelter movement has not discussed an organisational field *per se* but has identified that shelters and coalitions tended to focus on legislative and lobbying in order to achieve their short term service goals. However, they have not developed a "clear political direction" (p.50) in which they can identify ways in which to end violence against women. Sullivan (1982) suggested that the shelter movement needed a discourse that could develop a strong feminist analysis and a "long-term plan for social change" (p.50). In Texas, Reinelt (1994) identified that it was important for shelters to maintain communication with each other and funders and retain an involvement with the way in which services were delivered as well as maintaining a focus on social change.

In New Zealand the NCIWR has in its connection with the state been able to act as a buffer for its member refuges by its ability to be at the forefront regarding accessing funding and distributing it to the refuges. In turn individual refuges have not been required to access funding directly and therefore appear to focus their energies on assisting battered women and children. The assumption that refuges have remained autonomous is without support however as with the introduction of contract funding refuges increasingly became more accountable and responsible to the NCIWR (Higgins, 1997a; Piper, 1994; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990; Woods, 1996). This is reflected in the NCIWR's (1992b) leaflet on funding criteria:

Refuges receive their funding six monthly, providing they fulfill a range of accountability requirements specified in the Letter of Agreement between each refuge and NCIWR. These include supplying monthly usage statistics, annual reports, audited accounts, a list of advocates, and operate and manage the refuge to the agreed standards (p.3).

Thus it can be seen that the NCIWR cannot provide funding to its member refuges without continuous accountability and auditing as well as putting in place needs based assessment measures (NCIWR, 1992b). As the Snively Report (Snively, 1996) has clearly noted, the refuge movement has continued to account for its service delivery and volunteer contributions as it strives to increase its funding levels. It is therefore erroneous to assume that the government has the interests of the refuge movement in mind as the Review Team has suggested (1986). Moreover funding on a national level has meant that refuges and the refuge movement are not able to influence actual funding levels thus reducing the potential lobbying and advocacy roles that refuges can undertake. This is particularly pertinent as the Review Team (1986) stated that decentralising funding was not beneficial to refuges as it would establish a precedent that it considered was detrimental to the refuge movement's collective ideals. Nevertheless advocating a national based funding criterion also prohibited individual refuges from making direct budget requests based on particular and prioritised needs. Piper (1994) notes the impact of contract funding and the NCIWR's consequent accountability to government:

Many changes have occurred over the past 10 years. They include an increasing demand for refuge services and the impact of the Public Finance Act, which required greater accountability within publicly funded organisations. The changes to government policy on funding

voluntary agencies working in the social service area and to housing policy have also had a big impact, particularly in imposing greater costs on us than ever before (p.9).

In more general terms the literature regarding voluntary organisations and the state has tended to focus on social and welfare services generally but not directly on the refuge movement in New Zealand with regard to the change in the type of funding imposed in 1991 by the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) (Boston, 1999; Higgins, 1997a; Levesque, 1996; Nowland-Foreman, 1996; Trebilcock, 1995; V. Smith, 1996). The introduction of New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) funding on a contractual basis for refuges meant that they became directly accountable to the NCIWR and in turn, the NCIWR to the NZCFA, for funding and various reporting procedures. The NCIWR has therefore been subject to cooptation as it became hierarchical in structure, employing specialised staff, including a chief executive officer and ensuring that refuges comply with accountability requirements. Furthermore with the implementation of its *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) the NCIWR developed national standards of practice regarding refuge service delivery operations in order to continue to access government funding and to increase funding to its member refuges in order to "reflect the true economic cost of NCIWR work" (NCIWR, 1996b, p. 17; Snively, 1996). Thus the NCIWR appears to have become increasingly institutionalised (Ahrens, 1980; Potuchek, 1986) as it became more receptive to government changes in social policy and more adaptive in its internal decision-making processes and its responsibility to its member refuges. This does not mean however that its philosophy has changed but that it has recognised the need to evolve and adapt as the political climate warrants.

This adaptation has also been documented in North America where scholars such as Currie, (1989), Ferraro, (1983), Johnson, (1981), and MacDonald, (1995) have identified that cooptation of shelters in North America was not so much as compromising their feminist ideals but preferred to see the adaptation as beneficial to shelters. Johnson (1981) referenced the cooptation of shelters in the following manner:

A major reason for cooptation and one seldom observed or appreciated, is that financial support from official agencies often

carries various kinds of benefits to the officials who underwrite and/or support program enterprise (p.828).

Although the NCIWR appears to have become institutionalised and coopted and its member refuges increasingly accountable for funding they have focused on retaining a collective identity in their interactions with each other, that is the relationship between the NCIWR and refuges have maintained collaborative processes and consensus decision-making processes in their regional meetings and annual meeting. The NCIWR's Core Group, the management committee which consists of representatives from refuges, meet to discuss and act upon various initiatives and activities in order to further funding, service delivery and policy formulations within the NCIWR and with government (Reinelt, 1994). This collective structural configuration was established prior to funding availability and reflects the feminist inspired organisations that were integral to the battered women's movement in its early days. For example in 1983 Synergy Applied Research noted that most refuges were organised as collectives and maintained their autonomy. Collectives have an " ... elected Management Committee that meets either fortnightly or monthly to discuss administrative matters" (p.43). In addition "refuges are operated by workers paid and unpaid drawn from the local community" (Snively, 1996, p.46). According to the Review Team:

The focus of Refuge has always been on self help and support. Women are encouraged to take active responsibility for their own welfare and to make their own decisions about their future. ... As organisations involved with improving the well-being and rights of women, Refuges are committed to social change and promoting public awareness. ... The emphasis of Refuge has been on a move away from traditional "professional" service delivery into new areas of advocacy, information, community education and social action (1986, p.2).

It is obvious from this last statement made by the Review Team (1986) that during the 1980s the refuge movement in New Zealand actively maintained its collective structure as it recognised the potential cost of being viewed as a social service type agency with professional workers. However the increased dependence of refuges on government funding, and the ensuing requirements that consume refuge staff, increase bureaucracy and promote hierarchies, as each individual refuge establishes a management committee to oversee the coordination of their refuges and employ staff

who develop specialisations, for example, child advocates and other refuge staff with specific skills and designations, and devise operational means to collect data, develop reporting procedures and instigate rules and regulations within the refuge structure that women have to adhere to if they want to be sheltered.

Within the New Zealand refuge movement it can be seen that it has developed what Schechter (1982) calls modified hierarchies or modified collectives where shelters balance aspects of both hierarchy and collectivism (Riger, 1994) within their structures in order to meet the requirements of governments that fund them but also adhering to some of the basic principles of collectivism, that is shared decision-making and cooperation. The maintenance of collective structures is based on the refuges' relationship with the NCIWR which enables them to interact with each other on a collective basis thus upholding their fundamental collective philosophy and this has not changed. However the base level funding formulated by government and sustained by the NCIWR through its collective philosophy has inhibited the refuge movement from adequately funding the number of paid staff required even though the Snively Report (Snively, 1996) and the NCIWR *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) is looking to change this. Although the use of staff and volunteers reinforces the refuge movement's commitment to maintaining its collective philosophy the proliferation of volunteers acts to subsidise government which does not then have to provide funding for additional staff or services. The NCIWR (1996b) as a national organisation retains collectivism in its strategy as it coordinates many refuge activities, for example, training of staff and volunteers, maintenance of service delivery and standards, support and assistance, and funding thus freeing up refuge workers' time for service delivery. In Canada as previously stated transition house maintained responsibility for all of these activities.

In more general structural terms, in Canada more than half of transition houses have interest-free forgivable mortgages funded by the CMHC (CMHC, 1995). This has meant that women have not generally been financially responsible for paying for their transition house stay. Individual houses in Canada have developed operational and administrative budgets that they submit annually to their provincial governments. Funding received has covered operational costs, paid staff to provide in-house

coverage 24 hours a day, 7 days a week (L. MacLeod, 1987), shelter and a range of residential and outreach services and programmes for battered women and their children.¹⁴ For the most part transition houses have not needed to rely heavily on volunteers to provide basic services to battered women, but 67% of the 332 transition houses surveyed by Statistics Canada (1994) maintained that they did use volunteers in some capacity. Municipal governments have supplemented core funding usually by as much as 25% of the budget by providing annual block grants or daily *per diem* rates for women and children during their stay in transition houses. The *per diem* has meant that women have not had to pay rent or subsistence costs such as meals and personal items during their stay in transition houses. This is not the case in New Zealand refuges.

Staff and Volunteer Implications

Although Canadian transition houses in their pursuit for funding, have been subject to government accountability which has impacted on their structure and organisation, the use of paid staff over volunteers remains a critical issue as volunteers still play a predominant role in New Zealand refuges. The debate over the use of paid staff versus volunteers has been addressed in the Canadian transition house movement and in Australia where refuges replaced their volunteer base with paid staff working on a rotational basis 24 hours a day. In Australia paying women for refuge work was a result of refuge activists realising that the way to increase funding was to advocate for reasonable wages, an increase in the number of paid staff and a reduction in sharing wages among workers. These activists agreed that volunteerism was not acceptable. "After an exhausting debate, refuges rejected a deeply entrenched tendency to volunteerism amongst conservatives and masochism amongst feminists by agreeing to a minimum staffing formula" (McFerren, 1990, p.199). The issue and importance of paid workers for the maintenance of reasonable government funding for battered women's services, and its relevance for refuges as social change agents (MacDonald, 1995) warrants further discussion.

¹⁴ Other Canadian funding sources have included other government departments, donations, fund raising and membership dues.

As stated earlier the transition house movement in Canada was established from a collective perspective, using volunteer labour and working with very little funding (Gilman, 1988), but the publication of Linda MacLeod's (1980) ground-breaking research on battered women *Wife Battering in Canada: The Vicious Circle* published by the Canadian Advisory Council on the Status of Women saw economic and political changes in the way that domestic violence was viewed.¹⁵

Furthermore in 1987 L. MacLeod's follow-up national study, *Battered But Not Beaten: Preventing Wife Battering in Canada*, reviewed and assessed progress made by transition houses during the previous seven years, L. MacLeod asserted that the 1 in 10 statistic of women abused by their partner had made an enormous impact on the Canadian government and communities at large:

Canadians took notice of this incident. An unthinking and public display of levity about such a grave problem generated a high level of public outrage, concern, and insistence among front-line workers and members of the general public, that policy-makers help translate this concern into action. Government officials rallied in response to this public outcry (p.3).¹⁶

Historically Canadian transition houses had always promoted the notion that workers should be paid to provide services to battered women (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; F. MacLeod, 1982). According to L. MacLeod (1987) Canadian transition houses had mixed feelings about using volunteers to provide services to battered women. She noted that:

¹⁵ L. MacLeod (1980) identified in her first study of shelters that "every year, 1 in 10 Canadian women who are married or in a relationship with a live-in lover are battered" (p.21). In 1982 this staggering statistic was not at first taken seriously by Canadian politicians and as L. MacLeod (1987) later noted the sound of their laughter resounded throughout the House of Commons when this figure was mentioned and the issue of wife battering as a serious social problem was raised.

¹⁶In response to this outcry the Canadian government adopted a national police policy of charging perpetrators which meant that women were no longer responsible for laying charges, public education programmes were funded, existing shelters received more funding and a further 179 shelters were established over a five year period (L. MacLeod, 1987). As a result Canadian transition houses across Canada benefitted from the response by the state not only in recognising that domestic violence was a social problem but that they would make available funding to address the problem.

... some shelter workers worried that volunteerism could seriously under-rate the value of women's paid work, and might ultimately erode the public and government perception of the importance of the work done in shelters. The ultimate danger for shelter staff, according to their reports, is that funding agencies may want paid staff in shelters replaced by volunteers. Shelter workers said that governments are increasingly encouraging the use of volunteers as a form of "community involvement". Most houses have attempted to curb this danger by insisting that volunteers never be used to replace a paid staff member, but instead be used to do jobs specifically allocated to volunteers, usually childcare, secretarial/clerical work, and transporting women to the transition house, to court, to welfare offices, etc.

In addition, workers spoke of problems with continuity created by the short hours most volunteers work, and the fact that few volunteers can agree to be on call. Volunteers may be very committed, but because the job is unpaid, they are more likely to leave their shelter positions after a relatively short time (pp.63-64).

Beaudry (1985) in her study of Quebec transition houses also encountered the problem of volunteers providing services:

The women were confronted with the dilemma of volunteer work. On the one hand, this allowed them to be relatively autonomous in their work; but on the other hand, it amounted to a way of merely perpetuating the current plight of women, namely economic dependence, and even poverty for some of them. Why should women always be volunteers? Should they be shouldering responsibility for an essential service, when it was really the state's job to provide it? (pp.23-24).

Using volunteers has always had a place in Canadian transition houses but not to the detriment of meeting battered women's needs. Staff noted that " ... there is a risk that the quality of the service provided will be compromised by using volunteers just because there is less continuity" (L. MacLeod, 1987, p.64). Of the 110 houses surveyed by L. MacLeod (1987) each one had on average, 14 paid staff. This consisted of five full-time and two part-time permanent staff, and seven paid relief staff who could be available to provide additional staffing when required. Even with these numbers, houses reported that they were still understaffed. The L. MacLeod (1987) study regarding staffing levels was also consistent with Statistics Canada's (1994) annual transition house survey conducted for the period from April 1992 to March 1993 which reported that the 332 transition houses employed 1,640 full-time

staff and 971 part-time "front-line workers" (p.48) during that year and that these figures had increased by 9% over the previous two years. Thus on average each house had more than seven permanent staff on their payroll. Two hundred and twenty five shelters noted that on average that they also used 15 volunteers during the survey year (Statistics Canada, 1994).

In New Zealand refuges have used volunteers in place of paid staff. According to the NCIWR (1998), 70% or 396,569 hours of refuge work was unpaid, volunteer work. Only 25% (159) of the total number (637) of refuge advocates were paid for the work they did. The Snively Report (Snively, 1996) sponsored by the NCIWR to elicit actual and projected costs of providing refuge services in New Zealand identified that on average the 48 member refuges employed " ... one or two paid workers and between four and thirty unpaid volunteers" (p.46) per refuge and that the economic cost of volunteer, unpaid labour for the period of 1994-1995 was estimated at NZ\$5.9 million. It is expected that these costs will rise in the ensuing years (Snively, 1996). Consequently, Snively (1996) in the conclusions and implications section of the report maintained that:

Services which rely on a high number of voluntary staff face high staff turnover. The inherent stress of refuge work contributes further to increases in staff turnover. This means there is a constant need to recruit and train new refuge workers using funds which are then not available for direct service delivery. The implication for those requiring refuge services is a lack of continuity of care. The follow up worker is likely to be different from the worker with whom they had their first contact.

NCIWR statistics show a rising trend in the number of community cases.¹⁷ The majority of police callouts to community cases occur outside refuge paid staff hours so fall to volunteers. The increase in this type of work means either employing more paid staff overnight from 5pm to 9am or increasing volunteer numbers. NCIWR records indicate a decreasing pool of volunteer labour available to refuges, particularly in rural areas. This raises concerns for the viability of the service should community cases continue to rise (p.12).

¹⁷ Community cases are women seeking a variety of services on an outreach basis and may or may not include women who have been sheltered (PWC, 2000).

Snively (1996) came to the same conclusion with regard to the use of volunteers providing direct services in refuges as L. MacLeod (1987) did in her transition house survey conducted in 1985, more than ten years before, that there was likely to be discontinuity of care in a refuge movement where the recruitment and sustainment of volunteers was decreasing (Snively, 1996). Paying workers provided recognition for the value of their work (Beaudry 1985; Currie, 1989; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990) and enabled them to unionise to improve their social and economic conditions. This meant that increases in annual salaries occurred as workers bargained directly with their shelter employers (MacDonald, 1995; Pennell, 1990, 1995).

In both Canada and New Zealand the use of paid staff and unpaid volunteers has other benefits for the battered women's movement, not only in terms of providing essential services to battered women but also in providing the impetus for social change. It has been documented that workers were frequently concerned with the maintenance of a feminist practice over and above what might be imposed upon them by their boards of directors and government (Barnsley, 1985; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; Lupton, 1994; MacDonald, 1995; L. MacLeod, 1987). Barnsley (1985) has stated that:

The very act of listening to and believing each other as women enables us to see and begin to understand the subordination of women, and, thus, to challenge it.

Transition houses gave battered women access to each other, thereby ending the isolation and privacy of the family which had served to perpetuate wife battering and to keep this aspect of women's lives invisible.

Of course, it is the making visible and the articulation of women's situation that represents a challenge to the status quo and necessitates the state's attempts to institutionalize women's issues. As we've seen institutionalization is in large measure an attempt to redefine our experience so it can be absorbed and accommodated into existing frameworks. This does not mean that feminism is flawed; on the contrary, it signifies its power (p.91).

The very action of women using shelters and the opportunity for women to spend time talking with staff and other residents enables social change to occur. The work done by ex-battered women according to Currie (1989) was also critical:

In every house I visited, the importance of the work done by these ex-residents was mentioned. Getting a woman who has been battered to

work in a transition house can be a deeply empowering experience, both for the woman and for those she meets (p.22).

MacDonald (1995) also noted that in "Bryony House", although the Board of Directors had transformed it from a collective structure in the early 1980s the workers "... retained certain collective practices seen as 'feminist'" (p.13). Quimby (1995) writing about her experiences of working with battered women in Vancouver also maintained the legitimacy of staff aiding battered women:

We must value every woman who comes through our doors and see her as a resource to teach us more about the oppression of women and the ways women survive. We must also value ourselves. Transition house workers are very important. We can bring real help to women and real support. ... You, as a feminist worker, have the power to confront the systems as an equal and an expert, to advocate for battered women, and to treat all the women who come to your house as equals (p.277).

In Northwestern Ontario, Untinen (1995) has remained optimistic about the accomplishments of women within the shelter movement:

Many changes have occurred in the 20-year history of the movement. We can trace early evidence of government interference and co-optation that continue to undermine the feminist vision of the movement today. We can see the radical structures and autonomy of shelters give way to hierarchies and "partnerships" with government. But we can also learn from the spirit that created the shelters in the first place, and from the collectivity, which once included both residents and staff. Some of the strategies women created to resist violence, and co-optation, could still be used by activists today. Even with the compromises we've made, this history is a record of accomplishment, one which should make us all proud and give us validation for our ongoing work (pp.173-174).

Individual New Zealand refuges have not been as involved in this systematic undermining of shelter philosophy as fortunately they established the NCIWR which has been able to afford some protection from government intervention. However, refuges have suffered from grossly inadequate levels of funding as they struggled (and continue to struggle) to maintain a service the need for which does not appear to be diminishing.

Conclusion

In both Canada and New Zealand the history of the battered women's movement has been replete with difficulties. The movement struggled to be recognised in the 1970s and made some important breakthroughs in terms of placing the issue of domestic violence firmly on the agenda of governments. The 1980s brought recognition of the seriousness of domestic violence and with it a consolidation in terms of funding support. This meant, of course, that shelters could initiate new services while maintaining existing services for victims of family violence. Expectations were raised, women providing services could feel relieved that their struggles had been worthwhile and women receiving services could feel that there was hope for them, for an end to violence in their lives. In Canada the federal government of the 1980s, poured money into the new Family Violence Initiative to address the problem of family violence and the provincial governments provided stable funding for transition houses throughout Canada. In New Zealand the government also provided base level funding for refuges which steadily increased throughout the 1980s and 1990s albeit at totally inadequate levels.

The dilemma experienced by the battered women's movement and its relationship with government and funding initiatives remains. On the one hand as a feminist social service, shelters have wanted to provide services to battered women in a collective and autonomous way, whilst also needing the support of governments so that they could accomplish this. On the other hand governments have provided partial funding to shelters but usually with "strings attached". These "strings" have included a greater accountability, increased professionalism and the establishment of hierarchical processes and procedures (Ahrens, 1980; Barnsley, 1985; Lupton, 1994; NCIWR, 1992b; Potuchek, 1986; Schechter, 1990). Schreader (1990) showed that group autonomy is problematic when governments provide funding and " ... reserve the right to approve the political strategies of funded groups" (p.184).

Furthermore provincial governments in Canada have begun to reduce funding for transition houses and other women's services. This new focus on reduction and

retrenchment has implications for the movement as it attempts to negotiate continuously moving ground!

In New Zealand too several issues remain paramount. The NZ\$2.7 million government funding received by the NCIWR represents less than 30% of their stated economic costs funded by government when unpaid volunteer work was also considered (Snively, 1996). Volunteer labour has a tendency to drive refuge costs down and may blur actual costs incurred by the refuges. The refuge movement in New Zealand continues to sustain similar numbers (comparatively to Canada) of women and children seeking refuge services for a fraction of what it would cost Canadian transition houses. Volunteers are becoming increasingly difficult to replace and the refuge movement makes the assumption that because they keep the government at "arm's length" individual refuges are therefore not accountable to them (Synergy Applied Research, 1983).

Social change as a primary goal of the battered women's movement is not as critical as shelters ensure that they are maintained. As a consequence the early collective structures that defined the battered women's movement has been replaced by an increasingly bureaucratic structure that encompasses hierarchy, specialisation and policies and procedures. The balancing of government funding and the need for ensuring that a feminist philosophy is retained is problematic as the movement continues to focus on ways to ensure that both are accomplished. In Canadian transition houses cooptation has occurred and the benefits such as substantial funding levels (compared with New Zealand), paid specialised staff, stability and a structure that is more compatible with government outweigh the movement away from collectivism and the intransitory nature of funding. In New Zealand refuges still rely heavily on volunteers to provide essential services in circumstances where funding is minimal. The role of the NCIWR is to ensure that refuges remain accountable which has meant that it has had to develop systems and processes more in line with cooptation principles in order for refuges to do so. The issue now for the battered women's movement is not to lose sight of its feminist principles as it continues to conform to increasing government expectations.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology -

Implications for the Research Study

Introduction

The very notion of feminist methodology is an elusive concept because we have been trained to think in terms of a positivist schema which equates the term "methodology" with specific techniques for gathering and analyzing information. Instead, our use of the concept mirrors that of Abraham Kaplan's treatise on the conduct of contemporary social inquiry, in which he proposes that methodology refers to the **study** [emphasis added by authors] of methods and not simply to the specific techniques themselves. ... Thus, our analysis has taken a sociology-of-knowledge approach to the concept of feminist methodology by examining both its practice in actual research and its underlying epistemological assumptions (Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.3).

Feminist methodology within sociology has been somewhat overlooked historically in terms of sociological inquiry and the development of sociological knowledge (James, 1986; D. Morgan, 1981; D. Smith, 1974; Westkott, 1990). This however has not deterred feminist scholars from deliberating over and continuing to analyse the manner in which knowledge has been generated in sociology. Although not always in agreement feminist researchers have understood that sociology has tended to exclude the impact and influence that women bring to bear on social relations and thus has made women invisible within the research process and apart from the epistemological debates that define the development of knowledge, "Women have not only been largely ignored in traditional approaches to knowledge; where women have been considered at all we have been measured in masculine terms" (Westkott, 1990, p.59) (Cook & Fonow, 1986, Fonow & Cook, 1991; Harding, 1987; James, 1986; Mies, 1983; Oakley, 1974; Ramazanoglu, 1989; Stacey, 1988; Truman, 1994). Maynard and Purvis (1994) state that the constitution of feminist social research has been under discussion for more than a decade and conclude that although there is an agreement as to "... a distinctively feminist mode of enquiry" (p.10) there is no agreement among feminist scholars as to "... what this might mean or involve" (p.10). Maynard and Purvis (1994) suggest that there is a lack of clarity regarding the usage of methodology, methods and epistemology. They cite Harding (1987) who asserts

that the term 'method' is used to characterise all three aspects of the research process. This lack of a definitive feminist methodology has however enabled feminist research to be undertaken without limiting it to particular restrictive practices that tend to be characterised in traditional notions of sociological research (Cook & Fonow, 1986). Cook and Fonow (1986) state that what is required is further investigation of other sociological perspectives in order to extrapolate their "... feminist relevance" (p.3).

In establishing a feminist methodology feminist scholars can agree that knowledge is not separable from the "... social, historical and political contexts in which it occurs" (James, 1986, p.20). The belief however that research can be conducted within an 'objective' framework devoid of influence, bias and emotion has been criticised by various feminist scholars (Jayaratine & Stewart, 1991; Kirkwood, 1990; Mies, 1983; Ramazanoglu, 1989, 1992). This objectivity has tended to encompass and reflect a gender asymmetry where the researcher and the researched's gender are excluded from consideration within the process of research (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Novitz, 1982; Reinharz, 1983; Westkott, 1990). The issue of gender and power excluded from understanding and critique of traditional research within social relations is paramount for feminist research and the production of sociological knowledge:

The goals of feminist social science have developed in the context of the criticism of the established natural science model of sociology and related disciplines. Extending that critique, some feminist perspectives share the critical view of the Marxist and interpretive traditions within the social sciences, while adding their own emphasis and content. These feminists have argued that the traditional approach to social science is compatible with the aims of those in particular locations or positions of management and control in society whose goals include such things as managing workers more effectively, dealing with civil disorder, and encouraging women to enter or leave the work force in accord with changing economic conditions; thus, what is taken as problematic in much of social science has also been what is problematic for those who control and manage the society. ... Almost all those who rule and manage are male; interesting and important phenomena are identified from a male perspective as well as from the perspective of those who manage and control. ... Thus, in the history of sociology, the development of an approach to knowledge with the goal of control has contributed to the failure to study the situation of women, as well as to a conceptualization of women that is consistent with continuing male dominance (Acker, Barry & Esseveld, 1991, p.134).

This research study addresses the issue of a feminist methodology within sociology as it remains pertinent to the understanding of research on the battered women's movement and domestic violence. The issues of gender and power within social relations are therefore critical as they impact directly on feminist research and on the research undertaken within the thesis.

Mies (1991) looks to the women's liberation movement (WLM) as the catalyst for the creation of "... a feminist science" (p.65) and suggests that society has to be redefined to take this into account:

The attempt to create a new definition of science from within the context of the women's movement, ... necessarily leads to a new definition of the relationship between humankind and nature, between women and men, humans and work, a new definition of the relationship with one's own body, a new definition which excludes exploitation (1991, p.65).

This global perspective put forward by Mies (1991) places the generation of knowledge within a wider context of which feminist research and knowledge is just one aspect. This starting point however is endorsed by feminist scholars who have considered and discussed the implications on such a re-definition (Harding, 1987; D. Smith, 1974; Stanley & Wise, 1993). The two main feminist epistemologies, that is, 'feminist empiricism' and a 'feminist standpoint' discussed by Harding (1991) (Maynard & Purvis, 1994; Stanley, 1990; Stanley & Wise, 1993) appear to support Cook and Fonow's (1986) contention that a sociological feminist methodology remains in its infancy "... is in the process of *becoming* and is not yet a fully articulated stance" (p.3). These two feminist epistemologies (Harding, 1991, 1997; Stanley & Wise, 1993) can be identified in the following manner. 'Feminist empiricism' according to Harding (1991, 1997), has characteristics of "bad science" found in traditional disciplines, such as sexist bias and androcentrism. These characteristics result from the introduction of hostile and erroneous opinions which can be eliminated by rigorously adhering to methodological "... rules and principles" (p.111). Harding also states that feminist empiricists suggest that feminist researchers are best suited to expose these biases and in so doing reduce the opportunities for ""bad science" or "bad sociology"" (1991, p.111). The second perspective and the one that still predominates (Harding, 1991; Maynard, 1994; Stanley & Wise, 1993), the 'feminist standpoint', references a

knowledge that is based on the feminist researcher exploring women's experiences of oppression, by acknowledging subjectivity, which is seen to be more reliable, less distorted and complete, and therefore scientifically preferable (Harding, 1987, 1991). However Stanley and Wise (1993) have suggested that these theoretical perspectives are less than convincing in that 'feminist empiricism' is an aspect of empiricism in general where the "... feminist (social) scientist joins her male scientific peers" (1993, p.189), and a 'feminist standpoint' sees itself as enabling the feminist social scientist researcher to identify and interpret what is truth and what is reality. Thus these epistemologies "... specify feminist knowledge as *better* or *true* because derived from 'outsiders' who can see the relations of domination and suppression for what they truly and objectively are" (Stanley & Wise, 1990, p.27).

Stanley and Wise (1993), taking a more relativist position, identify a feminist social science that takes into account the direct experience of the individual, the 'feminist standpoint' but also the need to have a feminist consciousness which includes perceiving feminist experiences within any social construction:

We need to find out what it is that we know and what it is that we experience. We need to reclaim, name and rename our experiences and our knowledge of the social world we live in and daily construct (p.164).

Stanley and Wise (1993) also state that in order to resist oppression whilst embracing the liberation of women, "What women spend most of their time doing must obviously be the subject of feminist research" (p.165). Mies (1991) adds a further dimension in that she frames the concept of feminist consciousness with the notion of struggle. The reality of 'knowing' is a starting point but needs to include action within the framework in order to promote liberation (Klein, 1983). In her research with rural women of Nalgonda, Mies (1991) referenced the emancipatory aspects that arose as a result of involving women being researched in the process of research development. This emancipatory process not only provided opportunities for women to experience personal change but contributed to the liberation of all women:

... the separation of consciousness raising from the struggle for an alternative to oppressive conditions ... leads to a dead end. If women forego the opportunity to construct alternative institutions or organizations, which is to say centers of opposition, during their consciousness-raising processes and their research, then they have no

other option but to adapt once more to the male power structures. The construction of such centers of opposition does not, however, transpire through enlightenment alone but demands praxis, i.e., struggle, a movement. ... The integration of research into emancipatory processes ... calls, naturally, for theory work, for work in libraries and archives, and also for the study of history. However, ... this theory work is not an end in itself, but remains linked with the social movement for the liberation of women (p.68).

Mies' (1991) attention to feminist research not just by women but for and with women moves the feminist epistemological debate further forward in that she advocates action-based research and consequently participatory action research, where research participants become an integral part of the research process (Reinharz, 1992).

Ramazanoglu (1989) in her 1960s research for her Masters thesis undertook a survey study of women shiftworkers using a hypothetical - deductive method, that is, hypotheses were formulated and tested within a specific research community using a series of research methods, resulting in data analysis and interpretation (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Maynard, 1994; D. Morgan, 1981; Stanley & Wise, 1993) "... and took for granted that men were at the centre of the social world" (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p.429). Ramazanoglu found the experience of research from this standpoint extremely problematic and noted that 'power relations' invaded various problem areas including gender, class, race, control and objectivity. In discussing research from a 'feminist standpoint' Ramazanoglu noted the positive aspects such as a coherent theory underpinning the research and an understanding of the women shiftworkers but also acknowledged that there were problems with identifying this standpoint. These problems were really to do with a lack of homogeneous agreement on what constituted feminist methodology. Feminists may agree that social science is sexist and question the "... validity of much sociological knowledge" (p.432) but differ when it comes to adding to the body of knowledge that constitutes social reality:

While feminists agree that women are very generally oppressed, subordinated or otherwise rendered socially unequal to men, they are still debating how knowledge of such oppression, subordination or inequality can be produced and made convincing. ... Where feminist sociologists disagree on their methodology, this is generally because they are encountering fundamental problems in the sociology of knowledge which have remained unresolved in sociology (Ramazanoglu, 1989, p.432).

It is clear that there is no fundamentally identifiable feminist methodology that feminist researchers can comfortably agree upon (Mies, 1983; Ramazanoglu, 1989). This may be seen as advantageous because it does not place researchers' nor women's experiences within a particular frame of reference, and furthermore it enables the epistemological and ontological discussion and debate to continue (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Mies, 1983; Ramazanoglu 1992). This must add to an understanding of feminist methodology and augment the knowledge that feminist scholars and researchers require in order to undertake research that not only can be validated but also be empowering and transformational for both the researcher and those being researched (Mies, 1991). Furthermore it aids and supports feminist researchers in their search for an epistemology that reflects and represents the society of women. My research for the thesis thus incorporates a feminist standpoint in which the experiences of the participants remain paramount.

Feminist Methodological Principles

Cook and Fonow (1986) have identified "... five epistemological principles discussed by scholars who have analyzed feminist methodology in the field of sociology" (p.5). These principles underpin the issues that have been raised by feminist scholars and still remain critical for feminist researchers. They include i) the influence of gender on social research; ii) consciousness-raising as a holistic aspect of the research process; iii) the renunciation of the subject/object dichotomy; iv) ethical considerations; and v) feminist research as an opportunity to empower women and enable social change.

These five principles will be discussed here as they present themselves in one form or another within the feminist research literature (Acker et al., 1991; James, 1986; Jayarantine & Stewart, 1991; Cook & Fonow, 1986; Fonow & Cook, 1991; Mies, 1983, 1991) and inform the manner in which feminists do research. They are also critical for the research undertaken for the thesis as they not only inform the manner in which the research was conducted but also influence the role of the researcher and those participants of the research. These will be discussed in greater detail in the next section of this chapter.

The Influence of Gender on Social Research

According to Cook and Fonow, (1986) the focus of feminist research is women and their experiences thus a feminist methodology where women conduct research by and for women that includes description, analysis and interpretation of women's social reality is critical:

To achieve a feminist standpoint one must engage in the intellectual and political struggle necessary to see nature and social life from the point of view of that disdained activity which produces women's social experiences instead of from the partial and perverse perspective available from the "ruling gender" experience of men (Harding, 1987, p.185).

Thus feminist methodology seeks to establish that research is undertaken by women who are part of the social milieu of women and therefore part of and subject to women's view of the social world (Stanley & Wise, 1993). A second aspect of this principle considers that sociological knowledge reflects an androcentrism that views male behaviour as universal behaviour. This serves not only to discount the influence of gender as men are identified as the normal subjects of research but also to reflect an overall perspective in sociology which makes invisible the experiences of women (Mies, 1983; D. Morgan, 1981; Novitz, 1982; Reinhartz, 1983; S. Scott, 1984; Westcott, 1990). For example, D. Morgan (1981) in referencing Max Weber's, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (1976) noted that women indeed were hidden from history, and that:

Weber's Protestant Ethic [was] a study of masculinity, not a universal, biologically fixed notion of masculinity but one that was intimately bound up with the developing social formation of capitalism. The main character traits of the ideal-typical puritan - self-control, discipline, rationality, methodicalness - are traits which would probably be defined as 'masculine' by many people. ... In this study, as in many other studies, men were there all the time but we did not see them because we imagined that we were looking at mankind (p.93).

A further example is Novitz's (1982) exploration of feminism within sociology. Novitz cites Acker (1973) who examines the invisibility of women within stratification theory. Acker is critical of stratification theory that reflects the family as the distinct unit not the individuals within it. She makes the point that the women within the family are accorded the same status as its male members, that is husband and father,

in terms of class positioning which obscures the disparity between women and men within the social, economic and political arenas (Oakley, 1974):

Women as family members are assumed to share the class position of either their fathers or their husbands. ... This focus on inequalities between families rather than between individuals obscures inequalities between women and men with respect to the distribution of political power, earnings and social prestige (Novitz, 1982, pp. 300-301).

A third aspect of this principle considers that the researcher needs to be located as a 'gendered being' within social relations that influence sociology and the researcher's life experiences. Thus the feminist researcher can understand the actions of others as she is also placed within the same social relationships as they are, "in which property relations are central" (D. Smith, 1981, cited in Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.6). Thus the commonality of experiences between the feminist researcher enables women's reality to be of primary focus (Reinharz, 1992):

... [the researcher is able] to locate herself as a subject in history so that her own vantage point arises from the same social relations that structure the everyday worlds of the experiences of those she studies (Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.6)

Westcott (1990) explains this as a subject/object dialectic where the researcher, the subject, asks questions of the object of knowledge, the participants, based upon her own experiences and concerns (Reinharz, 1983). Mies (1983) in her explication of the emancipation of the feminist researcher and women, has stated that empirical research on women, which has tended to focus on attitudinal surveys, misses the opportunity to discover women's "... true consciousness" (p.125). Mies (1983) suggests that only when women are in a state of flux can they come to some understanding of their true social reality, "... women are confronted with the real social relationships in which they had unconsciously been submerged as objects without being able to distance themselves from them" (p.125). Thus opportunities to explore emancipatory processes arise with the researcher's feminist consciousness and understanding of oppression. This is immersed within the framework of the research process which enables connections to be made between researcher(s) and the women involved in the research (Klein, 1983; Mies, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993). Klein (1983) clarifies this when she notes that in studying battered women, researchers do not need to have been battered to understand that "... an individual woman's 'personal'

problem [is] similar to many women's 'personal' problems - which renders the personal political" (p.92).

Consciousness-Raising as a Holistic Aspect of the Research Process

Cook and Fonow (1986) cite Stanley and Wise (1983) and Mies (1983) in their characterisation of feminist consciousness. They concur that as feminist researchers and as women they have a dual insight into reality:

... women's understanding of our lives are transformed so that we see, understand and feel them in a new and quite different way, at the same time as we see them in the 'old' way. This 'new way' of seeing the same reality, whilst also seeing a new reality, involves a situation in which women come to understand the (seemingly endless) contradictions present within life (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p.54).

This "double vision of reality" (Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.6) places feminist scholars in a unique position as they have access to "official interpretations" (p.7) and can capture contradictory realities. These feminists then can identify and characterise women's experiences and thus can envisage social reality. Their dual consciousness, that is derived from being oppressed as women and yet as scholars, privileged, enables them to research women's perceptions of their social reality by experiential means, that is by direct participation in and sharing experiences of mutual oppression with the women being researched in order to further an understanding of the experiences of women (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Reinharz, 1983). This characterisation of feminist consciousness also informs Westkott's (1990) concept of a sociology for women that is not only descriptive but also emancipatory and transformational:

The tension between describing and transforming which is first perceived in the knower, the subject of knowledge herself, implies a concomitant tension in the object of knowledge. ... women as objects of knowledge are viewed not as passive recipients nor as active, confirming reflections of society. Instead, the tension which informs the method suggests a concept of women in society which also expresses a negation: women opposing the very conditions to which they conform (p.64)

The ability of women to experience this dual reality, as subjects and objects of knowledge enables them to concurrently conform to and reject a society that denies their emancipation (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Westkott, 1990).

Furthermore this level of feminist consciousness that divorces consciousness from action enables the researcher to be free of "conforming behaviour" (Westkott, 1990, p.64). This freedom is reflected in the level and depth of consciousness that women experience. This inner freedom thus lends itself to a methodology that reflects women's experiences (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Mies, 1983; Westkott, 1990):

Due to this 'inner view of the oppressed,' women social scientists are better equipped than their male counterparts to make a comprehensive study of the exploited groups. Men often do not have this experiential knowledge and therefore lack empathy, the ability of identification and because of this they also lack social and sociological imagination. If women social scientists take their own subjective experience of sexist discrimination and their rebellion against it as a starting point and guiding principle for their research, they first become critically aware of a number of weaknesses of establishing research which ... is characterised by a lot of ego-tripping, slander, power intrigues and lack of equal participation. Moreover, they discover the theoretical and methodological shortcomings of androcentric concepts of science (Mies, 1983, pp.121-122).

D. Morgan (1981) testifies to the concept of a sociological methodology that reflects androcentrism in academia:

... this culture will influence the process by which research topics and modes of investigation are negotiated. It is at this point that the rational merges with the masculine, that the practice of sociological enquiry blends with the dominant male culture of the university environment. ... [and in introducing] the notion of 'academic **machismo**'. [emphasis added by author] The arenas of the practice of academic rationality - the seminars, the conferences, the exchange in scholarly journals - are also arenas for the competitive display of masculine skills. ... The symbolic leaders or academic folk heroes are sharp, quick on the draw, masters of the deadly put-down, and form the subject of admiring gossip and recollection in the staff clubs and senior common-rooms for some months after the original exchange (pp.100-101).

It is therefore not surprising that feminist scholars seek to establish a feminist methodology that enables feminist research that reflects women's experiences (Mies, 1983).

Consciousness-raising as a methodological tool is preferred by various feminist scholars (MacKinnon, 1989; Mies, 1983; Reinharz, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993).

MacKinnon (1989) defines consciousness-raising as "... the collective critical reconstitution of the meaning of women's social experiences, as women lived through it" (p.83). The types of research best suited to this method, it has been argued, are those that are potentially consciousness-changing such as life transforming experiences, including unemployment, domestic violence, relationship dislocation and so on (Mies, 1983). According to Mies (1983) the disruption of normalcy enables women to be "... confronted with the real social relationships in which they had unconsciously been submerged as objects without being able to distance themselves from them" (p.125). Thus the disruption of normalcy enables women to reflect upon what is their actual social reality. Without this consciousness women are not in a position to acknowledge that their relationships are oppressive or exploitative. According to Reinharz (1983) the early rap groups provided women with opportunities to share and analyse experiences within group environments. Sociologically Reinharz (1983) also maintained that group intervention was an important vehicle for the WLM as it actively advocated social change. Within the battered women's movement group intervention enables women to share experiences and seek support from other women. Gilson (1994) and other practitioners, have noted the importance of women's groups for victims of domestic violence (Boyd, 1985; S. Harris, 1985; NiCarthy, 1984; Pence, 1987; Sinclair, 1985):

These groups allowed abused women the opportunity to lessen their isolation and feelings of being different. By their very nature support groups enabled women to seek help, support and options so that they could make informed decisions about their lives. Support groups helped women face the reality of what had happened, understand what might happen in the future and assess their own responsibilities and those in relation to their children (Gilson, 1994, p.116).

Taking this a step further, in New Zealand, the Ministry of Justice (1995) legislated the Domestic Violence Act 1995 and the subsequent Domestic Violence (Programmes) Regulations 1996 so that victims of domestic violence could not only be protected under the law but could also participate in programmes that the Ministry funded and made available through the Department for Courts. Furthermore, where possible group programmes were viewed as the preferred model of intervention with the primary objective of ensuring that adult victims were protected as they focused on education and support. Mies (1983) proposed that group discussion enabled women

to overcome their "structural isolation" (p.128) and to contextualise their experiences as being socially constructed. Reinharz (1992) also looked to alternative research methods to capture women's experiences, such as keeping diaries, using drama, photography and genealogy to describe and analyse women's experiences, and stated that the knowledge sought by feminist researchers required new methods or the revision of existing methods. As she maintained:

One of the many ways the women's movement has benefitted women is in freeing up our creativity in the realm of research. And one of the ways feminist researchers ... have benefitted the societies in which we live is by the spirit of innovation (1992, p.239).

The third aspect of consciousness-raising is the concept of "conscientization" (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Friere, 1970; Mies, 1983). This concept was adapted by Mies (1983) citing Friere (1970) who in perceiving the "... oppressive elements of reality" (p.126) sought to take action against them. Mies suggests that the researcher as the subject, and the participant(s) as the object(s) of research, are integral to the process of 'conscientization' and that in order to study realities that are oppressive the research can only be done by those who are oppressed. Thus, the concept of participation in any research must enable the object of research to gain knowledge and take ownership of the research process. Mies also states that women need to study their individual and social history as they have not been able to "... make their own" (1983, p.127) the social changes that have occurred. In appropriating history, women become the subjects of knowledge which "... leads to ... a collective women's consciousness without which no struggle for emancipation can be successful" (Mies, 1983, p.127). Thus the process of research not only enables an increased awareness but also provides opportunities for social change as women are motivated to "... formulate the problems with which they struggle in order that they may plan their action" (Mies, 1983, p.126), (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Hancock, 1984; Shipley, 1984).

The Renunciation of the Subject/Object Dichotomy

The third epistemological principle discussed by Cook and Fonow (1986) is that of the subjective-objective debate in social science research. They, like various feminist scholars, are concerned with issues such as the separation of the researcher from those

being researched resulting in women's objectification, and the propensity to equate quantification with neutrality:

Much contemporary social science appears to us over-concerned with predicting the motives and feelings of the researched. However, social scientists frequently cannot or will not enter into the world as it is experienced by the people who are its subjects. ...The basis of our objections to social science attempts to deduce or predict feelings and emotions is that these derive from the 'fictitious sympathy' of people who remain outside of the experiences they write about and claim competence in. Instead of writing about how they know what they claim to know (which would necessitate locating the social scientist **within** [emphasis added by authors] the research process) they write about the experiences of others as though these were directly available to them. That these are necessarily transformed in a researcher's construction of them is ignored. Feminist research as we envisage it wouldn't take this false sympathy as its basis. It would instead explore the basis of our everyday knowledge as women, as feminists, **and** as social scientists (Stanley & Wise, 1993, p.165).

My entry into the research process was based upon my previous experiences as a member of the battered women's movement, and as a feminist I am located within the various situations that were part of the WLM and subsequently the research process. In the thesis I write about the experiences of women as I had previously experienced them in my place of work, as a member of the organisation's board of directors, a manager, a worker and as a supporter of battered women. My relationship to the research process thus encapsulates Stanley and Wise's (1993) characterisation of a dual consciousness that is derived from my multiple roles that included scholar, researcher, practitioner, and feminist. Stanley and Wise (1993) thus distinctly frame the research process from a feminist perspective as they describe the researcher's relationship to the research process as both subject and object. In their objection to inductivism and grounded theory, Stanley and Wise (1990) state that researchers cannot enter the research process with an open mind, with what they deem "empty heads" (p.22) nor be like the deductivists who cannot conduct research with their theory untainted by experiences. Feminist research thus should have a feminist consciousness grounded within the research process.

Cook and Fonow (1986) state that feminist research is about breaking down hierarchical relationships between researcher and the researched (Finch, 1984; James,

1986; Kirkwood, 1990). In her research on motherhood Oakley (1981) discussed the interview process as an opportunity to be non-exploitive and non-hierarchical. In discussing the role of interviewer Oakley noted that the relationship to the interviewee was an unequal one, "... extracting information is more to be valued than yielding it" (p.40). In interviewing women Oakley (1981) asserted that in order to explore experiences the most appropriate means was to reduce barriers between researcher and researched by investing "... [the researcher's] own personal identity in the relationship" (p.41). Oakley accomplished this through the interaction process and encouraged women to ask questions about the research and also about issues of motherhood. Furthermore friendship bonds and equitable relationships with women were forged when women contacted Oakley (1981) regarding follow-up interviews even though she had stated that she would contact them, and when they also called her with information about antenatal care:

Arguably, these signs of interviewees' involvement indicated their acceptance of the goals of the research project rather than any desire to feel themselves participating in a personal relationship with me. Yet the research was presented to them as **my** [emphasis added by author] research in which I had a personal interest. ... One index of their and my reactions to our joint participation in the repeated interviewing situation is that some four years after the final interview I am still in touch with more than a third of the women I interviewed. Four have become close friends, several others I visit occasionally, and the rest write or telephone when they have something salient to report such as the birth of another child (p.46).

Hallam and Marshall (1993) in developing a feminist epistemology referenced their own doctoral research in which their search for 'truth' was bound up in social reality and that the self-reflexive nature of the researcher was critical for knowledge production:

Many feminist knowledge producers have tried to base their research in women's experiences, but that experience has often been narrowly defined in terms of gender, and had tended to ignore other differences that are equally significant in the construction of subjectivity. Academe's demands for objectivity in the research process also means that it is difficult to account for the role and experience of the researcher, who shapes and moulds the experience of others into forms of knowledge. ... It is [the] relationship, between personal biographies and knowledge production, that we seek to explore through a self-reflexive process where we try to situate ourselves and our work in open discursive frameworks (pp.64-65).

Hallam and Marshall (1993) noted that employing reflexivity enabled their research to remain open, and ever changing as they participated in the discursive and transformational elements of epistemology. Acker et al., (1991) also maintained that a feminist sociology must not make women the objects of knowledge by imposing the researchers "... definitions of reality on those researched" (p.136). They argued that objectification would be lessened and emancipation likely when both researcher and research participants engaged equitably within the research process (Mies, 1983; Reinharz, 1983; Stanley & Wise, 1993). Westkott (1990) maintained that women studying women reflected a complexity for when women as the objects of knowledge mirrored women as the subjects of knowledge, then, "Knowledge of the other and knowledge of the self are mutually informing, because self and other share a common condition of being women" (p.61).

In advocating action research and particularly participatory action research Cook and Fonow (1986) have advocated the blending of, what can be and traditionally has been, a distinct relationship between the researcher and research participants. This blending enables the involvement of the participants in all aspects of the research process (Mies, 1983). Mies (1983, 1991) called this a "conscious partiality" which enables the researcher to apply the "... power potentials of women involved in the research process" (1991, p.70). As McTaggart (1991) maintained "Participatory action research is a systematically evolving, living process changing both the researcher and the situations in which ... she acts; neither the natural sciences nor the historical sciences have this double aim (the living dialectic of researcher and researched)" (p.181).

Cook and Fonow (1986) state that the false dichotomy between subject and object means that the domination of women has been obscured through women's objectification within the research process (Kirkwood, 1990). In citing D. Smith (1979), they state that the sociological methods used "... conceal the social relationships between the knower and the object. As researchers try to include women as subjects they cannot fail to notice how the practice of sociology transforms all actors into objects" (p.9).

As the researcher I was not able to facilitate collaboration with the shelters regarding the research process due to location problems (one of the shelters was based in Canada), time restrictions and also because both organisations could only give me limited time to conduct the research. But what I endeavoured to accomplish was the development of reciprocal relationships. For example, I shared with the New Zealand refuge my experiences as a member of the battered women's movement, and provided a consultancy role regarding their organisational structures and work practices. Furthermore I wanted the thesis to reflect not only women's experiences but also their expertise not only as women in governance and practice roles but women as survivors of domestic violence to acknowledge and record their experiences and perceptions of domestic violence and sheltering.

The equation of quantification and objectivity is also problematic for feminist scholars as quantifiable methods have tended to be seen to distort women's experiences (Cook & Fonow, 1986). Stanley and Wise (1993), in their discussion of positivism and naturalism, suggested that both were linear, a cause and effect model. Simply put, in positivism, theory produces research and in naturalism research produces theory. Stanley and Wise (1993) also argued that naturalism was nothing more than inductive positivism in that research from data, that is not theory based, was produced (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Martin & Turner, 1986). Stanley and Wise's (1993) objection to positivism is direct:

Positivism describes social reality as objectively constituted, and so accepts that there is one true 'real' reality. It suggests that researchers can objectively find out this real reality - they can stand back from, remove themselves from emotional involvements in, what they study. It depicts social science as the search for social laws in order to predict and so control behaviour. And it argues that the techniques and procedures of the natural sciences are appropriately used within the social sciences. ... Positivism sees what is studied as an 'object'. The subject, the researcher, can stand back from this object, can look at it objectively, in a value-free and neutral way. And positivism maintains that the results of such study are factual in nature, hopefully capable of being formulated in terms of law or law like generalizations (p.117).

Reinharz (1983), in her own search for a new method in social science, looked to experiential analysis, that is, "... a research approach that rejects the role of the

"unembodied scientist" and adopts the role of human knower complete with feelings and ambivalence" (Reinharz, 1992, p.215) as a means to move forward the epistemological discussion. She stated that "My own development of 'experiential analysis' as a critical method ... [is] based on an alternative set of assumptions from the objectivist mainstream morality-methodology, ... stemming from perceived contradictions or inadequacies in certain research methods" (Reinharz, 1983, p.166). Quantifiable methods, that is traditional research methods such as surveys and questionnaires, were used by male scholars and consequently viewed as being neutral, value-free and objective. They did not however reflect women's social reality and experiences which were better served through description and analysis using qualitative methods such as unstructured interviews and other alternative methods (Maynard, 1994; Oakley, 1981; Reinhartz, 1983). Maynard (1994) acknowledged that little has changed regarding the equation of qualitative methods with feminist research, but also noted that there exists a continued discourse regarding the use of both methodologies. Stanley and Wise (1993) have suggested that it is not the methods *per se* that are at fault but the manner in which they are used, the conceptual understanding, the epistemological assumptions.

Ethical Considerations

Cook and Fonow (1986) have identified four areas requiring ethical consideration: the use of language that subordinates and makes women invisible; the exclusion of feminist research within mainstream sociological literature and academia; feminist praxis and its impact on those being researched; and the moral implications of a lack of reciprocity within the research relationship.

Within sociology the language used has reflected a male perspective on social reality. This perspective can be seen to "... perpetuate women's subordination" (Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.11). Not only this but looking through the male lens of social reality makes women invisible and at best makes them part of the universality of 'mankind' (Acker, 1973; Westkott, 1990). Cook and Fonow (1986) argue that the universal use of masculine pronouns, and the use of male labelling also enables social control to take place. A typical example demonstrates such sexist bias and androcentrism where the

male perspective reflects a universal construct and excludes women from this social reality and consequently excluded from this conceptual understanding (Westkott, 1990):

One of the most basic notions underlying the whole of this paradigm [radical humanist] is that the consciousness of **man** [emphasis added] is dominated by the ideological superstructures with which **he** [emphasis added] interacts, and that these drive a cognitive wedge between **himself** [emphasis added] and **his** [emphasis added] true consciousness (Burrell & Morgan, 1979, p.32).

The second area of ethical concern considered by Cook and Fonow (1986) is that of "... professional gate keeping practices" (p.11) which include preventing feminist research from being included in mainstream publications, blocking access to research funding (Harding, 1997) and interfering with the career prospects of feminist scholars. S. Scott (1984) reported the reluctance of sociologists to accept feminist researchers when she was employed as a co-researcher within a university department that had received a substantial grant to conduct a longitudinal study regarding post-graduate research. The research involved interviewing male academics. Scott found that she and her female research partner were not only excluded from the academic department that they were members of ... we were treated as young women without status" (p.169) but she was not taken seriously by her peers. Their contribution to the research was dismissed as being irrelevant and time wasting. Gender became a significant issue when male academics questioned the epistemological and methodological competencies of the researchers which resulted in the former assuming control of interview processes including what data should be collected. What constitutes academic research is also of concern for Truman (1994) who in citing Oakley's (1974) housework study noted that it had to be translated into formats that were acceptable to academic settings. Thus the study of housework was written with two audiences in mind, one being sociologists and the other non-academics. Funding for feminist research can also be problematic. Truman (1994) provides examples where acceptability and sponsorship remain important issues. For example, a proposal to study the lesbian community within the city in which she lived was not deemed acceptable even though this proposal "... was argued in professional and academic terms and included a bibliography [and was supposedly] very good" (p.29). The

reason given for it not being accepted was that "... 'people would not be interested'" (p.29).

A third ethical concern addresses the researcher's focus on social change as an outcome of the research. Cook and Fonow (1986) expressed concern that this was problematic when the researcher intervened in women's lives, where consciousness was raised but women's social reality did not change or even more so when the women did not want their lives changed (Skeggs, 1994). Stacey (1988) in her ethnographic research, defines an "...intensive participant-observation study which yields a synthetic cultural account, appears ideally suited to feminist research" (p.22), and two areas of concern with feminism and method which she experienced during the research process. She concluded first that the ethnographic research process remained open to manipulation and betrayal and could be exploitative when the researcher claimed sole authorship of the research text, and second that " ... the published ethnography represents an intervention into the lives and relationships of its subjects. As author an ethnographer cannot ... escape tasks of interpretation, evaluation and judgement" (pp.23-24). In countering this Stacey (1988) looked to postmodern ethnography for direction. She suggested that ethnography should be reflexive and that the researcher should acknowledge power differences inherent within the research relationship (James, 1986; Skeggs, 1994). Thus the researcher is required to identify that she is indeed the author and ensure that the experiences shared by participants are fully represented within the research text.

Reinharz (1992) stated that ethnography need not be manipulative or exploitative and viewed it as a means to raise consciousness and work toward social change, "... feminist participant observation values openness to intimacy and striving for empathy, ... it means openness to complete transformation. This transformation - or consciousness-raising - lays the groundwork for friendship, shared struggle, and identity change" (p.68). Reinharz also acknowledged that ethnographic study was congruent with the subject/object dilemma and maintained that many feminist researchers preferred to be close to the participants to "... enhance understanding" (1992, p.67). Reinharz (1992) cites Hochschild (1978) who stated that ethnography

conducted by women with women is interactively different from male ethnography as the former produces a more reciprocal relationship.

Mies (1983) has argued that 'conscientization' addresses the ethical issue of the struggle for social change. She maintains that it enables women being researched to participate in the research process. She references her own field work experiences and her continued discussions with female students and other research colleagues which enabled her to look to action research as an appropriate method. Mies has also argued that group discussions provide the most appropriate method not only to locate information but also to help women to "... overcome their structural isolation in their families and to understand that their individual sufferings have social causes" (1983, p.128).

A fourth ethical concern expressed by Cook and Fonow (1986) is the need for reciprocity within the research process. The willingness of the researcher to share information and divulge personal details about herself helps to breach the hierarchical divide and reduce the power dynamics that are representative of the relationship between researcher and participant. Oakley (1981) in her interviews with women did just this as described earlier in the chapter (Acker et al., 1991). Taylor and Rupp (1991) in their research on the WLM interviewed older women about their life experiences and noted that the interviews were frequently social occasions with food and conversations that did not always pertain to the research. For example, participants asked questions about the research, but also about the researchers' personal circumstances and the WLM in general. Taylor and Rupp (1991) stated that they "... did not treat these women as subjects in the traditional sense" (p.126). Reinharz (1992) also referenced various feminist scholars who spoke of reciprocal relationships within the research process. She provided a broader conceptualisation which fits the understanding that feminist methodology and epistemology are not static, rigid or unchanging but remain flexible, open and contextualised when she states that:

... each setting requires the fieldworker to take a different approach. Some settings require anonymous relationships while others require intensely personal relationships. From this perspective, any stance is acceptable as long as research findings are analyzed in terms of the

particular types of relationship that occurred. The setting, rather than methodological ideology, defines the appropriate role (p.68).

As stated earlier I experienced a mutually beneficial relationship with the two organisations I researched. For example, both the refuge and the transition house were aware of my background regarding the battered women's movement and that my purpose was to elicit and understand their experiences as members of the movement. The interview process was also an opportunity for me to share my experiences, answer questions, provide an opportunity to share food, talk about our families, catch up on issues and in the refuge's situation, to speak about the movement in Canada.

Feminist Research as an Opportunity to Empower Women and Enable Social Change

Cook and Fonow (1986) maintain that feminist knowledge is concerned with the social transformation of patriarchy. Feminist methodology thus must as indicated earlier describe women's experiences but must also provide opportunities to facilitate change in the circumstances in which women experience social reality. Women become the subjects of knowledge as opposed to the objects which is a liberating experience (Harding, 1997).

Westcott (1990) stated that when the feminist researcher and participants oppose patriarchy they are expressing their need to be free of such domination:

The difference between a social science about women and a social science for women, between the possibilities of self-exploitation and those of liberation, is our imaginative capacity to inform our understandings of the world with a commitment to overcoming the subordination and devaluation of women (p.65).

A further dimension worthy of consideration is that feminist researchers are "... aware that there is an audience for their knowledge [who may have] ... conflicting expectations, intentions, and goals" (Cook & Fonow, 1986, p.13). Two issues arise, the first to do with the researcher's relationship with policy makers, activists within the local community, other scholars and the groups targeted. The second issue is that of research completion and the manner in which it is compiled, including language used, findings that may be conflicting, report lengths, time lines and so on. Conflicts arise

with the "mismatch" (p.13) of policy development, action and research results. Cook and Fonow (1986) state that implementation of research needs to be planned systematically so that knowledge is transformed into action and that target groups are involved in all aspects of the research process. Barnsley and Ellis' (1992) guide for community groups researching social change noted the importance of reports not only for target groups but for policy makers and grass roots activists. They also recognised that policy implementation can be problematic. A specific example of this was research they conducted with battered women in 1982:

But the focus of our action plan was the report. We wrote a report that included recommendations about what had to be changed in the system. We sent the report to all the people we'd interviewed and to transition houses [refuges] across the country. And we sent it to government officials and agencies. Battered women said it was good to have their experience affirmed. Transition house workers found the charts of the systems helped them see more clearly where to act. Some government officials met with us to talk about how to implement some of the changes we'd recommended. New policy was passed that we thought would really make a difference. We worked hard with other groups to be sure it would be put into action. ... We lobbied. ... Ten years later, the policy is still not widely followed. People in the system can and do ignore it (pp. 64-65).

Barnsley and Ellis (1992) acknowledged that more importantly it was not development of policy that was critical but that they learnt more about how systems operated and how to be more effective in facilitating social change.

Mies (1983) explores the concept of patriarchy and states that in order to understand its meaning and consequences, researchers must be actively challenging women's exploitation and oppressive practices. Cook and Fonow (1986) indicate that this can be achieved by producing methods that explore and analyse "... the historical process of change and ... the transfer of such methodological tools to the subjects of the research so they might confront their oppression and formulate their own plan of action" (p.13). Knowledge thus is not solely dependent on methodological principles but on its ability to combine with struggle and action, praxis, to enable women's liberation to occur (Mies, 1983).

This thesis provides opportunities for the transition house and refuge personnel to use the empirical study - the research findings - to further understanding of their organisational structures, the internal dynamics and the impact of government funding and other factors not only on the structural aspects but also on the work practices and interpersonal dynamics. The impact of sheltering on the women using services is particularly critical as they have much to say not only about experiences of domestic violence but the impact of sheltering on them as well as the ability to formulate ideas and resolutions that better assist them to overcome and prepare them and their children for a future without domestic violence.

Research Study Methods

... the questions that the investigator asks of the object of knowledge grow out of her own concerns and experiences. The answers that she may discover emerge not only from the ways that the objects of knowledge confirm and expand these experiences, but also from the ways that they oppose or remain silent about them (Westkott, 1990, p.62).

The intersubjectivity between subjects and objects of knowledge is indicative of a variable emerging response rather than an assured result (Harding, 1997; Westkott, 1990). The understanding that knowledge is variable and changeable is integral to feminist methodology and forms ideologically the basis of my research study. Reinharz (1983) in expanding on experiential analysis as a method of enquiry draws upon aspects of phenomenology, interpretivism and grounded theory to deliver a research methodology. From phenomenology and grounded theory Reinharz (1983) states that research should be attempted without being clouded by preconceived theories about the subject matter being researched, that is, literature is researched after the study and theory is generated from the resulting data (Eisenhardt, 1989; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Martin & Turner, 1986). The researcher also draws upon her own experiences, feelings and thoughts in an observational role in order to study the social reality of others within their everyday world (Denzin, 1983; Reinharz, 1983). Reinharz (1983) states that feminist research needs to not only describe but analyse the social reality of women (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Stanley & Wise, 1993).

Harding (1997) states that there are various ways to personify a feminist social analysis including studying women's experiences, gender and sources of social power, and studying the social/object dichotomy:

... feminist analysis ... insists that the inquirer her/himself be placed in the same critical plane as the overt subject matter, thereby recovering the entire research process for scrutiny in the results of research. ... we are often explicitly told by the researcher what her... gender, race, class, culture is, and sometimes how she ... suspects this has shaped the research project. ... Thus the researcher appears to us not as an invisible, anonymous voice of authority, but as a real, historical individual with concrete, specific desires and interests. ... it is a response to the recognition that the cultural beliefs and behaviors of feminist researchers shape the results of their analyses no less than do those of sexist and androcentric researchers. We need to avoid the 'objectivist' stance that attempts to make the researcher's cultural beliefs and practices invisible while simultaneously skewering the research objects' beliefs and practices to the display board. Only in this way can we hope to produce understandings and explanations which are free ... of distortion from the unexamined beliefs and behaviors of social scientists themselves. ... the beliefs and behaviors of the researcher are part of the empirical evidence for (or against) the claims advanced in the results of the research. **This** [emphasis added by author] evidence too must be open to critical scrutiny no less than what is traditionally defined as relevant evidence. Introducing this 'subjective' element into the analysis in fact increases the objectivity of the research and decreases the 'objectivism' which hides this kind of evidence from the public (pp.164-165).

Consequently my research draws upon Harding's (1997) conceptualisation of a feminist analysis and Cook and Fonow's (1986) epistemological principles which provide the framework for methodology and considerations for research methods. Furthermore the experiential analysis propounded by Reinharz (1983) also aids the creation of a methodology that is not linear but cyclical "... a collection of interacting components" (p.174) which provide a framework for conducting research. She elaborates the purpose of research as consisting of the investigation, the person conducting the research and the method used as it:

... yields deep insight into the study's subject matter, new personal knowledge about the investigator ... herself, and further innovations with regard to method. This integrated approach to research guides problem selection so as to make personal growth likely. It begins to fashion a non-masculine or non-conventional reflexive model and vocabulary of research (p.174).

My thesis thus draws upon a feminist analysis derived from women's experiences and the subject/object dialectic (Harding, 1997; Reinharz, 1992; Stanley & Wise, 1993; Westkott, 1990). These can be found in experiential analysis which captures and explains the research process. The research process thus consists of a group of interacting elements that include "... assumptions, personal preparation, problem formulation, data gathering and stopping, data digestion and presentation, policy questions" (Reinharz, 1983, p. 174).

Experiential analysis draws on the use of qualitative methods which, as opposed to quantitative methods "... focus on interpretation, rely on the researcher's immersion in social settings, and aims for intersubjective understanding between researchers and the person(s) studied" (Reinharz, 1992, p.46). Consequently the use of ethnography was a component of my research as it included interviews, observation, documentary analysis and participation (Reinharz, 1992).

The research process reported here thus consisted of various elements that provided a context for and understanding of the research conducted (Reinharz, 1983). They are elaborated as follows:

Assumptions, that is, the manner in which people construct and determine meaning within their everyday reality, and how they experience and interact with their environment (Denzin, 1983; Reinharz, 1983). Consequently, the research was an opportunity to investigate the perceived realities of various groups of constituents from two battered women's shelters in Canada and New Zealand. These realities however were not necessarily the same. Of course, these constituent groups retained different meanings at distinctive entry points to their everyday reality which was the transition house/refuge environment. For example, battered women who used services constructed their reality as experiencing abuse and crisis situations which brought them into contact with the transition house and refuge. Staff and volunteers' realities were that of employee and service provider with specific relationships to the women they helped and with their governing bodies. The governing bodies consisted of groups of professionals who stood apart from service users - the clients and staff and who provided governance and a framework for operationalising the two shelters.

Where realities are open to change can be seen through the experiences and interactions of each group. For example, battered women had opportunities to change and be empowered as a result of being supported, believed and given choices about their future. Staff and volunteers were likely to be challenged by the situations women faced daily. Their emotional and physical ability to meet those challenges depended upon their level of feminist consciousness, professionalism and their employment circumstances. Governing bodies adapted and responded to situations that reflected an environment that had refocused and redefined responses to domestic violence. These are all very different experiences and interactions but part of the total framework that the transition house and refuge represented.

Personal preparation for experiential analysis draws upon the researcher's ability to forego formulating theories prior to embarking on the research. This suggests that the researcher conducts research with an open and clear mind devoid of preconceptions in order that the research will not be tainted by *a priori* assumptions. For feminist researchers this is somewhat problematic as research is not predicated on inductivism or deductivism but is underpinned by the experiences of women, " ... detailed descriptions of actual feminist research processes sited around an explication of 'feminist consciousness' " (Stanley & Wise, 1990, p.22). This is not to say that theory influencing research is inappropriate or that data grounding theory is wrong, it is more that women's experiences are critical and are required to be grounded in the research process (Stanley & Wise, 1990, 1993). Furthermore researchers cannot remain separate from their own experiences, feelings and beliefs, they cannot be value free, unbiased and neutrally able to conduct research (Harding, 1997; Reinharz, 1983). Experiential analysis is therefore partially problematic for this research process. For example, in starting the research process a brief literature search was conducted, because the university doctoral committee that approved the commencement of the Ph.D required a comprehensive proposal before it could proceed. The thesis proposal thus had to include a brief literature review in order to outline the proposed research and its theoretical and methodological implications. Furthermore, there were issues that were germane to the research that came from my direct work experiences within the battered women's movement that required a framework from which to proceed in order to devise the research. A review of literature about the battered women's

movement thus provided opportunities to gain a greater understanding of and to contextualise issues that I wanted to consider as well as aiding the development of the research study. Having said this, a review of this particular literature did not inhibit or diminish the possibility for grounding the research in the data that resulted. The research findings in fact covered new aspects not previously considered, such as social movement influence, the impact of bureaucracy, the impact of organisational change and a deliberative feminist consciousness which were all guided by literature sourced and accessed after the data was collected.

Experiential analysis also considers the researcher's own experiences, expectations and influences in order to understand what she brings to the study (Reinharz, 1983). My experiences and concerns derived from the battered women's movement and as a feminist were a catalyst for and consequently influenced the research I wanted to undertake. For example I wanted to investigate issues of funding, accountability and bureaucracy which were instrumental in influencing the work practices and the organisational structure of the agency I previously worked in (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). The change to the working environment and the organisation enabled me to engage in a level of reflexivity that considered that if changes could occur within my agency that provided both residential and non-residential services and programmes for battered women and their children, then the prospect that they could occur within battered women's shelters generally was also something to consider. That is not to say that one set of experiences could be transposed upon another set of experiences but that the phenomenon was worthy of further investigation. It was from this starting point that I decided to explore further the realities that shelters experienced and wanted to know whether my personal experiences were shared by others and also what their experiences were and how they differed from mine.

Keeping a diary throughout the research process is a way of recording feelings, ideas and changing attitudes and is thus identified as data (Reinharz, 1983). This enables the researcher to identify " ... predispositions, [which] when known, can be questions put to the persons one is studying. They are only 'biases' if they are not acknowledged or explored, as is almost always the case in positivist research" (Reinharz, 1983, p.175). I did not keep a diary but kept a record of feelings, ideas

and changing attitudes throughout the course of the research process in order to further comprehend the social circumstances that I found myself immersed in and to share and experience the realities of other like-minded women. Various examples spring to mind that capture these aspects. The first record of feelings was during my first encounter with the New Zealand refuge in 1996. I stayed overnight in the refuge (this was suggested by staff in order to reduce accommodation costs, and because I intended only to make an overnight visit) which in Canada would not have been permitted and indeed was not a viable proposition as transition house staff were *in situ* 24 hours a day. Nevertheless at the time of my visit the refuge was empty. I noted my feelings in the following manner:

I was on my own in the house. Staff may have thought it useful for me to stay there to get a sense of refuge life. I don't know but as I was alone I felt very isolated and lonely in a house that I didn't know, in an area that was totally unfamiliar to me. Although I had a key to come and go as I pleased, I still felt an element of unsafety. I did not like the experience and would not want to experience it again. If I feel like this [as the researcher and not a battered woman] how on earth does a woman feel who has fled an abusive partner and may have children with her in a totally foreign and secluded environment? The house was unoccupied, no staff buzzing around, no crisis line to answer as [the refuge] is staffed solely by volunteers from their own homes - so they [the women] experience an element of isolation (Research Notes, 1996).

This is what I initially experienced. Although I would not want to repeat this stay, having this opportunity to stay overnight in the refuge enabled me to experience and feel, in part, what battered women experience and feel when entering a New Zealand refuge. It provided me with insights into a life that I had not previously been privy to in exactly this way.¹ It also enabled me to understand the refuge environment which differed so much from the Canadian transition house that remained active 24 hours a day. It never closed. Another example I wanted to explore was the refuge's collective structure that used volunteers to provide services at night and on weekends, not paid staff. I was of the impression that the latter was preferable to the former without examining the historical and social rationale for working in this manner. I

¹ In Canada my agency's policy was for staff to remain in the safe house with women and children when they were resident. Consequently I had no similar experiences of isolation or feeling unsafe.

therefore wanted to direct questions to staff and clientele that would expose their preference for paid staff at all times. In my reflections during my first visit to the refuge I questioned this:

Does the value of using volunteers outweigh paid, even night staff? Do they have opportunities to provide meaningful and continuous services to battered women? What would happen if this changed to paid staff at night? Being on call and being called out appears to have substantial value (Research Notes, 1996).

Furthermore when asking about what would influence the structure and philosophy of the refuge I probed the responses from residents and ex-residents of the refuge who identified that they did not always feel safe when alone in the refuge. Thus the question I put to them: "Just say for example that instead of all that happening [not feeling safe] that you actually had somebody on twenty four hours. Somebody who was in the refuge ... on a twenty four hour basis." Responses from several of these women suggested that they preferred that either a staff member was *in situ* overnight or a volunteer available to them to visit and discuss concerns that understandably arose. They remained concerned about their security and safety. At the same time these responses did not alleviate my preference [bias] for the Canadian structure and in saying that my views have not changed. Although women using the refuge are empowered to make their own decisions and given choices they remain isolated and alone at night and on weekends. These women firmly identified various problems within the refuge when this happened, such as having no one to talk to when they needed to, having to deal with women who maybe violent and women with mental health problems. I thus have considered it important to represent these women's voices, their interests and concerns within this thesis as they may influence the manner in which services can be provided. Having said this I also understand that my perspective is based on my own understanding and experiences within the Canadian context which refuses to support the exploitation of women as unpaid workers (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995) and more specifically my own preferences for ensuring that women are made safe and secure and can call on staff at any time for support. These preferences do therefore influence the manner in which I perceive and frame my understandings and expressions and provide a framework for embarking on such a study that would influence not only my life but influence others too.

Problem formulation is concerned with the research being significant to the researcher and to the participants. Experiential analysis prefers a participatory approach so that collaboration is conducted throughout the research process. Thus formulating the research with participants suggests that their involvement is secured, provides opportunities for raising consciousness and provides policy development that will enable social change (Reinharz, 1983). Collaboration also secures trust as it " ... precludes subject deception and completely alters the issue of human subject research reviews" (Reinharz, 1983, p.177). Collaboration also enables the forging of reciprocal relationships between the researcher and participants (Reinharz, 1983). Although I could not collaborate in the sense that the research process was shared by all involved I could ensure trust and some reciprocity to both organisations. In gaining consent I was already familiar with the Canadian transition house and had worked with staff and board members on various inter-agency and provincial committees, ensuring that women were referred to and accessed the transition house and looked for their input into various projects that my agency was involved in (Gilson, 1994). When I wrote to the transition house in July 1995 requesting its participation in the research I included a four page information sheet that outlined the research proposal. In October 1995 I wrote again as I had not heard from them and assumed as it was the northern summer that the Board of Directors had been in recess. I called the transition house to speak to the Executive Director and she confirmed their participation. This was followed up with a letter confirming this. Correspondence continued, regarding travel arrangements and specific research activities including accessing participants to participate in focus group discussions. I included a letter of introduction and research purpose for the transition house to mail out to potential participants asking permission for the transition house to give me their names to contact for participation (Bishop & McNenly 1988). I was able to gather from this and from the letter confirming participation the availability of the Executive Director to assist me with the research process during my research visit in March 1996.

The transition house asked very little of me in return except to acknowledge them by not remaining anonymous. They wanted to be named. The reason they gave was to receive acknowledgement for their significant contribution to the research. They also suggested that they read the final draft of the thesis and read and comment on chapters

requiring clarification. Furthermore the Canadian transition house was seventeen hours behind New Zealand time and did not have a fax machine or e-mail to communicate with. Telephone calls that were made had to be made early in the morning and only by me to ask questions or to acknowledge that information sent was received. I indicated in correspondence that if staff called me they could call collect and I would pay for the telephone call but this did not happen. Sending and receiving airmail could take up to two weeks and seairmail up to eight weeks.

Contact with the New Zealand refuge was quite different. I had no prior knowledge of the refuge movement as I had only recently settled in New Zealand. My first point of contact was with the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) in late 1995 to request an opportunity to meet to discuss my research and to source New Zealand literature. I was invited to attend the NCIWR's Special General Meeting in November 1995 to talk about my research to all the member refuges and ask for participation from one refuge. At this meeting I was approached by two members of a refuge who expressed interest in participating in the research. I shared my experiences with them as they wanted to know about my work with battered women overseas. I informed them that I would write to them outlining in more detail the research which they would present to their governing body for support. In December 1995 they wrote to inform me that they would be happy to participate as the New Zealand refuge in the study. I followed the same procedure as I had for the Canadian transition house and prepared to visit them in August 1996 to begin the research. Prior to this I visited the refuge in June 1996 to meet with the staff and governing body to make myself known to them and to discuss the research. During this visit the staff requested that I share the focus group results I would conduct with residents and ex-residents with them, as they felt that this information would help them to evaluate their services. I indicated that I could not do that for reasons of confidentiality and anonymity as the staff would probably know who the participants were (after all staff were to make initial contacts with potential participants prior to my visit in August). I did state that the results would be identified in the relevant thesis chapters. During this initial visit I had several encounters and meetings with staff who asked about reciprocity - how they would benefit from participating in the research. I told them that the research would help

them evaluate their services, inform them about what was happening overseas and hopefully assist them to increase their funding base. On request I agreed to share my own experiences more fully with them and provide a consultancy role regarding their programme development when I visited in August to conduct the research.

Data gathering for experiential analysis uses an ethnographical approach. Furthermore ethnography insists that multiple methods such as observation, interviews and archival materials are more likely to create "... special 'miniature social situations' with their own characteristics" (Reinharz, 1983, p.177). Feminist ethnography aims to document the lives of women, understand the experiences of women from their perspective and to see women's behaviour in terms of social contexts (Reinharz, 1992). That is to study the reality of women within their natural setting, drawing on participant observation (Reinharz, 1983) to uncover their experiences. Reinharz (1983) also states that experiential research raises the question of selection criteria:

... whether we should study populations or networks rather than aggregated samples, recognizing that a 'complete group' has different merits from those of a 'large n.' Experiential research, as contrasted with positivistic research, relies on 'small n's' since statistical tests need not be applied when interpreting meaning (p.178).

This natural setting for me was the transition house and the refuge which also provided an opportunity to "... openly [explore] the writer's feelings and experiences, [in order] to reduce the distance between researcher and subject by more fully including the latter in the process" (Shaffir, 1999, p.681). Lyon (1997) suggests that ethnographic research is useful in that the resulting policy development can be filtered through to all levels including local communities. The individual behaviour influences social structure. Furthermore Lyon states that although ethnographers tend to study powerless groups "... ethnography clearly can be used to investigate myriad issues at multiple levels of action and organisation" (1997, p.12). Thus the Canadian transition house's experiences with the provincial government was concerned with "... the concepts of constraints, negotiation, agency, and structure for understanding institutional power" (Lyon, 1997, p.13), in their struggle to have staff recognised professionally and improve salary levels in accord with this new position (see Chapter 6). Ethnography has also been criticised for its lack of generalizability but by comparing data across several situations "... concepts of general applicability to

diverse settings" (Burawoy, 1991, cited in Lyon, 1997, p.13) can be developed. For example both the transition house and refuge were subject to accountability and responsibility in order to access government funding. This resulted in trading off autonomy and independence for stability and legitimacy. Reinharz (1983) suggests that studying specific populations enables the researcher to focus on factors within natural settings such as environment, climate etc. that are more germane to people's experiences. Ethnography not only contributes to knowledge but to theory development. For example, Lyon (1993, cited in Lyon, 1997) states that court intervention regarding battered women's treatment by court staff led to " ... an emerging theoretical formulation of "worthiness"" (Lyon, 1997, p.22).

The research process personified a feminist perspective in which I was able to participate in the community of women within the transition house (in part) and in the refuge much more systematically. Reinharz (1983) states that data collection in a natural setting enables the researcher to take a background role, observing people's actions and reactions to each other by being part of the social milieu. Reinharz suggests that differences between what people say and do are not 'discrepancies' but are used as " ... leads into the complex process of the construction of reality and/or the influence of social situations on people's expression of beliefs or even perception" (1983, p.178). This was a perception of mine with various situations in the transition house and the refuge. Anomalies between actions and reactions, their not converging, did reflect the manner in which reality was constructed and how this influenced people's understanding of social situations. Consequently, in the Canadian transition house staff advocated a feminist perspective when addressing women's problems but tended not to be politically active themselves, for example, not participating in feminist activities when asked to do so. Furthermore staff perceptions of the New Zealand refuge's Governing Body were not manifested in their actions, they tended to not confront them directly with their concerns. Neither did the residents or ex-residents interviewed in both the transition house and the refuge directly discuss their concerns with the staff but they were very open and willing to discuss them with me as were the staff in the first example.

I wanted to capture the essence, experiences and expertise of all participants. For me they were all experts. I valued everything they had to say. They could provide me with insights and perspectives that I may not have discovered for myself. I required to know and understand perspectives from others, both men and women as it turned out and from some who were ethnically and culturally different from myself. As Harding (1997) states " ... the researcher must be placed within the frame of the picture that she/he attempts to paint" (p.164). This level of familiarity, understanding and experience were all integral parts of me when I entered the transition house and refuge to coordinate and conduct interviews and focus groups.

To add to the wealth of data collected from the interviews and focus groups I also had free access to a range of documents including minutes of various meetings and committees, reports, documented histories, research reports, funding proposals, budgets, job descriptions, statistics etc. which provided me with greater insights into the transition house and refuge's structure and organisation (Mobley, 1997). Such a degree of documentation also enabled me to " ... corroborate and augment evidence from other sources" (Yin, 1994, p.81). This was evidenced in corroborating the refuge staff's and Governing Body concerns of inadequate funding which was documented in annual budgets, reports, minutes, government contracts and from interview data. Also the transition house's staff members professional status was documented in minutes, in job descriptions and from interview data. Furthermore the increased accountability to government from the transition house and refuge was documented in reports, minutes of meetings, statistical reporting and interview data.

Furthermore, in the New Zealand refuge situation I was asked to participate in various situations that presented, and asked for my views about structure and operational aspects of the refuge. I was also included in daily staff meetings, attended a governing body meeting and asked to talk to volunteers about my research and attend one of their meetings. For example, my level of acceptance in the refuge included my ongoing interaction with staff who would discuss with me such things as, the refuge's background and history, organisational structure, client related issues, how best to improve services to battered women and children and even down to how to re-arrange their limited office space (Mobley, 1997). In both the transition house and the refuge

I was able to talk about my research with staff, and talk about the issues that arose from my review of documents in order to clarify information and in the New Zealand refuge provide the staff with information of which they were not aware.

Furthermore staff in the refuge would ask me for information because they knew that I knew more about their organisation than they did as institutional knowledge was variable. I was able to do this more systematically with the New Zealand refuge. Bogdan and Taylor (1975) state that although the researcher understands the research situation better than the participants they suggest that this level of detail should not be disclosed because it " ... makes subjects aware of one's presence and causes them to withdraw" (p.46). This did not happen to me during my research visits. In fact the refuge staff in particular were extremely pleased that I had such an understanding and articulated a feeling that it was of enormous benefit to them. What it did accomplish was to bring us closer together as staff were cognisant of my understanding of their situation and experiences. For example during my second visit to the refuge in August 1996, after reviewing the Governing Body's monthly minutes and meeting with staff I pointed out and staff understood that there was a conflict of interest between their staff roles and their Governing Body roles. The latter were invading the former with no opportunities of redress at that time.

The close proximity with the New Zealand refuge enabled me to make four lengthy visits to them between 1996 and 1998. The first was for seventeen days and for the three subsequent visits a total of eighteen days. The Canadian transition house experience was somewhat different. I could only make one visit, in 1996, and although that consisted of two intensive weeks I would have preferred longer and more visits. The Canadian transition house was also different in that the staff were extremely busy, the house was full during my visit and because of my physical location (I shared an upstairs office) I was not completely privy to the particular day to day activities as I was in the New Zealand refuge (there I shared office space with staff). I was not able to attend board meetings due to the short length of my visit but I was aware of how the transition house functioned (I had attended board meetings in the past). Furthermore I was able to use the kitchen for lunch, make coffee and talked to

residents who approached me assuming that I was a staff member until I introduced myself. I was given free rein to use equipment that was available.

In the New Zealand refuge although I had not expected to take on a participant observer role, that was the role I adopted. Reinharz (1992) discusses the closeness/distance dilemma in research. The latter supported by objectivity and the " ... danger that the researcher will "go native" or identify with the people studied" (p.67). I would argue that I was already a 'native' in that I was accepted for my experiences, understanding and familiarity in both the transition house and refuge. Several transition house staff and board members knew who I was prior to the research. Reinharz (1992) notes that closeness enhances understanding, " ... closeness with women is necessary in order to understand them" (1992, p.67). I could not have collected the richness of data without this closeness. New Zealand refuge staff and I shared morning teas, lunches and restaurant meals. I was invited to a family dinner with staff and during the final visit I stayed with a staff member and her family. All of these occasions enabled staff to talk openly to me about their experiences within the refuge (Bogdan & Taylor, 1975). Reinharz (1992) also discussed the ethical considerations of the researcher observer:

Feminist ethnographers who emphasise closeness rather than distance in fieldwork relations believe that understanding based on participant observation is enhanced by total immersion in the world one is studying. Total immersion comes about when the researcher begins to share the same fate of those she is studying (p.69).

I considered that something similar happened to me during my last visit to the refuge in 1998. For example, I was asked by the Governing Body which consisted of nearly all new members at that time (staff requested my involvement) to facilitate a planning strategy with staff regarding redesigning their job descriptions to fit with service delivery strategies. However the staff also wanted to explore their understanding of the refuge organisation, their experiences and changes that had occurred and to develop future strategies. Staff concluded that their understanding of the refuge organisation was somewhat different from the Governing Body's understanding. A report was presented to the Governing Body and a subsequent meeting was arranged to discuss its findings. I was invited to the meeting as the facilitator, but came away with the impression that I was being treated like a staff advocate/member. In fairness

to the Governing Body I spent most of my time with staff, meeting them only occasionally. I attempted to meet with the new Governing Body but was less successful, there seemed no time that was freely available to meet with me. It is likely that, although very much aware of my research, the new Governing Body did not have the same understanding of my research that the previous Governing Body enjoyed.

The purpose during my initial research visits to the transition house and refuge was to coordinate group interviews and individual interviews when some participants were not available for the groups. I chose group interviews because I did not have the time to interview the number of participants that I envisaged would participate. Staff gave me lists of potential participants who had agreed to be contacted by me (Bishop & McNenly, 1988; Krueger, 1994). There were six groups of participants, one group of residents and one of ex-residents; one of staff, and one of ex-staff and one governing body and one board of directors and one ex-governing body and one ex-board of directors from the transition house and the refuge. In total I interviewed 45 participants and a workbook of the same questions was completed and mailed back to me by 16 participants who could not participate in group or individual interviews. In 1998 as a result of an additional visit to the New Zealand refuge a further six workbooks of questions were completed by new staff and new governing body members. In total 67 participants were involved out of a potential 95 (71% response rate). Twenty six women participated out of a potential 34 women in New Zealand (76% response rate) and 41 participated out of a potential 61 (67% response rate) in Canada. There were four men who participated in the Canadian research. Reasons given for non-participation included resignations, leave of absence, illness, women's safety issues, going overseas or out of town, too busy and work schedules. I also wanted to use a group discussion format:

... because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic of the focus group. Furthermore, the focus group is repeated several times with different people. ... The researcher creates a permissive environment ... that nurtures different perceptions and points of view, without pressuring participants to vote, plan, or reach consensus. The group discussion is conducted several times with similar types of participants to identify trends and patterns in perceptions (Krueger, 1994, p.6).

Consequently I followed Krueger's (1994) format in which on average four people (some were as many as six) participated in each group discussion. A series of groups were conducted, two groups within each specific category as stated, for example, one group of Canadian staff and one of New Zealand staff. Groups also consisted of participants with similar perspectives, they included one group of residents, one group of ex-residents, one staff and one ex-staff,² one governing body/board of directors and one ex-governing body /board of directors from both the Canadian transition house and New Zealand refuge. In total I facilitated six groups in Canada and five groups in New Zealand. Furthermore the homogeneous nature of the groups was intentional as I wanted to obtain perceptions, views and experiences from particular groups who had similar relationships to the transition house and refuge, even though some group participants did not know each other. Open-ended questions were used to prompt participants to explore their opinions and perceptions of the subject matter being researched and for theory to be generated (Krueger, 1994; Reinharz, 1992). Group interviews also provided opportunities for participants to hear what others had to say, enabled dialogue between participants especially those who could fill in historical gaps about the organisation. Dialogue was often punctuated with laughter as participants recalled various experiences that impacted on them personally and as a result of their involvement in the refuge. They also enabled me to explore further responses in order to elicit more detailed examples, and also caused participants to reflect on what they had accomplished. These interviews also enabled participants to gain new insights in to the experiences of others, to reinforce and question what was being said (Krueger, 1994; Neale, 1998), and consider new perceptions about what was being related about participants' experiences and knowledge. All interviews were taped and transcribed verbatim by myself. I also informed participants that I was the only person privy to the tapes . Thus the data collected from the groups provided a wealth of information in a short space of time. Taping responses from participants also " ... allows the researcher to present interpretations drawing on the language of subjects" (Reinharz, 1983, p.179).

² Only one group of ex-staff was conducted in total. That was the Canadian group. Participants were not available in New Zealand.

I posed questions as open-ended to allow for opportunities to expand on themes and issues participants raised during the interview process as, "It allows the subject to demonstrate how s/he constructs his/her reality" (Reinharz, 1983, p.177). The thesis therefore contains extensive verbatim responses in order to capture realities as defined by participants. I also formulated what Reinharz (1983) calls a 'value-clarification' which was self-reflexive as I probed what I deemed worthy of researching when I formulated my research proposal. Questions concerning the significance of the research, what is to be discovered, and personal experiences reflected in the research and traced back to my original perceptions and experiences. Consequently before each interview session participants were informed about the research and its intent and benefits and given information sheets to read. They were encouraged to ask questions. For those participants that were unaware of my personal circumstances and these tended to be the residents and ex-residents I provided details and during the interview process responded to information about how the transition house and refuge was chosen. The interviews were also social occasions, refreshments were served and opportunities to catch up with various participants that I knew occurred (Oakley, 1981; Taylor & Rupp, 1991). Participants also completed confidentiality and consent forms to comply with University regulations and ethical procedures. They were also told that they did not have to answer any questions that might be personally or politically sensitive to them and could have their responses omitted from the research if they so decided at some later date. They had the option of requesting a copy of the interview responses at the conclusion of the research and copies of the thesis would be made available to the transition house and refuge. In addition the transition house and refuge would have an opportunity to peruse the final draft of the thesis.

Data analysis:

... is an activity based on a cognitive mode different from data gathering: reflective rather than active, solitary rather than interactional. The recorded experiences, conversation transcripts, pieces of information are compiled, reduced and examined for their interactions (patterns) and basic themes (Reinharz, 1983, p.182).

Data analysis consists of examining, categorizing, tabulating, or otherwise recombining the evidence to address the initial proposition of a study (Yin, 1994, p.102).

A feminist analysis considers the context of the research and as data are reviewed and interpreted they are examined for similarities and differences. It is paramount that data analysis is grounded in the language of the research participants (Reinharz, 1983). In returning to the original questions I was able to develop themes that resulted from the data (Krueger, 1994; Yin, 1994). It was these themes that guided the analysis. In defining themes I had to return to and access other literature that could provide me with ways of understanding what I was discovering. The study undertaken by Rothschild-Whitt (1979) provided me with an understanding of the bureaucratic implications of organisations that become transformed from collective to hierarchical structures. Features that were pertinent to my thesis included authority and hierarchy; rules; and a division-of-labour. These features were clearly identified in the various transition house and refuge data sources, including the interviews, minutes of meetings and the funding applications to government. It was these themes that guided my understanding of the data and are explicated in the chapters that address the research more directly.

Furthermore the transformation process identified particularly by Broom (1991), Koopman-Boyden, (1992), Riger (1994) and Zald and Ash (1966) also guided my interpretation of the data that were presented as the historical nature of social movement organisations and feminist organisations were able to further my understanding of the nature of the internal processes that shelter organisations undergo when they change from collectively driven to hierarchically driven organisations. These organisational changes paralleled Rothschild-Whitt's (1979) own study. For example I noted the ambiguity of staff who advocated empowerment of women but in reality had no systematic mechanisms for enabling women to voice their concerns and evaluate the manner in which services were being delivered to them. I also wanted to contextualise the transition houses role with government as I knew that it had been coopted and was not a feminist collective but it remained open to speaking out about domestic violence and advocating a feminist perspective for social change. The analysis derived from feminists who argued for 'a politics of engagement', 'active engagement' and the 'maintenance of a feminist identity' known as 'street theory' (Ferree & Martin, 1995; Mansbridge, 1995; Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995) enabled me to understand that the transition house was advocating social change through

theory and action. They were in a state of praxis (Mies, 1983). The concept of 'unobtrusive mobilisation' espoused by Katzenstein (1990) seeks to explore feminist activity through institutions that are male dominated in order to influence and change their perceptions and modes of practice "... and imbue them with partisan (i.e., feminist) points of view and principles" (Schmitt & Martin, 1999, p.369).

In determining the strategy of analysis for the interviews conducted I chose to use 'transcript-based analysis' (Krueger, 1994) which "... is the most rigorous and time-intensive" (p.143). Within the context of the focus group interviews Krueger (1994) suggests that there are several analysis functions to consider; listening for inconsistent comments and probing for increasing understanding of what was said. I was very much aware in the interviews that I needed to probe for further details in order to understand what was being said. Although participants listened intently to what others were saying there was no sense of opinions changing as a result of comments made. In fact they were opportunities to be informed about what had gone before. Although interviews were taped I also had an assistant in both the transition house and the refuge who took additional interview notes in case of dictaphone failure and in the case of the transition house also provided an opportunity to debrief the interview (Krueger, 1994). Unfortunately this did not occur in the refuge situation as the assistant was only available for the interviews. Opportunities to debrief and share highlights and comparisons and contrasts were provided however with both my chief supervisor and my second supervisor. The Canadian assistant had been previously involved in the battered women's movement and was approved by the transition house personnel and the group interviewees prior to the interview process. Likewise the New Zealand assistant was suggested to me by the refuge staff and was also approved by interviewees. I also considered a final 'preference question' (Krueger, 1994) which asked participants to consider what was most important to them as a result of the discussion. This was done so that participants could focus on what was critically important for them. I also obtained some background information on each participant which included age, gender, length of time involved in the transition house and refuge organisations, qualifications and credentials etc., as they informed attitudes and perceptions of participants. For example, the New Zealand refuge considered that it was a middle-class refuge, not only because the governing body and staff were

middle-class but the women who used it were defined in this way. Their credentials and qualifications helped to define their class position (Giddens, 1993).

Krueger (1994) also states that there are other considerations for the analysis of data that are noteworthy, for example context of questions and internal consistency whereby comments made by one participant trigger responses from others. An example of this was a question posed to gain responses to defining the transition house's philosophy, the Canadian board member focus group understood and agreed that a feminist perspective was advocated. Frequency or intensiveness of comments are examples of importance or of specific interest to participants. It was obvious to me that some issues were more important to some, which were reinforced in other data sources. For example one pertinent issue for the Canadian ex-board member focus group was the dilemma that they had to address regarding staff qualifications which were equated with professionalism and the role of government who in order to support the increase in salary levels also wanted to revise job descriptions in line with civil service standards. This dilemma for the transition house was in regard to giving up independence and autonomy for salary increases. This issue however was not as pertinent for newer board members who had not had to address this issue as previous members had. 'Finding big ideas' according to Krueger (1994) is also critical and needs time to locate amid the abundance of data collected. For me there were important findings including the residents and ex-residents (from both the transition house and refuge) perceptions of services provided to them and their ability (even in adversity) to think clearly and provide solutions based upon their own experiences, observations and information provided to them by staff.

Reinharz (1983) states that data analysis also needs to consider the audience for the document that results from the research. She states that it must be 'readable' and user friendly. It " ... integrates other research literature and points out similarities and differences" (1983, p.183). The chapters that explore the research findings integrate research literature in order to make visible what has been examined punctuated with participants responses (Skeggs, 1994). Cook and Fonow (1986) maintain that:

... knowledge must be elicited and analyzed in a way that can be used by women to alter oppressive and exploitative conditions in their society. This means that research must be designed to provide a vision

of the future as well as a structural picture of the present. This goal involves attending to the policy implications of an inquiry, ... feminist methodology endorses the assumption that the most thorough kind of knowledge and understanding comes through efforts to change social phenomena (p.13).

Various feminist researchers have indicated that feminist research requires something more than describing and analysing a research study for its theoretical implications alone. They state that there needs to be a deeper purpose for embarking on any feminist research. This purpose has to address women's subordinate position in society and the ability to bring about social change through knowledge and action (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Kirkwood, 1990; Mies, 1983, 1992). Lyon (1997) states that ethnography's primary focus is to address social issues and problems with an emphasis on social policy development. My original purpose for conducting the research and one which remains was to influence social policy and funding and to influence the development of services and programmes for battered women. As a woman, a feminist and as a member of the battered women's movement I consider it my responsibility to reflect women's voices in such a way that they would not be ignored. Although as Skeggs (1994) states I did not have the power to "socially produce" (p.87) these women's (and men's) lives I could reproduce aspects of their reality. G. Morgan (1983) states that the research process also enables researchers to "... make and remake ourselves as human beings ... and is of as much significance because of its implications for the development and well-being of all those humans involved with or influenced by this activity as it is for the "knowledge" it generates" (p.373). Consequently the research process influences on two levels, the individual and personal level where consciousness is raised and the collective where the organisational participants work toward social change through a myriad of means.

Ultimately this is what I wanted to achieve. I wanted the transition house and the refuge to be able to take from this thesis the research literature, the data collected and analysed and use them in the best interests of their organisations. I also wanted to assure participants that their language, their experiences and knowledge would be used to describe, clarify and explain their realities. I wanted this thesis to reflect their ideas and expertise in such a way that I would not be seen as the expert but as the one

who would transcribe and make sense of their interactions and responses to day -to-day issues as they perceived them.

Conclusion

Drawing on a feminist methodology that invests in the social reality of women and reflects women's experiences is important as I locate myself among them. Throughout the research process from data formulation to writing up I could place myself in various situations that I wrote about (Kirkwood, 1990). My experiences as a manager dealing with government bureaucracy, managing an agency, supporting women through their retelling of their personal experiences of domestic violence, and engaging a feminist perspective have enabled me to be both subject and object of knowledge. Consequently I do not see this as a hindrance to my research in terms of subjectivity, lack of neutrality and bias. Rather it adds to the body of knowledge in such a way that makes it more understandable and real as it is based firmly within the formation of social change (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Lyon, 1997; Mies, 1983, 1992).

CHAPTER 4

A Study of Two Battered Women's Shelters - Structural and Operational Profiles

Introduction

In February 1982, a woman and her child from rural [county] were battered. There were no alternatives, resources, or information available to them to address this situation. When the [local women's centre] became aware of these facts, the [battered women's information service] was conceived, developed and implemented (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1984, p.1).

[Governing member] has suggested calling our ... house [name] in memory of the late [name of ex-client]. [She] was a client of ours. ... All [members] and counsellors agree this is a wonderful tribute to [her] and a most appropriate name for our house (Governing Body Minutes).

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a description of the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge that participated in the research which profiles their structures and operations, and their roles and responsibilities. Although this thesis is not about the nature and effects of domestic violence on battered women, one aim of the research is to distinguish the needs of battered women (as they define them) using shelters and to identify interventions that have not been beneficial to women. Thus this chapter is concerned *inter alia* with understanding the plight of battered women by providing some general profiling of the battered women who used the shelters, as the thesis would be deficient without such a profile. Providing a backdrop of women's circumstances also provides a grounding for the shelters' reason for being. Thus, studying these shelters requires recognition of the clients they serve. They must not be forgotten.

The detailed narrative of the transition house and the refuge also facilitates a comparative analysis that identifies similarities and differences between them more directly. Detailing both similarities and differences is important as they provide a context for the development of transition house and refuge services in both Canada and New Zealand.

Making such comparisons provides a context for the ensuing chapters that will analyse more closely the history and evolutionary process of the transition house and the refuge within the thesis's research focus. The research focus therefore is to examine the impact of government funding and other external and internal factors that may influence the structure and philosophy of the transition house and the refuge. Investigating these factors may also elucidate the impact of changes in the transition house and the refuge that may have compelled them to modify their feminist model and subscribe instead to a social service model. Furthermore the thesis examines the adaptation of the shelter model and explores the repercussions for both shelters in terms of the nature and consequences of making such changes whilst maintaining a feminist philosophy and remaining active agents for social change.

A description of the transition house and the refuge was accomplished by gathering data via a survey in 1996 using a lengthy mail questionnaire (Nachmias & Nachmias, 1987), reviewing shelter documents, holding informal discussions with staff, and undertaking direct observation in both shelters as described in Chapter 3. The questionnaire was organized in nine sections in order to capture as full a description of the shelters' structure and organisational aspects as a written survey will permit. The nine sections were organised as follows: 1) Communities Served; 2) Admission and Residence Factors; 3) Shelter History, Organisation and Security; 4) Services and Programmes; 5) Human Resources; 6) Funding Sources; 7) Status and Responsibilities; 8) Features of Women and Children; 9) Public Education and Inter-Agency Cooperation. Various British and Canadian research questionnaires were employed as a resource for the development of the survey questions and format (Ball, 1994; L. MacLeod, 1987; M.J. Smith, 1992; Statistics Canada, 1994; Status of Women, Canada, 1996). It must be stated that both shelters were unable to complete some sections of the survey as they did not always collect or collate data in the format requested. For ease of reading and maintaining a logical flow the sections have been collapsed together under the following five headings: 1) Organisation and Responsibilities; 2) Profile of Women and Children; 3) Services and Programmes; 4) Human Resources and 5) Funding Sources.

For the purpose of referencing, the New Zealand refuge will not be identified by name, in order to retain its expressed wish for anonymity (and will hereafter be known as "the refuge"). The Canadian transition house however has stated that it wants to be named - Tearmann House (and will hereafter be known as "the transition house").

Organisation and Responsibilities

Communities Served:

The transition house is located in rural Nova Scotia on the east coast of Canada and serves a population of approximately 80,000 people from various small and medium size and often isolated rural communities. The transition house identified itself as a rural based shelter serving three rural catchment areas that included six towns with populations ranging from 3,000 to 10,000 people. The communities served included African-Canadian women, First Nations women, the Mi'kmaq and women from a francophone community, known as the Acadians (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993), as well as white Canadian women. The New Zealand refuge served a varied population base including urban and rural communities, and was not alone in providing shelter to battered women and children but was one of several refuges within the community. It identified itself as predominantly an urban refuge providing services to Pakeha,¹ Māori, Pacific Island and Asian women.

Objectives:

The transition house opened in mid-October 1984 and described itself as providing a "transition house and outreach services" located in a rural town. Its objectives were identified in the survey as follows:

- provision of emergency shelter, support and protection for women and children who find themselves victims of emotional, physical battering in the home;

¹ "Pakeha" is a Māori word generally used to refer to New Zealanders of Anglo-Celtic settler ancestry, or sometimes more generally to "white" New Zealanders. The terms "non-Māori" and "tau iwi" are also used to refer to those who are not Māori.

- the public education of local communities regarding the extent and ramification of violence in the family;
- to work cooperatively with existing agencies, social services and service oriented clubs who share like-minded goals;
- to work with other transition houses to facilitate attainment of healthy and nourishing family life.

These objectives are typical for the majority of transition houses throughout Canada and " ... reflect the philosophy under which the concept has developed and most transition houses have been organized" (F. MacLeod, 1982, p.11). The transition house identified the following statement from its policies as a reflection of its philosophy:

We believe a woman has a right to personal dignity, to freedom from fear and to freedom from physical and/or psychological coercion. A person has a right to information, to moral and personal freedom, and the right to exercise personal autonomy in making decisions, to make choices affecting her own life and to accept responsibility for these decisions (Transition House Policies, February, 1996, p.1).

The development of objectives and a philosophical statement are part of the overall prerequisites for the establishment of transition houses in Canada (Department of Social Services, 1984; Lawlor, 1980; F. MacLeod, 1982; Supportive Initiatives for the Residents in the County of Haliburton (SIRCH), 1996) and as such are required to develop and implement a constitution, objectives, by-laws and various clauses that address their non-profit, wind-up and alterability status (Department of Social Services, 1984; F. MacLeod, 1982) so that they meet the criteria for incorporation as a society under their individual provincial Societies Act.

The refuge was established with the following objectives identified as follows:

- To provide a refuge ... for women and children who are victims of physical, emotional, mental and sexual abuse in a culturally supportive environment;
- To ensure each woman and child has as much information as possible in order for them to be able to make informed choices and decisions;
- To maintain each woman and child's right to a relationship of mutual trust, privacy, and confidentiality;

- To work towards the prevention and elimination of domestic violence and in particular to support the rights of women and children to care and protection;
- To promote an understanding of the causes and effects of violence and the interchange of skills, ideas and information and to provide culturally appropriate support and ongoing training for all [refuge] counsellors (Refuge Founding Document, 1986).

Refuges in New Zealand that are affiliated to the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) can either be Incorporated Societies or Charitable Trusts and like the transition house have to develop and implement a constitution, objectives and responsibilities including clauses regarding liability, wind-up and alterability status.

Status and Responsibilities:

The transition house was described as a "non-profit organisation" and received its Certificate of Incorporation as a registered society under the Nova Scotia Societies Act (1967) in 1983 and belonged to the Registry of Joint Stock Companies under the Nova Scotia Companies Act. Its Memorandum of Association and By-Laws outlined the governance and administration of the Society and its responsibilities as a board of directors and its responsibilities regarding the transition house.

Directors were nominated and elected at the Annual General Meeting (AGM) (a Nominating Committee was responsible for locating new members) for a two-year term of office. The number of directors could not be less than five or more than twenty one and both women and men could be elected to the board of directors. The executive director was also a member of the board and one staff member was also eligible for election to the board of directors. Membership of the Society was open to anyone who supported its objectives.

The refuge was described as a charitable body with a collective structure in place but governed by a governing body which was nominated from existing membership² and

² Nominations exclusively from existing membership changed in the mid-1990s.

elected by secret ballot at the AGM for a two-year term of office. The election process was coordinated by the Secretary. The governing body ranged from four to a maximum of eight members and up until the mid-1990s staff could be elected to the governing body. Prior to 1992 the refuge's membership was open to women who were volunteers and who had previously experienced domestic violence. There was one sub-committee as all activities were usually discussed and decisions made at the monthly meetings. The sub-committee was concerned with employment issues, such as staff recruitment, leave and health and safety issues. The treasurer and two governing members and a staff person, when required, sat on this committee. Development of refuge policies was undertaken by the governing body as were fundraising activities and fiscal management which was also under the direction of the treasurer and staff. A senior staff member and the governing body were responsible for the management and administration of the refuge. The AGM was held annually and usually only open to members.

The transition house's board of directors maintained responsibility for governance through a range of committees that dealt with the following functions:

- Finance - establishing annual budgetary needs and supervision of shelter finances under the direction of the Treasurer;
- Fundraising - developing revenue-raising initiatives and implementation of same;
- Maintenance - assessment of physical needs of the shelter, coordination and supervision of various projects;
- Personnel - hiring of staff, setting personnel policies, and resolving personnel issues;
- Policy - policy interpretation and development of new policies;
- Volunteer - volunteer recruitment, interviewing and engaging.

The executive director and the board of directors were responsible for the overall management of the transition house and the various committees of the board of directors also included the executive director and representation from the staff. The board of directors met monthly to receive reports on the meetings held by the various committees and to receive and discuss reports from staff. The AGM was held annually, was a community based event, was open to the general public and usually had a guest speaker.

The incorporated Society held the deed to the transition house and its elected board of directors managed the Society's activities which also included maintaining responsibility for the employees and services and programmes. The Society's Memorandum of Association (1983) outlined the goals and various objectives of the Society of which one was to own and operate a temporary shelter for battered women and their children. Thus the board of directors was responsible for ensuring that the subsidised mortgage to Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) was paid. The establishment of such a mortgage originated when:

In the 1970s, concerns were expressed by women's organisations and Transition House Associations about the shortage of emergency shelters, or what we often refer to as "first stage" shelters, as well as the lack of second-stage shelter - secure, supportive housing available for several months to a year, providing women more time to adjust their lives and family circumstances after leaving an abusive situation. Some felt that the unavailability of second-stage housing contributed to women returning home to abusive situations.

In 1978, CMHC responded to these concerns by developing both first- and second-stage shelters under the "special purpose" component of the Non-Profit Housing Program³ (Weisz, Taggart, Mockler & Streich, 1995, p.2).

Security and Safety:

All shelters are usually required to have safety policies and security measures in place, and the Nova Scotia Department of Social Services in its *Suggested Guidelines for Establishing a Transition House* (1984) developed comprehensive guidelines that addressed fire and life safety in transition houses in order to protect both residents and staff. They included the development of fire safety plans, regular fire drills, training of staff in safety plans and procedures and posting of same. Both the transition house and the refuge had in place specific fire regulations and fire evacuation procedures and "fire protection equipment, such as fire alarms, fire extinguishers and fire doors" (Department of Social Services, 1985, p.1).

³ "The federal non-profit program interest rate subsidises to reduce the effective rate to 2 percent. Shelters funded under the non-profit program were subject to 35 -year CMHC agreements" (Weisz et al., 1995).

The transition house was similar to other Canadian and American shelters in that security was also a major issue for residents and staff alike. Weisman (1992) in writing about the Women's Advocate Shelter in St. Paul's Minnesota stated the dilemma that the American shelter found itself in as a place that was a temporary home for many women and children and yet still was required to make the shelter a secure and safe place to be:

The 'image' of the shelter was especially important. It had to look like a home, because it was acting as one, but it also had to look secure to suggest its purpose as a refuge. Further, it had to be secure to protect residents from unwanted intruders. It is not unusual for angry men to pursue their partners and children. (Although most shelters try to keep their addresses secret for as long as possible, their locations inevitably become known.) Trespassers must be visible, visitors identified, and entrance and exit points secure.

There are many conflicts inherent in creating security in a place for family living. Outdoor night lighting that floods the property aids security but sacrifices the homelike atmosphere. Unlocked doors make residents and staff nervous; locked doors are difficult in an open family environment. The staff has to make endless trips to answer the door as residents come and go.

The regulation of cigarette smoking created another conflict between the safety requirements of an institution and the personal freedom of being "at home." Smoking causes problems of fire safety and infant health but it eases tension and helps pass the time (p.104).

Security in the transition house and the refuge consisted of maintaining confidential their location and address. In addition no visitors were permitted and women were asked to meet people away from the shelters including when women required taxis. Like the transition house the refuge also maintained a telephone policy where staff did not divulge the whereabouts of the residents but indicated that they would pass on messages should the women make contact. Security in the refuge and the transition house was paramount and included "... locks, [and] entry mechanisms" (Ball, 1994, p.6; SIRCH, 1996; Weisman, 1992). External play areas in both shelters remained secure.

Safety rules that residents had to follow included no abusive or destructive behaviour, and no alcohol or non-medical drugs use. In the transition house residents' medications were locked away and could only be accessed by staff. In both shelters

smoking was permitted only in a designated area and not in bedrooms. In the transition house residents had to inform staff when leaving the house and there was a two a.m. curfew for women and a midnight curfew for teenagers 16 to 18 years. Other rules included attendance at residents' meetings, sharing of daily chores including communal cooking and house cleaning, including their own bedrooms and participation in the psycho-educational groups that were part of the services provided.

Safety rules in the refuge were similar to the transition house and the Information Booklet (1997) given to residents expressed concern for the future health of residents and asked residents to consider preventive measures that would help reduce " ... asthma and bronchitis [sufferers] from further health problems" (p.4). Other rules including sharing chores such as cleaning commonly used rooms, residents were responsible for their own cooking, laundry and cleaning their bedrooms.

Construction and Configuration:

The construction and configuration of the transition house could be described as a three-storeyed house located in a residential part of town. Internally the house was comfortably furnished with assistance from various service clubs and included five bedrooms, two large ones, sleeping four to five people and three small ones, sleeping two to three people. Within the house were three offices, two counselling rooms and three bathrooms. There was a large comfortable living room, with a television, sofas and chairs and other soft furnishings. This room also doubled as a venue for group activities. The dining room also doubled as the smoking area in the house and the large, air-conditioned and well-lit kitchen included a range of appliances and many fitted cupboards. Located in the converted basement was a cheery play-therapy room containing child-size tables and chairs, books, toys, drawing materials, and posters and pictures on the walls. There was also a separate laundry, a food storage room, a bathroom and the third office. The third bathroom with a shower was located so that it was wheelchair accessible. Other shelters also have similar configurations (Currie, 1989; F. MacLeod, 1982; SIRCH, 1996). The transition house appeared to be in a good state of repair and maintenance at the time of my visit and was the responsibility of the Maintenance Committee.

Externally, the house was well presented and had parking facilities. From an external perspective the transition house could not be distinguished from any other house situated on the same street.

The refuge could be described as a 1930s, two-storeyed house also located in a residential suburb. Internally the refuge was comfortably furnished and included four double bedrooms sleeping two to three people. A bathroom with shower, and a separate shower and lavatory units were also located within the refuge. There was a large living room with a television, video cassette recorder, sofas and chairs, and the refuge contained various heating systems. There was also another relaxation space that doubled as a playroom for children. The kitchen was of average size with various appliances and individual cupboard spaces for the residents personal food supplies. In 1996 there were no separate play-therapy facilities for children and young people nor a children's playground but both were established in 1999. Laundry facilities were available for the residents use. The house was in a good state of repair and maintenance and was the responsibility of the Housing Corporation, a state agency named "Community Housing". Like the transition house the refuge was similar to any other house in the suburbs.

Facilities for Residents:

Facilities for women and children in the transition house consisted of counselling and group support spaces, a play-therapy room, an outdoor play area, and the use of office equipment. Residents also had the use of a pay telephone for making private calls. Facilities for women and children in the refuge included a small library of audio-visual resources and books. One room doubled as a playroom for children. Telephones were also available for use by residents. However a larger kitchen and a second independent living space was still required.

Battered women with various disabilities also require access to shelters and specifically designed facilities. The transition house was no exception and identified the facilities available (and lack of them) that catered to women with disabilities. Problems regarding sheltering battered women with disabilities are only just being

recognised and research has been undertaken by various independent researchers, government departments, women's organisations and organisations concerned with disabilities (Reid & Kee, 1992; Tomlinson, 1995; Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; L. MacLeod, 1987; Masuda & Ridington, 1990; Statistics Canada, 1994).

Very little has been written about women and disabilities in New Zealand refuges although the NCIWR in their strategic planning document (NCIWR, 1996b) acknowledged the:

... closure of mental health institutions and the impact of this on our housing and support services, such as refuge services being used by women with psychiatric conditions or alcohol - and drug-related behaviours, which we are not skilled in managing (p.13).

New Zealand refuges were generally ill-equipped and ill-prepared to address battered women with disabilities. This is also paramount in the configuration of the refuge which prevented it from providing shelter to some women " ... we cannot take violent women, women who steal from us. Women with severe psychiatric problems. We are a safe house" (Governing Body Minutes, August, 1994, p.2). The refuge could not facilitate women with physical disabilities.

In the survey the transition house stated that they could only provide limited services to women with disabilities such as wheelchair accessibility. A bathroom had been modified to accommodate women with physical disabilities but other facilities were limited. There were no special services for women with hearing and visual problems although they had requested a donation of TDD⁴ facilities from a local service club. The transition house did not however, keep details of women presenting with psychiatric or drug and alcohol problems but they indicated that part of their staff development was to attend workshops addressing women with mental illness and health related problems (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1996).

⁴ TDD is the acronym for Telephone Device for the Deaf.

The transition house was also cognisant of the need to provide culturally sensitive services to First Nations and African-Canadian women (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; L. MacLeod, 1987; Statistics Canada 1994). They reported that:

In order to provide culturally appropriate support there was a group for young women in the Black community ... and a group for young women in the Mi'kmaq community (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1996, p. 3).

They also developed a "Non-Discrimination Policy" passed by the Board of Directors at the April 1994 monthly meeting which maintained that the house:

... has a policy of non discrimination based on our vision of a world of justice, equality and peace. We see an end to sexism, racism, poverty, classism, ageism, and all other forms of oppression. We support the struggle of all people to live in loving, non-exploitative relationships, free from violence. We have taken affirmative action to have minority women on our staff. All staff, board members and residents must agree to work cooperatively in keeping with this policy.

However, the transition house also noted that they were unable to hire a First Nations female staff member as there was no position available at the time of reporting.

Other shelter surveys and consultations (Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women, 1993; L. MacLeod, 1987; Ontario Association of Interval & Transition Houses (OAITH), 1995, 1996; Statistics Canada, 1994; Weisz & van den Boogaard, 1994) noted the importance of providing culturally sensitive services to minority women. Statistics Canada (1994) reported that nearly 50% of Canadian shelters provided such services to aboriginal women and 41% of shelters to visible minority women. The final report *Changing the Landscape: Ending Violence ~ Achieving Equality* from the Canadian Panel on Violence Against Women (1993) which toured Canada, visited 139 communities and received 800 submissions from individuals and groups regarding violence against women, also identified that:

Few legal, health and social services, shelters, transition houses, rape crisis centres or sexual assault centres are culturally or linguistically sensitive to the needs of newly arrived immigrant women. To deal with their experiences of violence, they need services and support sensitive to their culture and in their own language (p.201).

The refuge provided services to women with language and cultural differences including ensuring that Māori women had access to and were encouraged to utilise appropriate Māori based services including Māori women's refuges and were treated by staff and volunteers in a culturally appropriate manner (staff and volunteers received ongoing training in parallel development issues, that is the promotion of equal and complementary representation across employment, policy, procedures and service delivery):

Our basic understanding is that if a Maori woman ... comes into the house - then we contact the Maori women's collective [refuge] and apart from us (the Pakehas) dealing with practical needs - the Maori women's collective does any work/counselling and assistance with that woman (Schoot, 1986, p. 15).

Interpretation services were also made available to visible minority women in accord with the NCIWR's policy:

The continuing development of culturally appropriate and complementary services within NCIWR for women and children of different cultural/ethnic origins is ongoing (NCIWR, 1996a, p.10).

Facilities for Staff:

Facilities for staff and volunteers in the transition house included three offices as previously identified and office equipment. The main office was used by all staff as a general reception area, and contained the crisis and business telephone lines. This office was used for interviews with residents, was a place to locate and store records and was used as the general meeting place for staff. The second office was used primarily by the Executive Director and the Bookkeeper. The third office was used by the Children's Services Worker. Although there were three offices located within the house more office space and a separate group room were required for the use of the outreach and advocacy staff. Bathroom facilities were shared by staff and residents.

The refuge's facilities for staff consisted of two offices. The large main office housed staff in a shared communal environment. Within this office staff met with clients, stored records and provided a meeting space for the governing body. The smaller of the two offices was used as a staff room, store room and from 1998 was also used as

a counselling space. The staff also had office equipment. Within the communal space each staff had her own desk and use of telephones. Staff shared bathroom facilities with residents.

Profile of Women and Children

Admission and Residence:

This set of questions dealt with admission and residence factors. Criteria for admission to the transition house and the refuge were identified in the survey as being for women who have been physically, sexually and/or emotionally abused. The refuge went further in that they stated in the survey that other admission criteria applied including, women fearing partners and women identifying as being unsuitable, included women with, "... alcohol/drug problems, [women who had a history of violence and mental health problems] or a history of breaking refuge rules".

In the transition house there were 15 funded beds available for women and children. The number of beds available during the reporting period was also representative of 44% (163) of the 371 shelters surveyed by Statistics Canada (1994). These shelters identified that they had between 11 and 20 beds available for women and children. In New Zealand women used the refuge's 12 available beds which were fairly representative of the 11 to 20 beds usually provided by refuges in England (Ball, 1994).

With regard to new admissions, that is women and children in the transition house during the reporting period Tables 2 and 3 identify them more clearly but the refuge did not separate residential from non-residential clients nor were they able to provide complete aggregate annual figures, thus it is difficult to provide a substantive profile of women and children.

Table 2: Number of women sheltered with children in the transition house between 1995-1996

Number of Women with	New admissions N = 86	
	No.	%
No children	36	42
1 child	19	22
2 children	17	20
3 children	11	13
4 children	3	3
5 or more children	0	0
TOTAL	86	100

A small majority of women, 58% (50), had children to take care of during their stay in the transition house. This could be especially difficult when women were trying to address the issues that had brought them there in the first place as child care was not a service provided by staff.

Table 3: Ages of children in the transition house between 1995-1996

Age	New admissions N=97	
	No.	%
0-23 months	20	20.6
2-4 years	16	16.5
5-7 years	23	23.7
8-12 years	25	25.8
13-15 years	10	10.3
over 16	3	3.1
TOTAL	97	100

(N.B. Data unavailable for some new admissions).

Thus it can be seen that 37.1% (36) of children were under five years old and thus not yet of school age at the time of sheltering. Nearly 50% (48) of children were between five and twelve years old and of primary/intermediate school age. Only 13.4% (13)

were in their teens, between 13 and 16 plus years and therefore of high school age.⁵ Thus more than 87% of children required supervision during their stay in the transition house (L. MacLeod, 1987). Only 3.1% of young people being sheltered were sixteen and over. The upper age limit for males accompanying their mother and siblings to the transition house was 18 years and 14 in the refuge.

Length of Stay:

The maximum length of stay in the transition house was six weeks and in the refuge, two weeks but the refuge was also flexible, "... depends on individual case, anything from one month to special circumstances of three months" (Survey, 1996). The transition house's time frame was regulated by the provincial government (Department of Community Services, 1994; MacDonald & Touchette, 1993) and the house itself as shelters were viewed as short term "transitional" facilities only. Accordingly the optimum length of stay was six weeks, "6 weeks seems sufficient for most women unless they have a large family and their housing (affordable) is difficult" (Survey, 1996)

The majority of all women being sheltered in the transition house during 1995-1996, that is 77.1% (74) were sheltered for 20 days or less. In the national survey of shelters undertaken by Statistics Canada (1994) there are some differences regarding length of stay of the total women and children (86,499) identified by the shelters surveyed. It was noted that 27% (23,355) of women and children stayed in shelters 1 for ten days or less (in the transition house nearly 60% (56) of women stayed 10 days or less) and that nearly 19% (18) stayed between 11 to 20 days. In the Statistics Canada (1994) survey, more than one third of women and children, 39% (33,735) were sheltered on average from 11 to 20 days (Rodgers & MacDonald, 1994). Taken as an aggregate figure 66% (57,089) of women surveyed stayed in Canadian shelters 20 days or less (Rodgers & MacDonald, 1994).

⁵ In Canada children leave elementary school (primary school in New Zealand) at the age of 11-12 years of age and spend 3 years, Grades 6-8 (New Zealand equivalent, Forms 1-3) in Junior High School before graduating to Senior High for 4 years, Grades 9-12 (New Zealand equivalent, Forms 4-7).

The number of actual days that all transition house new admissions including children were sheltered for was 2,260 out of a total of 5,475 occupancy days available, this meant that the average overall occupancy rate was 41% for the 1995-1996 reporting period. When occupancy was compared with the previous year it was identified that there was a 6.5% decrease in the number of days spent in the shelter by women and children. In the refuge the number of actual days that women and children spent being sheltered was 1,275 out of a total of 4,380 occupancy days available. This meant that on average the overall occupancy rate for the refuge was 29% for the reporting period. Although this is an apparently low occupancy figure it is subject to fluctuation. For example in the 1997-1998 period the refuge's occupancy rate averaged 45% for the year.

When the transition house was surveyed about the average length of stay for new adult female admissions (n=86) during the reporting period the response was 13.47 days. This figure was derived from the number of days they spent in the shelter (1,158) divided by the total number of new adult female admissions. This figure corresponds with L. MacLeod's (1987) study of Canadian shelters in which she found that on average women only stayed for two weeks. Jaffe, Kaye and Wilson (1990) however noted that many women stayed in shelters for only one week and some for only one day. The average length of stay for each resident, women and children (n=139) in the New Zealand refuge during the same reporting period was 9.2 days. This figure was derived in the same way as the transition house figures. This figure however does not separate women from children nor does it distinguish new admissions from re-admissions.

Features of Women and Children:

This set of questions addressed the characteristics of women who used the transition house and the refuge during the reporting period and goes some way to provide insights into the diversity of women living in Canada and New Zealand who required sheltering to escape abusive partners.

The majority of women, that is more than 95% and 81% respectively using the transition house and refuge were white women with only 4.6% and 16% respectively of women being either African-Canadian or Māori and Pacific Island women. A rationale for First Nations women not seeking services in the transition house can be identified as follows:

Mi'kMaq Family and Children's Services of Nova Scotia delivers services to all members of Nova Scotia's 13 Mi'kMaq First Nations Bands. Its Mi'kMaq Family Treatment Centres provide protection, safety and shelter to women and children and outreach services to men. There are also Mi'kMaq Family Resource Programs and Centres to help build and strengthen healthy lifestyles for children and their families. All counselors and support staff are members of the Mi'kMaq First Nations community (Initiatives, no date, p.5).

Thus First Nations women who were battered were able to access services from within their own communities if they chose to do so. Although the transition house acknowledged that there was not a staff position available to support and help these women, it did employ women from other cultural backgrounds and provided culturally sensitive and appropriate services to aboriginal and visible minority women. In the New Zealand refuge access to culturally appropriate services for Māori and other visible minority women was made available but during the research period the refuge did not permanently employ Māori refuge workers specifically but did employ some women on a temporary and part-time basis to provide services and programmes.

Features of the women being sheltered during the reporting period for which data are available include women's age and marital status. Data were only available however for women who were new admissions. The majority of women being sheltered in the transition house, that is 65% (55) were between the ages of 20 and 39 years. This closely corresponds to the age of women in both the L. MacLeod (1987) survey conducted in the mid 1980s and the Statistics Canada (1994) survey where 56% and 60.9% of women being sheltered were between the ages of 20 and 34 years of age. Thus these figures tended to reflect the number of younger women who were more likely to be of child-bearing age in shelters. It is also reflective of a trend of older women being less likely to use shelter services as the transition house found that just over a quarter, that is 25.6% (22) of the women in it were over 45 years of age. In the Statistics Canada (1994) study, 32.2 were over the age of 35. In the L. MacLeod

(1987) survey, 30% were 35 and over. Consequently there has not been a radical shift in shelter occupation by the age of women. Over a period of two decades shelters still provide the majority of sheltering services to younger women (of child-bearing age).

In the refuge women's age and type of abuse experienced were captured. These figures can only be collected as aggregate figures as the refuge did not collect data that distinguished client status. Table 4 outlines the age of women helped by the refuge.

Table 4: Ages of all women using refuge services between 1995-1996

Residential and Non-Residential Women N=287		
Age Group	No.	%
16-25 years	71	24
26-35 years	83	29
36-45 years	99	35
46-60 years	28	10
60+ years	6	2
TOTAL	287	100

(NB. Data were unavailable for some women)

In the refuge 53% (153) women using services were between the ages of 16 and 35 years and 35% (99) between 36 and 45 years. Like the transition house older women were less likely to seek out shelter services.

The type of abuse experienced by all women being sheltered in the transition house and refuge during 1995-1996 and from women who sought only outreach services showed that the majority of women in both shelters experienced emotional abuse (over 90%). According to the transition house's collation of annual statistics for the time period and compiled for the Nova Scotia Department of Community Services emotional abuse included yelling, shouting and using verbal abuse. Two-thirds of women in both shelters (60% and 66% respectively) experienced physical abuse with 85% of women not being sheltered experiencing physical abuse, which included slapping and grabbing, punching, choking and kicking to using weapons to inflict physical abuse. Sexual abuse/assault of women accounted for between 33% and 48%

respectively in the transition house and 14% in the refuge, included forcing women to watch or look at pornography, forcing women to have sexual intercourse or engage in other sexual acts and using weapons to sexually assault women. It must be noted that women seeking services experienced more than one form of abuse and that when women were physically and/or sexually assaulted then they usually experienced emotional and/or psychological abuse as well. Not having access to client records and more detailed statistics means that it is difficult to compare and analyse these figures.

Table 5: Marital status of women in the transition house between 1995-1996

New Admissions N=85		
Marital status	No.	%
Single	28	33
Married	34	40
Common-Law ⁶	14	16
Separated	6	7
Divorced	3	4
TOTAL	85	100

(N.B. Data were unavailable for some new admissions)

Table 5 shows that the majority of women, 56% (48) in the transition house were either married or lived common-law with their partner. Both L. MacLeod (1987) and Statistics Canada (1994) reported that the majority of women that is 78% and 70% respectively were either currently married or in common-law relationships at the time of sheltering. Women who were separated or divorced were in a minority in all three surveys, as only 11%, (as noted in Table 5) 10.5% and 12% of women respectively (L. MacLeod, 1987; Statistics Canada, 1994) sought shelter services.

A majority of the women in the transition house and refuge, that is more than 80% (70) and 70% (29) respectively indicated that they would not be returning to their partner once they had left the transition house or refuge. This figure reflects national statistics from the NCIWR (1996a) which stated that just over 75% of women did not

⁶ Common-law partnership is the Canadian equivalent of the New Zealand de facto relationships.

return to their partner. Nearly 25% and 12% respectively indicated that they would stay with family or friends and more than 40% said that they were moving into rented accommodation. However 17% (14) of Canadian women intended to return home to their partner as the partner had made promises to change his behaviour compared with 28% (11) of New Zealand women who were doing likewise. Only a small minority were to return to the marital home where the partner had agreed to leave.

Services and Programmes

Residential and Non-Residential Services:

Services and programmes provided by the transition house and the refuge included residential and non-residential components. The transition house was able to offer a wide range of services and programmes for women and children being sheltered, and for women and children once they had left the shelter, and for women and children who did not use the shelter at all. This is reflected in the staff's Annual Reports in 1996 where they reported that:

We are now providing more hours of outreach services with our support counsellors⁷ also taking on some follow up clients. In fact, starting in April, 1996 our support counsellors have taken over doing all the individual follow up with ex-residents. This will allow [the Outreach Worker's] position to focus on abused women in the community and rural areas for service delivery.

Our group programs have also expanded over the last year. We have provided four Liberty groups,⁸ two in [town] and two in [county]. We have also provided two Common Ground groups in [town] for women who have completed our Liberty program. In addition, we have offered two twenty-two week workshop series out of the shelter for residents, ex-residents and outreach clients (pp.1-2).

Thus it can be seen that staff worked together to provide services and programmes to battered women who were residents within the house and to women who did not

⁷ Support counsellor refers to transition house workers.

⁸ A Liberty Group is the name of an education/support group for battered women in Nova Scotia.

use the house for sheltering. The staff involved with providing non-residential services reported in the 1995 Annual Report that in the first year of working with the transition house, such services were developed and implemented very promptly. Community based social and health agencies provided:

... office space ... for two days a week. This has offered clients a safe, confidential, friendly environment in which to access the outreach program. [Their contribution has] allowed us to begin to offer more services to women in [county] and surrounding areas (p.1).

This was augmented by the use of a cellular telephone which was provided to "offer the outreach program from a variety of locations. The cellular phone is also an essential safety link with the local police forces" (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1995, p.1). This was again reinforced in the 1996 annual report to the AGM where it was reported that, "transition house staff are providing follow-up to women who leave the shelter and want ongoing support. This can last for up to six months" (p.2).

The refuge was able to offer some services for women that were both residential and non-residential as noted in the survey:

We also provide support, information and advise for women in the community who are not requiring "Refuge" however wish for many reasons to contact us.

The refuge was not able to provide counselling and skill development programmes to women until the late 1990s and still do not provide education/support groups. Up until 1998, structured children's programmes were not provided to children who were sheltered with their mothers.

The transition house was able to provide a range of services and programmes to children and young people who stayed in the transition house as it did for children and young people who were not residents. It was reported by staff that in the:

In House Program - children services program provides support, understanding, education and safety. Our program provides self-esteem building, one on one counselling, behavior management, group, identification of feelings and responsibility for our own behavior. The program provides positive role modelling, and support for moms. Moms group is provided which offers information on

parenting, discipline, education and effects on children witnessing violence. We access most of the community resources. Children have a need to have some fun, and this is something which we also try to provide.

I receive referrals from other agencies including Mental Health, Children's Aid,⁹ etc. The outreach program provides one on one counselling to clients. The women who have been residents can access children's services outreach after they leave. Also the support workers are providing children services outreach to their follow-up clients and their children. The program focuses on education, discussing abuse, children's feelings, self-esteem building activities, anger management and providing a positive role model as well as establishing counselling goals (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1996, p. 1).

From these accounts it can be seen that staff held specialist roles and functions that enabled them to provide a multiple range of services and programmes to women and children seeking services. However, underscoring these roles and functions was the acknowledgement that insufficient resources prevented the transition house from employing additional staff to provide other services and programmes such as, a manager to coordinate the general house functions, a second full-time worker with children and a part-time receptionist/clerk/bookkeeper.¹⁰ For non-residential services and programmes a second full-time outreach worker based in a rural location within the shelter's catchment areas was required and also continued funding for the newly hired advocacy workers.¹¹ Thus funding for staff remained a critical issue for the transition house.

The two staff involved with providing outreach services, one working out of the transition house and a part-time staff member based in a rural location within the transition house's catchment areas, identified in their 1996 Annual Reports that 93 and

⁹ Children's Aid Societies are funded by provincial governments to provide permanent and temporary care and custody services to children requiring care.

¹⁰ The receptionist/bookkeeper position was funded by the transition house through fundraising efforts and was not seen as a permanent position at the time of reporting.

¹¹ The three advocacy workers were employed after the reporting period, in April 1996, and were hired under a Victims Services grant funded by the Nova Scotia Department of Justice initiative, for an 18 months Advocacy Programme.

31 (124) women respectively accessed outreach service in the 1995-1996 reporting period. In comparison to the previous reporting period 56 and 21 women respectively (77), the number of women accessing outreach services increased by 38% (47). The reasons for the increase in outreach services were accounted for in the survey in the following manner:

Women may prefer option of staying in home, police charging abuser, use of restraining order¹² and access of outreach and advocacy. Also service now available so women using it (1996).

Other studies and consultations conducted also bear out the responses from other Canadian shelters to the need for providing outreach services to women who have been abused. For example, Rodgers and MacDonald's (1994) *Canada's Shelters for Abused Women* survey reported that only 13% of abused women surveyed had stayed in a shelter. Thus, the transition house was responding to the increasing need and usage of non-residential services as identified also by Murphy (1991) in his research study of victim's needs and services in Nova Scotia:

Although transition houses and their staff have done an excellent job in raising public and criminal justice awareness on the issues of family violence in Nova Scotia and have been successful in meeting the critical needs of many victims, some concerns remain about the adequacy of their services and the need to develop services capable of reaching all victims. These concerns focus on inadequate funding, the need for new or expanded safe housing, second stage housing and support programs, staff turnover, training and pay and the need to provide more in-house and community outreach services, particularly for rural women (p.25).

Weisz and van den Boogaard (1994) in their consultation report for CMHC also noted that shelters were responding to the outreach and follow-up needs of battered women:

... advocated that each shelter should have an outreach worker to serve both those who have been at the shelter and those who choose other housing options. For some shelters, outreach activities already constitute a significant portion of their overall workload (p.14).

¹² In Canada, "If a woman fears for her safety and that of her children, she can apply for a restraining order. ... This is a civil procedure, as opposed to obtaining a peace bond, which is a criminal procedure. Under this procedure, the woman asks the judge to make an order to stop her husband or boyfriend from harassing or threatening her. If the man violates the order, and the woman contacts the police, the man can be arrested and charged with breaching the order" (Reid, 1993, pp.40-41).

Thus the transition house could be seen to be actively responding to the trend in the 1990s toward establishing outreach and non-residential services by putting in place adequate and appropriate services and programmes for battered women.

For the refuge the number of clients requiring outreach services was increasing. "The level of community cases continues on a par with the previous year and follow-up and continuing support is up 26%" (Governing Body's Annual Report, May, 1993, p.1). Volunteers and non-client staff also played substantial roles providing essential services to women. However underscoring the increase in clientele was the knowledge that insufficient resources, inadequate funding, and lack of available volunteers prevented the refuge from providing critical services and programmes. The refuge identified what was required:

Counselling, life skills programmes, children's programmes. All services be provided by paid experienced skilled staff. N.B. Women's programmes at length and more detail. Cuurrently we do this whilst client is in Refuge and crisis work is being dealt with first. We hope the client will stay long enough to discuss most of issues around domestic violence and its consequences on the client and her children (Survey, 1996).

There was only one staff person to coordinate non-residential services for the 83%, (275) of women during the 1995-1996 period seeking help. The heavy reliance on volunteers, there were between 25 and 35, suggests that the refuge could not have provided services without them. The high number of women seeking outreach services reflects the broader needs of battered women. According to the *Women's Safety Survey 1996* (Morris, 1996) only 19% of the battered women surveyed stated that they had talked to refuge personnel about the effects of violence on them and their children, "Professionals, including the police, and specialist support agencies like Victim Support or Women's Refuge were not commonly talked to" (Morris, 1996, p.56). The report contracted by Te Puni Kokiri¹³ *Maori Family Violence in Aotearoa* also noted that a refuge was often the last resort for Māori women who were battered:

The national office of Women's Refuge reports that almost without exception women seeking help from Refuge have approached or sought assistance from a number of avenues before resorting to

¹³ Also known as the Ministry of Māori Development.

Refuge. Most have been to their families, extended families, police, social welfare, churches, doctors, hospitals and other agencies but have been unable to receive the safety they needed (Balzar, Haimona, Henare & Matchitt, 1997, p.24).

Consequently the refuge was responding to the increasing need for and use of outreach services required by battered women. The NCIWR's Annual Report (1998) stated that the majority of women in 1997, that is 56%, sought outreach services from refuges.

Public Education and Inter-Agency Cooperation:

In the survey both the transition house and the refuge stated that they provided various education and training opportunities within the local communities they served. For example, presentations were made by staff to social, legal and medical personnel as well as to women's organisations, service clubs and educational institutions. The refuge provided on request various presentations to government departments and communities. In addition the transition house also provided ongoing education in two high schools on a weekly basis and was also available to provide counselling jointly coordinated with the local men's therapy/treatment group. However, the transition house also identified that it required an additional staff person to conduct programmes for children staying in the house when staff were busy with education programmes in schools.

The transition house's relationship with other social, legal, medical, educational, religious agencies and organisations within its community was according to the survey regarded very positively and was "... seen as an integral part of the community". This was reinforced by the transition house's long standing participation on three inter-agency committees in the three catchment areas it served. Likewise for the refuge who acknowledged in the survey that it had an, "excellent working relationship with various other agencies and community groups" (1996).

Human Resources

Staffing Levels:

The transition house employed 18 staff during the 1995-1996 reporting period. Five staff were employed full-time and each worked 39 hour weeks, and a further 13 staff worked various part-time hours or were employed as relief workers, or on temporary contracts from three and a half days to one day a week. One staff was employed as one of the workers based in a rural area. In stark contrast the refuge only employed five staff including two full-time staff, one permanent and one on a temporary contract. The remaining three staff also worked various part-time hours from two and a half days to one day a week.

Two part-time staff in the transition house were employed one day a week on short-term contracts for a period of three hundred hours (18.75 weeks) each. They were hired to facilitate four outreach support groups for young women and ex-residents over a 10 week period and to provide public education workshops to 15 high school classes. In the refuge one temporary staff was employed to assist with client needs and collate monthly statistics for the NCIWR.

Credentials and Job Descriptions:

The early part of the 1990s was a period when all transition houses in Nova Scotia uniformly voiced their concerns and discontent regarding the historical discrepancies between salaries of all staff in transition houses in the province. As a result of the expression of these concerns, their main funder, the Department of Community Services, urged them through their coordinating body, the Transition House Association of Nova Scotia (THANS), to develop various job descriptions including the transition house worker, outreach worker and children's services worker positions in order to breach the gap of varying rates of pay that transition houses experienced and to enable some standardisation regarding shelter work, in acknowledgement of the:

... great disparity between Transition House rates of pay. Low salaries devalued the work and in 1990, it was suggested that the Transition Houses develop a universal job description. More than a year later, the job description was completed and submitted, along with a suggested rate of pay. Subsequently, resumes were provided with the understanding that skills and experience in Transition House work would be emphasized and counted. ...The original purpose in the movement for an adjustment of salaries was to provide parity for workers all across the Province (Transition House Committee, January, 1993, p.3).

Thus by 1993 all staff positions in the transition house had been subject to evaluation and rating by the Civil Service Commission of the Nova Scotia provincial government so that their salaries would be in line with similar positions funded by the Department of Community Services. All staff resumes therefore were rated according to credentials, qualifications and experience and placed on an incremental salary scale. In addition, the newly classified qualifications identified only applied to new staff hired as existing staff would be subject to a "grandparenting" clause that enabled direct work experience and skill development to be acknowledged (Transition House Committee, June, 1992, p.3). Further exploration and analysis of this process is undertaken in Chapter 8.

Prior to 1993 however, the transition house identified the credentials required by staff to include life experience/skills coupled with an understanding of family violence issues. Specific academic and related qualifications were not fundamental requirements in the early years of the battered women's movement:

All staff must be knowledgeable of and sensitive to the problems of family violence. Qualifications considered assets would include emotional maturity, good human relationship skills, sensitivity to the issue, and community group experience. All workers will supply emotional support for, and resources to, the battered women and their children. Staff members must be knowledgeable about services in the community and share this information with each other and the house residents. They must respect the rights of the women and their right to absolute confidentiality (Transition House Proposal, 1983, p.5).

Likewise, roles and functions of staff also provided a generic focus for transition house workers:

Staff will be present at the house on a 24-hour, seven day a week, basis to respond to crisis calls, admit applicants, provide emotional

support, and ensure house security and maintenance. They will also refer residents to appropriate services and do advocacy when needed. Staff members will be responsible for development and implementation of in-house programs. The staff of six will work as a team, led by the administrator. The administrator will be responsible for house management, use of funds, community relationships, and liaison between staff and Board. Staff and administrator will meet regularly to review case developments, plan objectives, coordinate staff efforts, and enhance working relationships. They will also participate in staff-development workshops and attend conferences to increase their work competence, renew their energy, and maintain a focus on improving conditions of women (Transition House Proposal, 1983, pp.5-6).

Thus, in a period of 13 years the transition house extensively revisited its job descriptions to comply in part with new classifications, salary scales and increments. The next chapters will provide a greater focus on the analysis of the repercussions for such a change in staff roles and functions and salary classification as they pertain to the thesis.

Thus, the job descriptions became increasingly more extensive in order to encapsulate the specialist roles of all staff. Varied and detailed credentials were required by new staff that incorporated tertiary qualifications, relevant professional work experience and specific training.

In 1992 the refuge staff joined with the NCIWR's national employment contract which identified terms and conditions of employment. The contract provided a very brief and basic job description for various staff positions and identified an incremental pay scale for each position. Like the transition house previous work experience and various skills were viewed as the preferred credentials for staff. The refuge's credentials for staff included experience working with women whilst tertiary qualifications were not fundamental requirements. For example staff working with children were expected to have:

Experience and/or qualifications in working with children. Be perceptive and understanding of women's and children's needs. Have good communication and "people" skills. Be highly motivated. Be able to work independently and with initiative. Have a proven commitment to anti-racist practice. A current driver's licence and reliable vehicle. Be able to work under pressure (Job Description, no date).

From these credentials it can be seen that specific qualifications were not high priorities for the refuge movement in New Zealand but the refuge did prefer to employ staff with some relevant work experience and qualifications and skills. Roles and functions of staff were job specific and at the time of reporting job descriptions and staff positions were being reviewed. This was certainly the situation in the late 1990s, and will be explored further in Chapter 11.

Salaries:

As previously outlined staff salaries in the transition house were in line with the provincial government's Civil Service Commission's requirements. This had not always been the situation and many years and meetings were spent by the transition house,¹⁴ other provincial shelters, the THANS and the government department that provided funding, in negotiations regarding staff status and salary criteria. This will be discussed and analysed more fully in the ensuing chapters. Suffice it to state that salaries were on a par with salaries for all transition house staff in the province.

Table 6 identifies the annual salaries and wages staff received during the reporting period:

¹⁴ In 1982 annual staff salaries had been assessed at C\$12,247.20 and the executive director's salary at C\$14,607.00 (Transition House Proposal, 1983).

Table 6: Full-time annual salary rates of staff in both shelters between 1995-1996

Staff Status	Transition House 1995- 1996		Refuge 1995-1996	
	C\$	NZ\$	NZ\$	C\$
Executive Director/ Supervisor	39,000	43,333	29,305	26,375
Transition House/Outreach Children's Service Workers	28,000	31,111		
Relief THWs	24,681	27,423		
Bookkeeper/Clerk/ Administrative Assistant	17,238	19,153	25,614	23,052

The executive director and the supervisor positions were comparable positions although salary rates were not. There was no equivalent refuge positions to the transition house worker positions. In the transition house temporary staff employed for various short term projects were also paid at the same rate as relief transition house workers. But the administration assistant position was paid at a much higher rate in the refuge than the transition house's bookkeeper/clerk which was a similar position. As a comparison with shelter salaries nationally, Statistics Canada (1994) noted that on average shelter salaries ranged from C\$22,828.00 to C\$26,676.00 per annum. L. MacLeod's 1987 study of shelters found that on average shelters paid their staff between C\$16,016.00 for full-time general staff and up to C\$20,696.00 for shelter coordinators annually. It can be seen that salaries for staff although remaining inadequate have increased over the past two decades and have reflected the changes in shelter work and needs.

The establishment of New Zealand refuges during the 1970s meant that women worked as volunteers with no funding for wages (Banks, Florence & Ruth, 1979; Cammock, 1994; Hancock, 1979). Not until 1983 was government funding made available and was used in part to pay for a part-time salary of less than NZ\$7,000 per annum for each refuge coordinator (NCIWR, 1992b). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s refuge funding increased but was still only viable for a minimum of staff positions. The NCIWR identified that:

A Time grant can be used for volunteer expenses or as a subsidy toward salaries. This funding allows for the employment of 1.5 workers, usually a coordinator, house supervisor or other workers (1992b, p.3).

When asked about salaries in the survey the response was that the refuge supervisor position should be a full-time position and it was noted that two additional staff were required to work with children and a coordinator for volunteers and outreach clients.

Working Hours:

The transition house operated and was staffed 24 hours a day, seven days a week, with transition house workers rotating their 12 hour shifts to also cover night shifts and weekends. Thus staff employed in the transition house worked various shifts. The Transition House Workers rotated their shifts to cover both day and night shifts, from Monday through to Sunday. Other staff worked regular office hours, Monday to Friday. Likewise the refuge operated 24 hours a day but was not staffed at night or on weekends. Office hours were maintained from 9a.m. to 4p.m. daily Monday to Friday. Staff did not work variable shifts but worked day-time hours only. Consequently staff were usually only available for 30% of the time in any given 24 hour period. The remaining time was given over to volunteers who were responsible for providing services to women on an "on-call" basis at night and on weekends.

During refuge office hours one staff member was responsible for providing crisis intervention and outreach services to women through telephone and face-to-face contact as well as coordinating the 25 to 35 volunteers who provided support to women prior to sheltering. One part-time member of staff was responsible for women being sheltered and this work included admittance and residency procedures and advocacy work.

In the transition house usually within any 24 hour period one Transition House Worker worked on each 12-hour shift providing crisis intervention services to women seeking telephone assistance and to women residents. The work load for front-line workers in both shelters was often arduous, stressful and variable (Ball, 1994; L.

MacLeod, 1987; NCIWR, 1996a) and because there was only one staff for each shift in the transition house they frequently received additional assistance from other staff.

L. MacLeod (1987) in her national shelter survey reported that:

Eighty-seven percent of the shelter workers considered their house understaffed. On average, they felt that they would need three additional full-time staff to have a truly workable staff/client ratio (p.62).

During the reporting time period the transition house was in the process of evaluating its staffing situation instituting shorter working days and specifically designated night staff, in response to the need for additional follow-up services and the growth in outreach services being provided. The response to this process will be analysed further in forthcoming chapters.

Employment Issues:

Staff in the transition house received a health insurance package partly funded (50%) by the employer, that is the Board of Directors and the remaining 50% by themselves. The refuge did not have a superannuation or health insurance scheme that staff could participate in but the staff were entitled to time off in lieu for overtime worked if it had been previously agreed by the Governing Body. Transition house staff were also entitled to time off in lieu for any overtime worked and annual leave entitlement. Annual leave for staff in the refuge consisted of four weeks. Activities that recognised transition house staff worth included attendance and participation in "Visioning" Days and the Annual General Meeting but activities that recognised and valued staff worth were not noted in the refuge survey.

Issues of concern for staff in the transition house included the workload and hours they worked. Overtime and lack of resources were of concern, especially the need for more work hours in the rural catchment area for the part-time worker located there. No staff resigned their position during the reporting period, and only one new position was established, that of the part-time bookkeeper/clerk. This position was totally funded through fund-raising activities and was therefore subject to the employer's ability to maintain its fund-raising focus. In the refuge staff stated that more staff were

required and an increase in the hours of the part-time staff member who worked with the women being sheltered.

Unionisation of shelters within the Canadian province was at the preference of staff and usually supported by the individual shelters. Several transition houses were unionised but the transition house had not although unionisation remained under review. The first shelter in Nova Scotia unionised in 1987 (MacDonald, 1995). Other shelters unionised during the 1980s and 1990s. In the survey the transition house indicated that in general non-unionisation was due to staff being satisfied that their concerns were being addressed by the Board of Directors, although some staff had indicated that they wanted a union. New Zealand refugees have a multi-employment collective contract with the NCIWR (1993) which includes details of terms of employment, salaries, hours, leave entitlement, supervision, training and the like.

Training and Development:

Initial training for new staff included an orientation to the transition house, and a review of policies pertaining to personnel issues, the house and outreach. Shadowing senior staff was also part of staff training. The transition house stated that more counselling and group facilitation training was required for staff but that time and lack of financial resources prevented it from enabling staff to upskill in these areas. For example, the 1995 Annual Report stated that staff training included staff participation in only one workshop for the augmentation of group skills and completion of a first aid course with cardiopulmonary resuscitation (CPR) training by all staff. However, staff were able to participate in training programmes scheduled by the Department of Community Services at no extra cost (Transition House Committee, June, 1994). Furthermore, the transition house reported that it wanted to establish standardised training for staff regarding operational aspects, service delivery and administrative functions pertaining to residents. This included standardisation of staff training in feminist methods of service delivery and increasing knowledge of policies and procedures. They also required standardisation in the areas of understanding and applying appropriate and consistent methods of client record keeping and implementing rota-based programmes in order to maintain fluidity of delivery. The

transition house identified in the survey that: "This is an effort to be accountable to the client, employer and funders" (1996).

All refuge staff participated in volunteer training that included two full days and five evening sessions. This training included domestic violence education, parallel development and homophobia issues, and procedures and protocols of the refuge. The refuge did not have an ongoing staff training programme in place but participated in training conducted and coordinated by the NCIWR. The Governing Body also indicated that if staff wanted to they could, " ... attend a particular training [if] it is economical" (Survey, 1996).

Volunteers:

Like many other Canadian transition houses the transition house also used volunteers but not for direct service delivery or programme implementation (L. MacLeod, 1987). The activities undertaken by volunteers included relieving Transition House Workers when they were required to attend meetings by being available to answer telephones, both crisis and business lines, assisting with child care, accompanying residents to appointments and purchasing the weekly grocery shopping for the transition house.¹⁵ These activities were not inconsiderable as all volunteers collectively gave approximately 40 hours per month to the transition house.

The refuge recruited and trained volunteers to assist with providing core services to battered women. During the reporting period there were between 25 and 35 volunteers used by the refuge. The usual criteria for volunteers was that they had past experience of domestic violence although the refuge accepted volunteers who had no previous experience of abuse. Volunteers were recruited and trained by a senior member of staff.

¹⁵ The transition house provides residents with all their grocery needs for themselves and their children during their stay.

Activities that volunteers were involved in included the telephone roster where they would be on-call for the 24 hour crisis line accepting telephone calls that had been redirected to them from a telephone service. Volunteers usually worked on the telephone roster each week for a period of six hours. Other activities included admitting women and children to the refuge, usually after hours and on weekends, accompanying women to court, lawyers, and social services and providing follow-up telephone support to women. These activities were not inconsiderable as each volunteer gave approximately 25 hours per month to the refuge.

In the refuge volunteer training included crisis intervention training, admission procedures, training in protection orders, communication skills and record-keeping and education regarding domestic violence. One of the supervisors was responsible for the continued management, training and supervision of volunteers.

In the transition house recruitment of volunteers was undertaken by the Volunteer Committee and in the reporting period eight women participated in volunteer training which was conducted by the Executive Director and the Children Services Worker.

Training included:

... workshops on woman abuse/response, communication and recording skills, crisis intervention, children who witness abuse and parenting issues, agency information and suicide intervention (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1996, p.1).

The Executive Director and a Transition House Worker were also responsible for the continued management of volunteers in addition to their regular work loads. Funding for volunteer coordination was seen as an important issue for the house. The house used 24 volunteers during the reporting period and if the 40 volunteer hours per month were calculated in financial terms at the lowest wage rate in the transition house, that is, the bookkeeper rate of C\$8.50 per hour then the annual salary for all volunteer contributions would be worth at least C\$17,680. Alternatively, if identified in actual human resource hours, 480 hours were provided by volunteers during the reporting period.

The transition house held an annual volunteer luncheon a "Volunteer Appreciation Day" in April of each year, in order to recognise the valued contribution volunteers made to the transition house and to battered women and their children.

The refuge used approximately 30 volunteers monthly, and in financial terms the 750 hours if paid even at the lowest rate of NZ\$12.63 per hour for an assistant position would have cost the refuge NZ\$114, 933 for the five additional staff or over 9,000 volunteer hours required to provide existing services to women. In recognition of the valuable contribution made by volunteers they received reimbursement for call-outs and telephone costs.

Funding Sources

Annual Operating Budget:

Both shelters received their funding from a variety of sources including all levels of and various government departments, contributions from other programmes, grants, donations, fund-raising activities and income interest as well as a number of in-kind contributions ranging from redecoration and refurbishing of bedrooms to donations of groceries and clothing. The Executive Director and senior refuge staff and the Treasurer were responsible for accessing transition house and refuge funding. Table 7 identifies both annual budgets.

Table 7: Annual budget expenditures for both shelters, 1995- 1996.

Expenditures	Transition House			Refuge		
	C\$	NZ\$	%	NZ\$	C\$	%
Staff Salaries	285,963	317,737	80	71,669	64,502	65
Administration, Household, Services & Programmes Other	72,283	80,314	20	38,008	34,207	35
TOTAL	358,246	398,051	100	109,677	98,709	100

The majority of both budgets (80% and 65% respectively) was spent on salaries and wages for the 18/5 staff employed to provide residential and non-residential services to battered women and their children. Ball's 1994 study of 178 refugees in Great Britain found that on average 57.3% of total refuge costs was spent on salaries and that the average refuge revenue was only GB\$80,466.00 per annum. The outstanding 20% from the transition house and 35% from the refuge budget costs was spent on administration, household and programme costs. The 35 year subsidised transition house CMHC mortgage which included principal and interest payments was C\$641.00 per month with a final completion date of August 1, 2019. Table 8 indicates revenue received by both shelters during 1995-1996.

Table 8: Total revenue sources including government, programmes and rent for 1995-1996

Revenue	Transition House			Refuge		
	C\$	NZ\$	%	NZ\$	C\$	%
Main government source Province of Nova Scotia/ NCIWR	254,724	283,027	73	45,557	41,001	48
Other Government sources	69,115	76,794	20	24,726	22,253	26
Rent/Programme Contributions	7,910	8,789	2	3,212	2,891	4
Other, donations, Fundraising & Interest	17,108	19,009	5	21,151	19,036	22
Total	348,857	387,619	100	94,646	85,181	100

Revenues were also received from donations, fundraising and interest and used for additional costs.

Table 8 indicates the total revenue the transition house and the refuge received during the reporting period. The majority of revenue, 73% and 48% respectively was from a permanent funding source derived from government, the province of Nova Scotia

and the NCIWR. They provided the core of both annual budgets for the reporting period. In Nova Scotia this funding came as a result of the province's commitment to providing 75% of the funding required by shelters (Gilman, 1988). Various municipalities also provided 18% of the core budget in the form of daily *per diems* for women and children at the rate of C\$28.85 per day for each woman and child for the duration of their stay. The *per diem* was paid when the transition house billed the municipality that the woman resided in directly. Thus, women did not require financial resources to access sheltering as they were not billed for their stay. A CMHC grant subsidised the mortgage on the transition house and the revenue from the men's group enabled the house to jointly facilitate groups for male batterers whose partners were also sheltered. The remaining revenue derived from fundraising and donations enabled the house to employ the receptionist/bookkeeper position and assisted with expenditures incurred by the outreach programme.

For the refuge funding from the NCIWR was for salaries, a rent subsidy and operational costs. In the refuge women also contributed NZ\$10 a day for themselves and 50 cents a day for each child. Rent contributions totalled NZ\$3,212 for the reporting period. Grants were also substantial and enabled the refuge to employ temporary staff as did donations and fundraising. Accessing NCIWR funding was not necessarily permanent as the funding received from the NCIWR was six monthly and dependent on fulfilling:

... a range of accountability requirements specified in the Letter of Agreement between each individual refuge and NCIWR (1992b, p.3).

This type of funding was premised on the accountability agreement, on behalf of the member refuges, the NCIWR had with the NZCFA which provided government funding for the New Zealand refuge movement (NCIWR, 1992b). This agreement included refuges submitting monthly statistics, audited accounts and management of refuges to specific agreed standards. Other funding received by the refuge such as grants would be available at various times during any given year and due to their application criteria were time consuming. Fundraising usually consisted of the annual appeal, again time consuming and only lasting for one week.

Although the transition house received funding for staff development it did not receive a permanent source of funding for research projects, subscriptions to professional journals and the like or attendance at external meetings etc. Funding sources for these activities when they occurred were derived from grants, and fund-raising. The transition house stated that other sources of funding for ongoing research and evaluation of service delivery would be beneficial as would additional government funding for women's support groups.

Accessing funding sources was varied in that core funding requirements were negotiated with the provincial government on an annual basis. This type of funding enabled the continuation of administrative, household and programme costs. Meetings were also held quarterly with the Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV) established by the Department of Social Services in 1983 in order to provide a forum for the transition house and all the other provincial shelters to discuss and negotiate staffing requirements, salary levels, the establishment of new initiatives regarding services and programmes and policy development. This will be discussed more systematically in Chapter 6.

Conclusion

The transition house over a period of more than a decade established a management structure that provided operational and organisational stability. This is reflected in the various committees that provided governance, through its funding base and by its paid staff who were able to provide services and programmes and be available 24 four hours a day for women who needed them. The refuge also provided organisational stability through the actions of staff and volunteers who were committed to the maintenance of the refuge and to the battered women they helped. At the time of reporting the refuge's volunteer structure also included women who had previously been victims of domestic violence, thus enabling women to participate in the governance and operational aspects of the refuge.

Over the same time period the transition house and the refuge were able to provide residential facilities for women and children that were substantial and in the refuge

supported women's independence by leaving them unsupervised at night and on weekends. The secure facilities of the transition house enabled women and children to feel safe and secure and both shelters provided comfort and familiarity as they operated as much like a home as they could. Thus women had the opportunity both to be private, (usually each woman had her own bedroom) and to experience communal living by sharing domestic chores, cooking and socialising with other residents. The transition house also provided both indoor and outdoor play areas for children. In addition for women in the transition house they could seek out staff at any time during their stay as paid staff worked night and weekend shifts, unlike the refuge where staff were only available during the day. Women could also utilise the available equipment and the telephones to aid them in their decision making. Facilities for women with physical disabilities were somewhat limited, but the transition house did what it could to accommodate these women.

Profiling women and children who used both facilities is one way of gaining an impression that can be drawn of battered women and children who needed to use them. Women and children had varying abusive experiences as the statistics conveyed and all endured violence at the hands of male partners. For the most part these women were young, with children still at home and in the transition house, had very little personal income. Thus the shelters were able to provide opportunities for these women to find support and strength by sharing their experiences with other women in similar situations, through socialising, and in the transition house participating in various services and programmes provided for both residents and non-residents, and the children's programmes provided by the staff. Not until the late 1990s was the refuge able to provide additional services and programmes such as children's programmes and skill development programmes for women.

Since the transition house opened in 1984 it has progressively developed a variety of services and programmes for its clients. In the beginning it focused on providing services to residents only. However, expectations changed with the increased acknowledgement of the value of their work (as recognised in the early 1990s by the provincial government) and, the transition house's own recognition that they needed to respond to their own statistics that identified a decrease in women's residency and

an increase in non-residential clients. Thus the focus was on providing more long-term follow-up and non-residential services. Thus the house identified that it had the capacity to respond to the actual needs of women by developing these non-residential services and programmes. This was assisted with the expansion of staff into outreach and advocacy services and programmes.

In the refuge although sheltering remained a priority, support and information services to women in an outreach model was also beginning to be emphasised as 83% of total clientele were not refuge residents. Thus funding and an increase in staff to provide outreach services remained critical for the refuge. These factors are also critical for this thesis as they provide a context for understanding the nature and effects of restrictions placed upon the transition house and the refuge.

Identifying both staffing criteria and budgetary requirements for the transition house and the refuge provides an opportunity for this thesis to explore the impact of both external and internal factors that have influenced their philosophy and structure. Changes in staffing criteria in the transition house encouraged role specialisation as the expansion into non-residential services identified. In addition the implementation of more substantive staff credentials enabled staff to seek out and access higher salaries for their work. This was reflected in the annual budget 80% of which was for staff salaries. The refuge relied on one full-time staff and one part-time staff to respond to the pressing needs of more than 300 women who required a range of services, shelter and outreach. Consequently volunteers provided the majority of services but were increasingly hard to recruit as senior staff were required to recruit, train and supervise volunteers and coordinate outreach services.

The differences between the two shelters' budgets with regard to revenue and expenditures is critical. The weighting on staff numbers and salaries in the transition house illustrates the government's commitment to the transition house for the continuation of shelter based services on a 24 hour basis and for non-residential services and programmes. This cannot be said for the refuge movement in New Zealand. The premise that refuges are collectively driven volunteers organisations remains problematic as staff and volunteers continue to be overworked, are

diminishing in numbers and where refuge work is increasingly diverse and complex. The need for specialised and skilled workers has become the norm.

Although the budget enabled staff to be employed to provide programmes to women and children it was still viewed as insufficient as the transition house continued to identify the need for funding for additional staff, for staff training and for increased office space so that they could continue to provide both in-house and non-residential services and programmes.

The refuge's budget reflected the need for more core and permanent funding sources. More than 50% of the operating budget was raised from temporary sources such as grants, subsidies and fund-raising. The funding received from the NCIWR was influenced by the refuge's ability to meet the accountability requirements of the NCIWR. The base level funding received was also reflected in the small number of staff the refuge employed and the work they were employed to do. Although the budget enabled the staff to provide basic services to women it was still viewed as insufficient as the refuge continued to identify the need for funding for additional staff, more refuge space and more volunteers. In the survey it was reported that:

Resourcing our services is extremely difficult. The demand on all our services is increasing as of 1997 and we can only provide as much as our funding allows. We find diminishing volunteer support and increasing responsibility on our paid workers. The situation is becoming explosive, and we have concerns about our service delivery and the quality of those services (1996).

As stated the impact of both staffing and budgets will be explored further in the ensuing chapters as both are integral to understanding the various influences that have impacted on the transition house and the refuge's ability to be agents for social change.

Identifying the transition house and the refuge in this way also enables an international comparison to be made. Both similarities and differences are important to analyse and discuss further as they provide a context for the development of transition houses and refuge services in both Canada and New Zealand.

CHAPTER 5

Collective Versus Hierarchical Structures -

Reflections on a Canadian Transition House and a New Zealand Refuge

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge involved in this study in terms of their organisational structure and philosophy in relationship to the women's liberation movement (WLM), the battered women's movement, and consequently as social movement organisations (SMOs). Examining the influence of the WLM as a social movement on the transition house and refuge has implications for my analysis of them in the thesis as they have actively participated in the WLM through their role as SMOs. This is particularly critical as the WLM has been instrumental in prompting the battered women's movement to develop (Beaudry, 1986; Cammock, 1994; Schechter, 1982).

This chapter thus examines the type of organisations that the transition house and refuge characterised. There are a variety of features that both possess, many similarities but also stark differences between the two that are critical for understanding their relationship to external forces such as the state and other SMOs as well as for understanding the internal dynamics that are instrumental to the mechanisms that enable them to function. An examination of the evolutionary development of the transition house and refuge and the manner in which they are structured highlights the impact of these factors on their ability to function in the areas of development and maintenance of services and programmes to battered women and their children. This evolutionary process also impacts on their philosophical stance and ultimately their ability to maintain a social change agenda for ending violence against women. Such a review will facilitate a greater understanding of the factors including government funding that impact on the transition house and refuge.

The Influence of Social Movements on the Women's Liberation Movement

The early battered women's movement emulated the WLM in that it embraced the principles of 'new' social movements. It is useful at this point to define what constitutes 'new' social movements:

A social movement [authors' emphasis] is a set of opinions and beliefs in a population which represents preferences for changing some elements of the social structure and/or reward distribution of a society ... we view social movements as nothing more than preference structures directed toward social change (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, pp. 1217-1218).

In order to accomplish social change, shared ideology and resource mobilisation have been seen to be the key features to establishing and maintaining social movements (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; Ferree & Hess, 1985; P.Y. Martin, 1990; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Morgen, 1994).

There is much continuing debate and discussion about what has characterised new social movements and their organisations, but what appears to be commonly understood and accepted can be summarised as a receptivity for unrest and discontent within the existing political climate, what Touraine (1981) cited in Eyerman & Jamison (1991) states as being " ... characterised by the realization of historicity, by the self-conscious awareness that the very foundations of society are at stake or in contest" (p.27), the opportunity to mobilise a range of resources including human resources through both formal and informal collective structures, the engagement of grass roots organisations and friendship networks and finally the shared ideology, values and meanings that people bring to social movements (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996).

A. Scott (1990) has explored the notion of an ideal type of new social movements that focuses on social and cultural aspects rather than viewing social movements as overtly political in nature. He states that they are based in civil society, and not intended to be revolutionary but to sustain society. In this model social change is a result of value and life style transformation. A. Scott reviews the aims, ideology and organisational forms of new social movements in order to understand them. He states that:

On the basis of much discussion of new movements, we can characterize their aims broadly as bringing about social change through the transformation of values, personal identities and symbols. These movements are identity involving and transforming, they self-consciously manipulate symbols and they challenge entrenched values. This can be best achieved through the creation of alternative lifestyles and the discursive re-formation of individual and collective wills (1990, p.18).

A. Scott (1990) also states that for some theorists such as Feher & Heller (1983) autonomy characterises social movements. According to A. Scott (1990) autonomy is: personal freedom that has been derived from participation in consciousness-raising activities; social and political rights that promote individual choices; and the freedom to organise and struggle without intervention from other movements. Examples of this include the WLM and the civil rights movement. A. Scott (1990) also argues that notions of personal autonomy cannot be separated from linkages with the political actions that arise as a result of movement members acting as a unified force. As the WLM propounds that the personal is the political, it follows that " ... oppression shapes interpersonal relations - and morally - political commitment ought to be translated into behavioural changes" (A. Scott, 1990, p.21).

A. Scott's (1990) characterisation of social movements has implications for the theories espoused by various leading social movement theorists. He discusses social movements in such a way that we may assume that the theories examined reflect the ideological position of their protagonists (Eyerman & Jamison, 1991; McAdam et al., 1996; A. Scott, 1990; Zald & Ash, 1966). However the ideological positioning by these social movement theorists has tended to be somewhat exclusive in that women's roles in social change activities have been according to Ruzek (1978), overlooked:

Because most social reform movements involve large numbers of women, their role in social change may not be studied as seriously as political revolutions, which are usually organized and controlled by men (p.235).

The essence of my thesis is that there is a useful parallel characterisation of social movement organisations, that is, those that espouse bureaucratic and hierarchical formations versus collectivity and anti-authoritarian characterisations. These can be directly compared with what feminist theorists reference as radical transformations

versus reformist or liberal tendencies of social movement organisations. According to Rothschild-Whitt (1979) however social movement organisations exist on a organisational continuum that encompasses collective to hierarchical forms with varying degrees of overlap and difference. Dahlerup (1986) states that in terms of the women's movement the following has occurred:

The two kinds of feminism, women's rights and women's liberation, have come to exist side by side in most countries, but the balance between them varies from country to country - and, moreover, has shifted during the last fifteen years (p.8).

Feminist Organisational Forms

This perspective is empirically based as there are many studies that exemplify feminist organisations that have maintained a range of ideological perspectives while under the rubric of feminism (Freeman, 1975; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Morgen, 1994; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Sealander & Smith, 1986; Staggenborg, 1989). As P.Y. Martin (1990) states "No other social movements of the 1960s, or later, has produced the rich variety of organizations that the women's movement has" (p.183). She goes on to state that:

... feminist organizations are a unique species of the genus of social movement organization and suggest that even the most institutionalized feminist organization helps to perpetuate the women's movement through, at the very least, exploiting the institutional environment of scarce resources (1990, p.183).

According to P.Y. Martin (1990) exploiting institutions involves a wide range of linkages with external bodies, such as ties to the state, organisational autonomy, funding sources and the development of networks.

It is this inclusive feminist perspective that has characterised the WLM during the past three decades. This perspective maintains its relevance as it can provide distinguishing features as to how the WLM influenced the battered women's movement and particularly the transition house and refuge in the study. It is therefore important to examine these types of organisational forms more distinctly than in previous chapters, as they constitute the basis for understanding the transition house and the refuge and

also provide an illustration of their structure and philosophy in terms of making comparisons not only between each other but with the movement more generally.

P.Y. Martin (1990) has had much to say about feminist organisations and suggests that they can be defined within extremely broad criteria. For example her definition of what constitutes feminism can be summarised as follows:

... feminism is (minimally) the recognition that women, compared to men, are an oppressed group and that women's problems are a result of discrimination. Women's status is shaped by processes of structural inequality, not individual actions or circumstances. Feminism is transformational because it involves a vision of society that does not exist and sees social, political, and economic change as necessary for that vision to be realized. ... A feminist organization ... is pro-woman, political, and socially transformational (p.184).

Dahlerup (1986) also " ... prefers a broad definition of feminism as an ideology whose basic goal is to remove the discrimination and degradation of women and to break down the male dominance of society". She maintains that "... the women's movement comprises the conscious, collective activities of women fighting for feminist goals" (p.6).

The broad definition of feminist organisations within the WLM is a useful starting point for the examination of the transition house and the refuge in terms of their characteristics. However it is not just the WLM that can provide an explanation. Various theorists have provided some explanations as to the evolutionary process of social movements and their organisations as previously stated (Broom, 1991; Freeman, 1975, 1979; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Sealander & Smith, 1986; Staggenborg, 1989; V. Taylor 1983, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966).

Transformation Processes in Feminist Organisations

Like many shelters and refuges formed during the 1970s and 1980s both the transition house and the refuge were established as a response to the need to assist battered women and their children (Cammock, 1994; Gilman, 1988; Hancock, 1979; L. MacLeod, 1980; 1987; McDonald, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Synergy Applied Research,

1983). Prior to 1980 there were 71 transition houses operating in Canada of which 72% (51) were located in Quebec and Ontario (L. MacLeod, 1980), and in New Zealand 15 refuges were established by 1978 in both the North and South Islands of New Zealand (Good, 1985; NCIWR, 1992b). The early shelters tended to reflect a feminist collective ideology resulting in the voluntary and often hand to mouth provision of services to battered women¹ (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; MacDonald, 1995; NCIWR, 1992b).

Although these early shelters reflected a feminist ideology, transition houses and refuges have experienced varying degrees of transformation throughout their organisational history. Transformation aspects have been identified by various social movement theorists and WLM theorists more specifically. For example, Zald & Ash (1966) in their study of social movement organisations refer to "institutionalisation and goal displacement" within organisations (p.327) whilst Riger (1994) in her study of feminist organisations stated that the transformation process could be viewed as life cycle stages. Broom (1991) in her study of Australian women's health centres refers to four phases of transformation as "a 'natural history,' a sequence of predictable phases" (p.84). Broom (1991) also notes that not all organisations experience the same 'life cycle' phases but she does identify the four phases for Australian women's health centres as being 1) sharing the vision; 2) setting up shop; 3) the crisis; and 4) the long haul.

Riger (1994) on the other hand observes that her model can only be applied to feminist organisations that are based on a non-hierarchical, democratic basis. She also identifies four distinct stages, starting with 1) creativity, that is those points in time for organisations when they come together to formulate plans for the establishment of their organisations; and 2) collectivity, where members participate within a non-hierarchical, participatory democratic environment where jobs and tasks are shared and where all members have equal decision making powers (Mansbridge, 1979; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Sealander & Smith, 1986). These stages are followed

¹ See Chapter 2 for fuller description of the evolution of the battered women's movement.

by 3) formalization where the organisation is in a situation of transformation in that it can consolidate policies and procedures; and finally 4) elaboration of structure where the organisation expands and decentralises. This latter stage however does not figure in Broom's (1991) understanding of women's health centres.

In studying voluntary agencies in New Zealand Koopman-Boyden (1992) also notes five stages of development from foundation where membership is sourced through a charismatic leader, to the orientation stage where the organisation is formulated, goals defined and structure manifested. The third stage is that of stabilisation where the organisation begins to routinise work, and locates offices. The fourth stage is that of differentiation where the organisation establishes committees to conduct the operations of the organisation, funding is sought and staff employed. The fifth stage is the institutionalisation of the organisation where bureaucracy and hierarchies are established.

These models identified by Koopman-Boyden (1992), Riger (1994) and Broom (1991) apply to many feminist organisations that have proceeded through various transitions from collectivity to bureaucratic forms of organisation (Broom, 1991; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Staggenborg, 1989). Riger (1994), Koopman-Boyden (1992) and Broom's (1991) formulations provide a clarity of perspective that is a useful starting point for identifying systematically whether transformation has taken place within the transition house and refuge. Consequently this chapter will focus on the various phases of transformation as espoused by Broom (1991), Koopman-Boyden (1992) and Riger (1994) as they provide the most cogent response for the development of the transition house and refuge being studied. It is with this in mind that the transition house and the refuge's development, growth and maintenance will be explored in order to characterise them currently. It is critical to make sense and provide explanations for how they are constituted.

The transition house and the refuge were rooted in differing experiences when they were established. They can be identified as being drawn from varying segments of society as members of their individual organisations came from differing backgrounds. For example, the transition house was formed with a community approach in mind in

that the members consisted of a variety of professional and non-professional men and women based within the local community while the refuge members were women who although had previously been abused were also women from diverse socio-economic backgrounds (Refuge Foundation Document, 1986).

Laying the Groundwork

Transition House

In the beginning women involved with the establishment of the transition house were members of the local women's centre, a feminist organisation that represented the interests of women within the local community. It was the women's centre that conducted an informal study of cases of domestic violence within the community which resulted in December 1982 in the establishment of a telephone information service that would " ... listen to the caller, support her, and ... explore her options" (Transition House Proposal, 1983, pp.1-2). This service was jointly funded by the women's centre and the Secretary of State Women's Program (see Chapter 2).

In the two year period before the transition house was actually established several studies were conducted regarding the " ... incidents of battering and help available for victims of abuse" (Transition House Proposal, 1983, p.2). The purpose of these studies was to ascertain the number of women abused and the availability of help from various social agencies within the surrounding communities as they were prerequisites for funding eligibility, "The collection of statistics and written statements of need from credible community sources is an essential step in establishing a transition house" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p. 3). The outcomes of these studies formed the basis of a proposal for the funding of a transition house by the provincial government.

As a result of these studies the transition house's governing organisation for the transition house, became an incorporated society establishing a 10 person Board of Directors to begin the process of formalising the proposal for a transition house. This early initiative that brought together professionals and women involved within the

WLM for a common purpose is consistent with social movement development (Broom, 1991; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Riger, 1994; Ruzek, 1978; A. Scott, 1990) as it enabled the sharing of an ideology and values and furthered a common understanding of the issue at stake (Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990; McAdam et al., 1996; A. Scott, 1990). This was exemplified by the number of supportive letters from professionals within the community that accompanied the transition house's proposal to government, which not only reiterated the level of support but endorsed the ideology that battered women represented a social problem that required addressing within society and more specifically within local communities. The establishment of a transition house for battered women fitted with the notion of organising to systematically address the problem (Broom, 1991):

It is with great pleasure that I [a medical doctor] endorse the concept of the [services to battered women] now being located in our Community. I think it will have high standards, will serve a great need and I feel that it is entirely warranted. I will do whatever I can to support this cause.

... at the annual meeting of the [name of county] Mental Health Association a resolution was unanimously endorsed to support through whatever means at our disposal, efforts of the [transition house] to address the problems confronting battered women of our community.

Local ... United Steel Workers of America, wholeheartedly supports the establishment of a transition house in the [name of county] area. We feel that such a facility is a necessity in helping to remedy this social problem. ... We will support them in any way we can to help them fulfill their goals (Transition House Proposal, 1983).

This level of commitment and broad based support provided the context for the establishment of the transition house for battered women. Once a greater level of support had been established, coupled with the results of a needs assessment, the transition house's Board of Directors was ready for the next step which was to establish the house.

Refuge

Unlike the transition house the refuge had its roots firmly embedded in ex-battered women supporting each other. As a result of a media article about domestic violence women expressed an interest in coming together to support each other. In response to the article, these women went on to support and assist other battered women in similar situations. This network of abused women, for the most part, provided their time voluntarily to support battered women by providing a telephone information service and emergency sheltering:

The [refuge] is a network of ex-battered women who have joined together to provide advice and help for the victims of home violence. ... when you ring the [refuge] you will always get to talk to someone who knows and understands what it is like to be trapped in a violent relationship (Refuge Brochure, no date).

During this time period there was an increased recognition of the problem of "wife abuse" which catapulted this network of women into an arena where funding became critical in order to assist and support the number of battered women being abused in the local community. Consequently this network of women organised themselves into a more formalised group that continued to rely heavily upon a volunteer base of women, donations and fundraising to support volunteer service provision and sheltering.

In 1983 the New Zealand government provided funding for refuges, in the form of a part-time coordinator's salary and administrative support for rent and operating costs, as a result of its agreement with the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) which represented 48 member refuges (see Chapter 2) and consequently this network of ex-battered women continued to support other women within the local community. During this period the members of the organisation formally applied for and became a charitable body. Funding remained piecemeal and could only be used for telephone counselling, family programmes and sheltering. Staff could only be hired on a temporary and part-time basis as funding remained minimal and sporadic.

The transition house and the refuge can be seen to reflect particular modalities that were current at the time of their establishment and subsequent evolution. New Zealand and Canada were similar in the sense that their governments had recognised that funding was required for the maintenance of residential and during the 1990s non-residential services for battered women and children. However, they differed in the notion of financial commitment and the underlying philosophical stance that exemplified both governments at the time and the battered women's movement more generally.

Establishing the Physical and Philosophical Environment

The advent of the 1980s brought a greater understanding and an increased acceptance of the social problem that was known as domestic violence (Schechter, 1982) and with that recognition various responses that included government funding for shelters and programmes (Gilman, 1988; NCIWR, 1992b; Weisz, Taggart, Mockler & Streich, 1995). There was a burgeoning of new transition houses throughout Canadian provinces. In 1987 there were 230 and by 1993 this number had risen to 371 transition houses in Canada for a population of 26 million (L. MacLeod, 1980; Statistics Canada, 1994). In New Zealand there were 46 refuges in 1985 and by 2000 this number had risen to 51 for a population of 3.8 million (PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC), 2000; Review Team, 1986).²

Transition House

In Nova Scotia new transition houses were fostered under the regulatory body of the provincial government's Department of Social Services which had sole discretion as to whether a transition house would receive government funding. The expectations that were bound up in the government's guidelines for the establishment of transition houses promoted a more hierarchical approach to organisation and structure and were in stark contrast to the feminist collective ideology of how shelters and transition

² Identifying population by the number of transition houses and refuges it can be seen that the two countries are comparable with one Canadian transition house per 70,000 population and one New Zealand refuge per 74,500 population.

houses had previously been constructed and maintained (Barnsley, 1985; Beaudry, 1985; Schechter, 1982). Thus, transition houses in the 1980s were aware that in order to receive funding they were really required to conform to these guidelines which identified that:

Under the Societies Act, boards have ultimate responsibility for policy, fiscal accountability, hiring and managing staff, defining and providing the service and maintaining standards. It is very important that boards understand that it is the board, not staff, that has ultimate responsibility. ... Fiscal responsibility for financial accountability and effective service lies with the board of the transition house or sponsoring society.

Men and women who are potential board and management committee members may be recruited on the basis of special skills (accounting, law, media, psychology) or association (representatives of service clubs, community organizations, churches, unions, etc.) (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.13).

L. MacLeod (1987) in her national survey of Canadian transition houses also noted that they were changing their organisational and structural form:

... few houses that started **after** 1980 **began** [emphasis added by author] with a collective orientation. Since there were only 71 houses in existence in 1979, and not more than half of these houses were collectives, this means that the majority of houses which began as collectives are now based on a more hierarchical model with more distinct definitions of duties (p.56).

This movement away from a grassroots interpretation of shelter organisation was also identified by Tice (1990):

As the movement has gone from mobilization to maintenance, there has been extensive debate over whether the shift from collective structures, the prototype for early shelters, to more bureaucratic and professionalized organizations has diluted feminist visions (p.84).

The establishment of the transition house during the early 1980s thus was pioneered in an environment that was post-collectivist in nature, that is that the collective characteristics found in many feminist organisations no longer existed in their purest form (Freeman, 1975, 1979; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Morgen, 1994). In a similar fashion to many other women's organisations, the transition house's governing structure came into existence displaying some distinctive features that reflected a more hierarchical and bureaucratic organisational structure, such as the establishment of an elected

board of directors and executive officers of the board, that is chairperson, treasurer and secretary, with decisions agreed upon by vote with the chair having the casting vote "when there is an equality of votes" (Transition House By-Laws, 1983, p. 5). At the same time however the transition house could still identify with the WLM in terms of the manner in which it was to provide services to battered women and children, that is focusing on empowering women within a framework of making informed choices and decisions (Broom, 1991; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Ruzek, 1978; Schechter, 1982; V. Taylor 1989). The governing structure of the transition house could not be ideally identified as a feminist collective but was an adaptation of the 'modified hierarchy' model where for external appearances the organisation maintains a hierarchical structure but internally information is shared and organisational decisions, although not as in the model made by consensus, were made by representatives from staff, and by board members (Schechter, 1982).

The formulation of the transition house's objectives and goals in 1983 were concerned with an empowerment model of service delivery but were also associated with raising awareness through institutional means:

2. To supply and render services to battered women, with the aim of enabling them the freedom and emotional support to reassess their situation and arrive at their own decisions regarding actions towards their future. ...

g) to promote public awareness towards understanding of the problems associated with Battered Women.

h) to work towards changes in those social structures which foster ideals contrary to the equality, safety and common good of all women [emphasis added] (Transition House Memorandum of Association, 1983, p.1).

These objectives and goals were again reiterated in the 1986 Annual Report and clearly revealed the nature of the transition house's philosophy (Broom, 1991; Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990). The changing nature of the battered women's movement was captured by Dahlerup (1986) who stated that " ... the [WLM] is still alive and active, but ... it certainly has changed since the first enthusiastic period of the late 1960s and early 1970s" (Dahlerup, 1986, p.20). According to Broom (1991) this change was concerned with the more mundane practicalities of women getting on with the organisational aspects of establishing and consolidating their organisations. In

Broom's (1991) research it was women's health centres, and so women's focus shifted from a feminist framework for action to ensuring the maintenance of services. The transition house thus identified a feminist premise of women making decisions and opportunities regarding personal choices but also codified objectives that worked through the existing system to facilitate change (Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995, Schmitt, & Martin, 1999).

Refuge

Like Canada the 1980s saw a flourishing of refuges in New Zealand. Funding was received under the umbrella organisation, the NCIWR who had negotiated a national contract with the government (see Chapter 2) for funding refuges that were members of the NCIWR (Good, 1985; NCIWR, 1992b). Thus by 1991, 51 refuges were affiliated to the NCIWR (NCIWR, 1992b) which functioned as:

... a central organisation to lobby, to administer funding and to co-ordinate the fast growing movement (NCIWR, 1992b, p.1).

The NCIWR acted as the facilitator and brokering agent between government and individual refuges and as such provided a regulatory strategy for maintaining the accountability of refuges (see Chapter 2) (Higgins, 1997a; NCIWR, 1992b; NCIWR, 1996b; Potuchek, 1986). However, in a similar fashion to the transition house the refuge was also expected to be accountable to government albeit through the NCIWR which resulted in it not being as autonomous as supposed, as the NCIWR identified in its section on membership that all refuges were to adhere to various rules:

The criteria for affiliation shall be laid down and approved by Core Group from time to time and shall include such matters but not be limited to:

- (a) Approval of the Objects of the Incorporated Society or Charitable Trust.
 - (b) Approval of the Rules of the Incorporated Society or Trust.
 - (c) A commitment from the Society or Trust which is a candidate for membership to the Code of Ethics and Statement of Purpose as set out in Clause 19.
 - (d) Approval of the officers of the Incorporated Society.
- Core Group shall retain the right of final approval of any candidate for membership of the Society (NCIWR, no date, pp.3-4)

The refuge like other refuges was required to agree to the Rules of the NCIWR if it was to receive nationally based funding (Aveni, 1978). Furthermore the refuge was also contracted to fulfil various obligations including service delivery, specific funding areas, statistics, reports and audited accounts maintenance as outlined in the services contract between the NCIWR and the refuge (NCIWR, 1994) and if these obligations were not fulfilled then the NCIWR could also withdraw its funding support (Higgins, 1997b). Higgins (1997b) identifies the problem in the following manner:

The tightening specifications for service provision required within a contracting relationship may enhance accountability to funders but they also increase state control over the work of funded agencies. This situation requires groups that wish to continue receiving funding from New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA)³ to adopt as authoritative the state's interpretations of the needs they are addressing. Scope for work that recognises different interpretations is reduced (p.6).

Although the member refuges were accountable to the NCIWR in order to maintain funding the NCIWR (no date) espoused objectives that focused on ending violence against women and institutional change through refuge collectivism:

- 2.3. To work toward the prevention and elimination of violence and in particular to support the rights of women and children to care and protection.
- 2.4. ... to support within existing and future Refuges the ideals of confidentiality, co-operation, equality and consensus.
- 2.5. To promote and support changes in the law intended to benefit women whose domestic situation is no longer tolerable to themselves (p.1).

This collective approach endorsed within refuges reflected the ability of the NCIWR and individual refuges to balance accountability measures expected by government within the internal interactions prescribed by the refuges in the following manner:

... The aim of Refuge was to provide women and children with a refuge from physical and psychological abuse and in conjunction with this, to provide information and continuing support to assist them in

³ The NZCFA was established by government "To openly and fairly allocate and deliver funding and support to community organisations in accordance with the policies of Government so that New Zealanders have access to a range of appropriate services and that there is a choice of providers" (Department of Social Welfare, 1991e, p.1, quoted in V. Smith, 1996, p.7).

coping with their feelings of isolation and with the difficult decisions ahead of them. The focus of Refuge has always been on self help and support. Women are encouraged to take active responsibility for their own welfare and to make their own decisions about their future.

As organisations involved with improving the well-being and rights of women, Refuges are committed to social change and promoting public awareness - particularly in areas such as housing, childcare, income security, law, health, education and employment opportunities. The emphasis of Refuge has been on a move away from traditional "professional" service delivery into new areas of advocacy, information, community education and social action (Review Team, 1986, p.2).

The refuge was thus established at a time when there existed tensions regarding the type of refuge structure and organisational form "... while Government funding is seen to be essential, the refuges would not like to see any associated changes to present refuge management and operation" (Synergy Applied Research, 1983, p.46). So although refuges had to conform in terms of accountability for funding they were seen to be autonomous in their structure and organisation (see Chapter 2).

In its founding document the refuge identified a grass roots structure and process as it gleaned its governing members from its volunteer membership of ex-battered women. In 1990 this document was amended to include membership and constitutional clauses that identified more specifically general membership of the organisation and an election process that included a two year limited term of office. Prior to this change governing members were voted on for life (Refuge Document, 1986). Thus the organisation had originally identified only one officer, that of a rotating chairperson agreed upon at each meeting with duties and responsibilities undertaken by the group as a whole, not by individuals. Decisions however in contrast were agreed upon by majority vote and not by consensus decision-making (Refuge Document, 1986).

Consolidation and Affirmation Versus Cooptation and Hierarchy

The notion of transformation and change has been a source of considerable debate for social movement theorists. Eyerman and Jamison (1991) maintain that "... the

routinization of charismatic leadership flowed from the establishment of bureaucratic structures. Both were seen as necessary aspects of the maturation of social movements in modern society" (p.16). Zald and Ash (1966) reinforce this theory in their study of social movements in that they propose that: "The participants in this structure have a stake in preserving the organization, regardless of its ability to attain goals" (p.327). This view has been contrasted with the 'resource mobilisation' theory that argued that a social movement organisation was the key to mobility " ... as it identifies its goals with the preferences of a social movement or a countermovement and attempts to implement these goals" (McCarthy & Zald, 1977, p. 1218).

Women's liberation movement theorists however provide a more pragmatic approach that provides a cogent and rational response:

All social movements are constantly changing, and so is the women's movement. It seems to be general that the first period of the movement was characterized by direct, disruptive actions, great enthusiasm, intense ideological debates and organizational and personal experiments. That stage is past and has been replaced by a proliferation, fragmentation and specialization of the movements. It has spread to ever-widening circles in each country. In many countries the ideas of the movement have also reached institutions bearing some policy impact.

Obviously, the movement could not continue to live on enthusiasm. It was necessary to create some kind of institutional resources, for example in crisis centres, in women's studies, in art galleries or in new organizations. Further, the 'strength of being outside' probably only lasts only temporarily for a particular movement: it is the strength of a new social movement in its first phases. If influential, although not successful in promoting fundamental changes, the interaction between the movement and the establishment will eventually change the character of the movement (Dahlerup, 1986, p.21).

Dahlerup (1986) notes that change in goal identification is not necessarily a bad thing but represents varying foci for the WLM and for the individual feminists within it. P. Y. Martin (1990) supports this proposition as she refers to resource mobilisation theory in which " ... feminist goals, and employment of strategies and tactics to pursue feminist goals, are required for an organization to be viewed as a feminist movement organization" (pp.186-187) but also identifies that a feminist movement organisation needs to be much more inclusive than focusing only on feminist goals as indicated in

resource mobilisation theory. She states that feminist organisations could be characterised as having ten principles of which the first five may constitute a feminist organisation, so that it " ... will allow those who study feminist organizations to encompass their full range" (P.Y. Martin, 1990, p.187):⁴

I suggest that an organization is feminist if it meets any one of the following criteria: (a) has feminist ideology; (b) has feminist guiding values; (c) has feminist goals; (d) produces feminist outcomes; (e) was founded during the women's movement as part of the women's movement (including one or more of its submovements, e.g., the feminist self-help health movement, the violence against women movement (P.Y. Martin, 1990, p.185).

The battered women's movement thus was an expression of such changes as the literature well documents (Ahrens, 1980; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Murray, 1988; Schechter, 1982). Furthermore unlike many women's organisations the battered women's movement was well able to adapt and change (Murray, 1988; Sealander & Smith, 1986; Staggenborg, 1989).

Riger (1994) in her study of feminist organisations agrees with P.Y. Martin (1990) and claims that it may be useful to be adaptive to circumstances that are presented:

A feminist group whose primary aim is to foster growth and development of its members might more effectively remain small and egalitarian, and one that aspires to provide a service for others might function best with some hierarchical features. Moreover, different forms can coexist within the same organization for different functions (p.283).

Transition House

The Canadian battered women's movement's shift away from feminist forms of collective organisations to the more hierarchical organisational forms suited both funders and transition houses alike (Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995). For example in the transition house's first complete operating year, 1985-1986, it received 80% (60% and 20% respectively) of its funding from provincial and municipal levels of

⁴ The ten principles of feminist organisation are, feminist ideology; feminist values; feminist goals; feminist outcomes; founding circumstances; structure; practices; members and membership; scops and scale; external relations (P.Y. Martin, 1990, pp.190-191).

government. The former was for operations, wages, household and programme costs. The latter was for women and children's stay in the transition house.⁵ It is arguably a critical incentive to accept this level of funding which in 1985 was C\$86,415 for the provision of services.

In the situation of the transition house, board members noted that they were responsible for and guided by a structure based on a hierarchical perspective that influenced their role within the organisation in the following manner:

Actualize the values of the organization, establish annual goals.
Oversee processes and outcomes.

To develop policy and procedures, deal with government bodies and private sources for funding. To act as public advocates for the service, oversee the performance of the [Executive] Director and generally be responsible to the organization as performing the functions outlined in the conditions of the organization.

... I was management and that didn't become clear to me for awhile
(Ex-Board Members).

Currie (1989) notes the benefits to transition houses as a result of a more systematic and permanent funding source, including public recognition and acceptance of the problem of domestic violence and by acknowledging battered women's shelters as a viable service to battered women. This was manifested in the government " ... making them a permanent social duty of government" (p.22).

The establishment of the transition house came at a time when the processes of formalisation (Riger, 1994), what Broom (1991) refers to as "settling in for the long haul" (p. 92), and Koopman-Boyden, (1992) and Ruzek (1978) identify as the institutionalisation, and middle and final stages relating to policy and institutionalised processes were occurring. This manifestation enabled transition houses and the transition house specifically to adapt to the economic environment that funders sought to exploit and adopt what Meyer and Rowan (1977) state as:

Organizations are driven to incorporate the practices and procedures defined by prevailing rationalized concepts of organizational work and

⁵ Information derived from audited Financial Statement 1985-1986.

institutionalized in society. Organizations that do so increase their legitimacy and their survival prospects, independent of the immediate efficacy of the acquired practices and procedures (p.340).

Potuchek (1986) maintained that this could be accomplished through adopting 'Standard Operating Structures' (p.432), structures that reflect a more hierarchical approach employing professional staff, a management and policy-focused voluntary board of directors and a place of work, in the case of the battered women's movement, a shelter, from which to conduct business. These structures make the organisation more responsive to funders as well as other bodies that maintain associations with shelters (Potuchek, 1986). The transition house could be characterised as having such structures in place when it was established. Comments made acknowledge the movement away from a collective frame of reference to a more hierarchical structure:

This is different from the vision we had in the 70s. For one thing we hated the idea of a board let alone giving a board any power. But it's 20 plus years later. ... It's a much more conservative time and place (Board Member).

The organisational structures that were in place at the time of the establishment of the transition house in essence conformed to government guidelines. This compliance was manifested in July 1983 by the transition house's first committee submitting a proposal for funding which included the results of the needs assessment, to the Minister of Social Services. In August 1983 the Minister informed the transition house's committee that the proposal had been successful and in September of that year the committee finalised its incorporation as a society which was a further requirement of and in direct response to the provincial government's guidelines, " ... the Department of Social Services ... is the regulating body for transition houses in Nova Scotia [and the means by which] ... the Minister makes a decision on whether or not to approve your proposal under Section 53 of the Children's Services Act Regulations" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.6). The Department of Social Services: " ... has a firm commitment to support transition houses where they are needed and to resist and suppress family violence in Nova Scotia" (1984, p.1). This commitment did not consist of just philosophical support but was reflected in the funding of shelters up to 75% of their financial needs (Gilman, 1988).

A further structural component of the transition house was that although the initiative for supporting battered women emanated from the WLM, it is not surprising that the transition house's first board of directors, complied with the provincial government's guidelines to include both men and women. For example, those involved in the first board of directors were a diverse group of individuals, including clergy, social, business and labour union personnel (J. Clifton, 1985; Transition House Memorandum of Association, 1983). Of the 10 that made up the first board of directors, at least three were men (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1984). The decision to have a community based board of directors specifically conformed to the guidelines established by the government funders:

Also a fairly concerted effort ... to have men on the board and not just a man for the sake of being a man but a man with some standing in the community in order to counteract what we've already discovered emerging, remember as being as a negative reaction to the need and functioning of our shelter for battered women. A recognition that such a thing was needed to start with but it was felt that it could well [be incumbent] as a board if we had men whose standing in the community was unassailable (Ex-Board Member).

Moreover the transition house's philosophy of maintaining a broad based management group did not change during its life span (J. Clifton, 1985; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Saville, 1982). For example, in the period that the fieldwork was undertaken, that is the 1995-1996 period, 13 years after the inauguration of the first board of directors, individuals who had been involved as board members were interviewed and identified themselves as professionals working in areas such as health, social service, financial services and criminal justice.

As previously noted in 1983 the provincial government's Department of Social Services, had instituted a stable funding base for transition houses and maintained responsibility for them (Gilman, 1988). This was further manifested in the establishment in the same year of a Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV) which provided a forum for the transition houses that existed to meet and discuss various issues that were of concern to them, including establishing new houses. This committee was the conduit for relations between transition houses and government and as such buttressed the non-feminist collective characterisation of transition houses that were established and for the new ones just forming. For example, at the time of

the committee's formation only two houses had been established within the province and only one of these had started out as a feminist collective (MacDonald, 1995). In her study of the first transition house in Nova Scotia, "Bryony House" (which opened in 1979), MacDonald (1995) noted that women involved in other shelters blamed "Bryony House's" board/staff conflicts, which were an ongoing problem, on the feminist collective approach that had epitomised the house and they felt that the staff's adherence to this ideology meant that they " ... haven't yet accepted the transformation of its organization from collective to hierarchy" (p.6). Consequently transition houses within the province were very much aware that transformation had occurred and by becoming members of the government's PCFV which consisted of transition house staff and board members, government public servants, the founding minister and his (in 1983, the minister was male) deputy, signified these ideological changes and subsequently demonstrated their own survival through their dependence and reliance on government for funding and support (Aveni, 1978). Aveni (1978) noted that linkages were important to social movement success:

... the success or failure of any movement organization depends upon the type of relationship it develops with other groups and individuals in the society. Both the movement organization and its environment are taken into account by the linkage approach. Linkages are said to exist between a movement organization and any other organization that provides specific donations, makes occasional statements that are favorable to the movement organization (p.187).

Thus, the government's PCFV maintained responsibility for all the transition houses in a variety of ways including introduction of guidelines for establishing new houses, instituting regulations to which they had to conform, in addition to funding, policy and staffing issues. Transition house representatives were given the opportunity to have input and participate in discussions regarding such developments which not only upheld the legitimacy of the PCFV but lessened the independence of the houses as it bound them to particular models, policy development and other initiatives (Aveni, 1978; Ruzek, 1978). This lessening of independence for the transition house was clearly understood:

It has impacted in a great many ways, whoever is paying the major part of the cost cannot help but set certain conditions and rules for the use of public funds (Ex-Board Member).

An additional structural constituent that impacted on the transition house's management development derives from the Nova Scotia Societies Act (1967) which defines the parameters for establishing an incorporated charitable society identifying structures to organise and manage the house, such as a memorandum of association and by-laws: "The general purpose of the Regulations of the Societies Act is to ensure that societies are responsibly run, and in particular financially accountable" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.5). Thus a general model of organisational structure for Nova Scotia transition houses including the house in the study was recommended. Figure 1 identifies the general model of transition house organisation espoused by the government.

Figure 1:

----- BOARD OF THE TRANSITION HOUSE -----				
Responsible for policy making, fiscal accountability, hiring and managing staff, defining and providing services, maintaining standards				
Personnel Committee	Finance & Funding Comm	Volunteer Committee	Special Projects Committee	Public Relations Committee
Job description criteria for hiring & interviewing staff evaluations	Budget, record keeping, accoun- ting, funding search	Job description recruitment & training	Renovations, furnishings	Speakers, pamphlets, literature, relations with community govts.

(Nova Scotia Department of Social Services, Family and Children's Services Division, *Guidelines for Establishing a Transition House in Nova Scotia*, Sept., 1984, p.14).

This model was generally used by the transition house and although some of the committees had different titles it did conform to the guidelines. The guidelines represented a formal and determined movement away from an informal, feminist collective, non-hierarchical, non-professional model previously experienced by women involved with shelters (Beaudry, 1985; J. Clifton, 1985; Rose, 1985; Schechter, 1982; Scutt, 1983) to one which embraced an increasingly formalised, hierarchical and bureaucratic approach (Barnsley, 1985; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). This is especially noticeable in the government guidelines (Department of Social Services, 1984) which acknowledged the work that women had accomplished in establishing transition

houses but also made the point that their development was " ... increasingly viewed as an integral part of the community service network" (p.1). Included within the guidelines is a reference to approving transition house proposals for funding under the Children's Services Act Regulations 1984. Transition house representatives expressed concern that these regulations might change the focus and therefore the purpose of the houses. The response to their concerns was made in the following manner:

... the introduction of Regulations for transition houses under the Children's Services Act was not an intent to change the focus and role of transition houses. It is rather part of the attempt to integrate legislation and to amend existing legislation rather than to introduce new legislation. The Regulations for Transition Houses were placed under the Children's Services Act because it is more flexible legislation (PCFV, September, 1984, p.2).

Although a government initiative, these guidelines did not only represent a funding challenge, that is in order to establish a transition house, organisations were expected to comply with the government's requests, but also reinforced the way in which the house was to operate in terms of staff delivering services, staff interactions with each other, and with their board of directors, and their relationship with government as its main funding source, and in terms of other external factors that influenced the structure and operations of the transition house.

Refuge

In a similar way to the transition house the refuge also enjoyed the stability that funding brought. For example during the 1991-1992 fiscal period the refuge received 30% of its actual budget from the NCIWR.⁶ This source of funding constituted NZ\$8,045 of the total budget for that period. Responsibilities for funding were critical issues for the refuge's ex and current governing members who when interviewed about their responsibilities made the following responses:

I think the financial management was something that was really important to me that we keep the money coming in at a level that would fund the services we needed to provide and that as members one of the most important things we did was monitor the services that we were continually checking 'are we providing a good enough service

⁶ Information derived from the audited Financial Statement, 1991-1992.

is there something we need to change?' and that was ongoing.

and just being able to look at the other members and find specialities and where we all fitted in was, I saw it as a big jigsaw puzzle because we've all got different skills and all got different levels of where we've come in at and we're all good at something, being able to put that into practice (Ex-Governing Members).

It's the managing the overall administrative part of it rather than the hands on, it's not so much managing the hands on things with the women but it's ensuring that everything's set up in order that managing the things for the woman can be done (Governing Member, Group 1).

These responses differ very little from their Canadian counterparts as they too acknowledged their responsibilities for the funding and service provision to their clientele. Although the refuge remained somewhat independent of its funding body through the NCIWR, the refuge was maintained as a functioning structure that was defined initially by its membership not by a funding body as the transition house was expected to do. Even so the refuge gradually complied with the expectations surrounding accountability measures established directly by the NCIWR (1992b) and more indirectly by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) in a similar manner to the transition house. Formal structures were not clearly prescribed (Refuge Founding Document, 1986) but evolved in a more informal manner to respond to the overarching systems that were beginning to be viewed as the most acceptable mode of operations (Higgins, 1997b; NCIWR, 1992b; Potuchek, 1986).

Responsibilities and activities were identified generically in the Refuge's Founding Document (1986) in a form that could be loosely interpreted. For example, there was no constitutional provision for the identification of officers nor therefore for the election of officers. Thus, no one member appeared to be responsible for the work usually conducted by members of an executive committee for example, the work usually conducted by a treasurer and a secretary. The governing members could however employ a person to "transact all or any business" (Refuge Founding Document, 1986, p.3). Furthermore the members could also appoint a manager to be responsible for the daily activities of the refuge and associated services (Refuge Founding Document, 1986). These two examples suggest that the refuge's

governance structure, although it might appear to be collective in characterisation, was in fact somewhat hierarchical in that at the level of refuge operations it endorsed positions of authority that were not collective in nature and did in fact elect executive positions including a chairperson, treasurer and a secretary (Governing Body Minutes, July, 1986).

A further structural component of the refuge's governance structure was that although in the beginning it was indisputably ex-battered women helping battered women, many of these women were also professional women. The first group of governing members came from the education, business, and criminal justice professions (Refuge Founding Document, 1986). These women were not currently in abusive relationships but were survivors of them. Although this was not identified by the NCIWR as a prerequisite for refuge membership, in the early days the refuge firmly believed that having previous experience as a battered woman was helpful to other abused women:

... you need to be able to identify with that person. It's impossible to explain to someone who hasn't lived in one of those relationships what it takes to get out and that's what people who say "why didn't she leave?" don't understand. They've never been in that woman's shoes. They can't understand what it takes to get out and why it's so hard for women to leave (Ex- Governing Member).

This mandate for membership was not integral to the organisation but appeared to be a policy initiative as the minutes reflected "Criteria for being a [governing] member: In the past we agreed that all collective members must have personal experience with domestic violence" (Governing Body Minutes, May 1993, p.3). In 1990 this was amended to include general membership and in 1993 as a result of members leaving the refuge organisation and the increased difficulty with recruiting new members (Governing Body Minutes, May 1993) the refuge agreed that:

We are now happy to accept new women on to the collective who do not have previous personal experience but who are very keen to help, are supportive of the work we do and will undergo training (Governing Body Minutes, June 1993, pp.1-2).

This change regarding refuge membership criteria also reinforces the pattern previously established regarding the socio-economic status of the governing members. For example, in the period that the fieldwork was undertaken, that is from 1996 to

1998, 11 years after the establishment of the first governing members, women members interviewed identified themselves as professionals working in areas including education, criminal justice, social services, financial services and management, and consequently more likely to dilute the feminist perspective that tends to underly collective types of organisations (Ahrens, 1980; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982).

Another structural component of the refuge was influenced by the change in the type of governing membership which occurred during the 1990s. This included accepting non-battered women as members as previously identified, but also responding to NZCFA requirements and the refuge members decision to limit the responsibilities of the refuge's employees as governing members. This latter action acted somewhat as a catalyst for staff resigning as governing members during 1996 and 1997 (see Chapter 9 for further discussion). Up until this time staff were elected governing members with certain provisos attached relating to employment issues, and with expectations that they would provide guidance and direction to the group, for example, being elected Chairperson and Secretary thus alleviating various responsibilities from the existing Governing Body (Governing Body Minutes, February, 1989, October, 1995). Changes also included a departure from electing all members from within the general refuge volunteer membership, thus choosing members externally to encourage a more diverse governing structure:

I was asked by [two staff members] to consider being a [governing member] mid-way through the year. I value this work highly. I thought I could give something back in this way (Governing Member, Group 2).

These changes in the mid-1990s manifested themselves in a divorce between governing members and staff and volunteer members as the staff group no longer had direct access to the governing members meetings since they were no longer attending them. This was further manifested with the new type of governing members (including a number who were also direct service volunteers and therefore paradoxically accountable to staff for service delivery), also acting in a more

authoritarian mode as management.⁷ These factors were exemplified in the responses given by members when asked about credentials of governing members:

Sometimes one of the credentials actually has to be being able to make hard decisions that may not necessarily be ... not unkind decisions exactly but thinking in a business-like manner and sometimes it's really hard to do that within the situation that you work in (Governing Member, Group1).

... was told that what was needed were practical people who were prepared to make decisions. Decisions I can make (Governing Member, Group 2).

This redirection and new emphasis on a more hierarchical and management focused structure that characterised the refuge was critical not only for the survival of the refuge as it became more embroiled in requirements of external funders such as the NZCFA (NCIWR, 1992b; Higgins, 1997b) but reflected the changing nature of its governing membership, who were somewhat used to working in more rigid and bureaucratic systems, and consequently its priorities as it became more responsible and accountable for funding, staffing and service delivery requirements.

Conclusion

The ensuing chapters address these issues in more detail as they provide an opportunity to explore the impact of both external and internal factors on the transition house's and the refuge's ability to promote social change. It is these factors that will be addressed in order to identify where the transition house and the refuge are located within a context of their place as part of the women's movement, that is within the tension that exists between reform and revolution and whether this in fact matters, and the conflicting discourse regarding what constitutes social change.

⁷ This statement is derived from refuge minutes, discussions with staff and from direct observations at meetings between the Governing Body and staff (1996-1998).

CHAPTER 6
Government Funding and its Impact on the
Transition House

Introduction

[The Minister] briefly commented on the funding of transition houses. He noted that ten years ago the first transition house was established. It will forever be a model as the 'pioneer' so precariously funded that they didn't even know if they'd get through the day. There is now a stable/predictable funding base for transition houses. It has been a learning process for Government by developing these Houses. The Government will try to do whatever is right for the Transition Houses if their problems are understood (Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV), October, 1987, p.6).

Previous chapters focused on the impact of the battered women's movement as a component of the women's liberation movement (WLM) and its impact as a social movement. It has been argued that the battered women's movement has undergone various structural and organisational changes in order to be responsive to a changing social environment. Although significant, these adaptations have always retained a focus on assisting battered women by means of shelters and refuges initially and more currently through providing additional services. The Canadian governments, both federal and provincial, provided an environment that remained receptive and open to addressing the needs of battered women and their children.

This chapter seeks to examine in more detail the tensions and balances that had to be accommodated in order to maintain the transition house's ability to provide consistent and effective services to battered women and children. The impact of government funding on the transition house indicated the need for organisational survival as it complied with government accountability. As explored in the previous chapter there were external influences that impacted on the transition house and it is these factors that require closer examination in order to comprehend the structural and philosophical changes that have occurred. It is also critical to understand the degree of such impacts and their influence on the transition house's ability to retain a focus on social change issues.

These can be achieved more clearly by reviewing the manner in which the participants involved in maintaining the structure and organisational aspects of the transition house dealt with the impact of government funding on the organisation during the last two decades. The previous chapter addressed the establishment of the transition house and its basic structure but did not identify the continuing responses of its members to the impact of government funding and its possible influence on the organisation and philosophy of the transition house. It is these factors that require further attention.

Government Funding and Transition House Stability

Some aspects of the influence of funding for shelters provided by the state are well documented (Ahrens, 1980; Potuchek, 1986; Schechter, 1982). Such funding has implications for the maintenance of services and programmes for battered women and children. This is particularly notable in Canada and New Zealand where funding has remained at disproportionate levels because of the historical context of shelters and refuges and their organisational and philosophical structures.

The transition house typified the maturation of shelters in North America. It was established more than a decade after the first shelters became operational and thus was not part of the initial grass roots collective formation that earlier shelters had established (Ahrens, 1980; Beaudry, 1985; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). As noted previously the transition house was established at a period in the battered women's movement's history when the collective structure had been transformed and was responding to government initiatives in the form of accepting funding for services and programmes for battered women (Currie, 1989; Gilman, 1988; L. MacLeod, 1987). This had repercussions for the characterisation of many Canadian transition houses established during the 1980s and 1990s and particularly the transition house in the study, which relied increasingly heavily upon government for funding.

From the very outset the transition house's Board of Directors and staff understood that they could not promote an overt feminist philosophy - that they were part of a coopted movement that had to be accommodating and accountable to the state. The

tensions and conflicts manifested by increased levels of accountability were countered by the transition house's understanding and ability to balance its feminist philosophy with pragmatic realism. Not giving away all its ideals and values meant that the transition house maintained its feminist agenda within its organisational structure and service delivery systems as it acted more in keeping with a modified hierarchical model (Schechter, 1982).

The pragmatic realism experienced by staff enabled them to identify not only the stability that government funding afforded them but the integration of their transition house into the framework of the state's social service apparatus (Schechter, 1982; Schreuder, 1990; Walker, 1990a):

We've always had this but when I hear from [the first two transition houses established] they didn't know from one quarter to the next whether they were getting any money so I think that it's good that we have a stable funding source. I hope a stable funding source, because it does allow us to know we'll be here next week and to plan what we can do in terms of the services we can provide (Staff Member).

Provided stability. Allows for consistency of service throughout the Province. It has allowed the structure and the philosophy of service to become a vital part of policy development within the government. Transition houses have become an integral part of government planning and protocol development. Their voices are heard and valued. Also allows them to concentrate on the 'work' (Ex- Staff Member).

This understanding of the impact of a stable funding source on the philosophy of the transition house was clearly understood by board members and staff alike:

Radical at first but is now accepted in the community as a beacon and a symbol. Just as the feminist impetus behind the radicalness of it to start was needed or else it wouldn't have started at all. Once the Board got started the building got purchased and things got underway then it became accepted. I don't think the philosophy changed so much as was just being worked out. Perceptions changed but what got it going is still the impetus that keeps it going today (Ex-Board Member).

The state of feminism in the early 70s[sic] we argued about taking government funding. The government policy won. They have bought feminism and determine direction by granting areas. This affects transition house philosophy (Board Member).

Diminished the need to ally themselves with the women's centres and other more or less radical feminist groups. In some respects has isolated transition houses more from their grassroots beginnings. This may be more of a perspective than reality (Ex- Staff Member).

Board members clearly understood that the new transition houses being established during the 1980s had to be adaptive if they were to be recipients of a stable source of funding. They were required to be both philosophical and conciliatory as they clearly demonstrated a practical sensibility to the ambiguity that funding frequently required (Broom, 1991; Dahlerup, 1986; P. Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Ryan, 1992).

You have to be politically correct. How politically active you can be [sic]. I think too, I mean as an organisation that traditionally was a strong advocate for social policy change, I mean now as a Board and as Executive Director I think you'd have to be careful to bite [sic] the hand that feeds you. It's a juggling act for the Executive Director.

You have to be politically careful not to offend so and so who's determining what sort of funding and budgets you get. And I think that would put some constraints on how politically active you can be as paid employees (Board Members).

Furthermore, staff and ex-staff members also felt the weight of responsibility that a regular source of funding implied and echoed board members' reservations:

I feel that in that struggle to get better salaries, which we certainly needed. I mean our salaries have doubled in the past eleven years, we had to get more in with the structure and sometimes when you get in with the structure, ... it becomes harder and harder to bite the hand that feeds you. I don't know if it's 'bite the hand that feeds you' is the right expression, it's more like being in the system which I don't know is always the best thing but we need the money so it's a real dilemma. ... We need the money, we get it from government so we have to go along with them in certain respects and it makes us conform a bit more that we would otherwise (Staff Member).

You don't often feel that you could lobby that particular government department because it's 'feeding' your agency, so they have control (Ex-Staff Member).

At a fundamental level board members and staff alike understood that funding was regarded as a means to an end (Currie, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Tice, 1990) but also acknowledged that government funding inhibited them from being totally independent. The reflections of ex-staff clearly identified the tension

between government funding and maintaining a feminist agenda within the transition house structure:

With any external funder they have requirements and expectations. I know the outreach workers when that was developed, the shelters had been telling the Province for a long time that they needed monies to do that kind of work but when the Province agreed to it they delivered a job description which may or may not have met the needs of the shelter or the community. For example the government's perception of providing an outreach worker didn't include travel ... those were the issues that the funders hadn't taken into consideration in operationalising what their expectations are. That was very hard, people were saying 'should we take this' 'do we dare not take this'. I think especially when you're balancing a feminist philosophy of 'we should not be paying women low wages, we should not be expecting them to work beyond their waged efforts, are we perpetuating the devaluation of women's work?' All of that sort of stuff and the kind of work a shelter does, is in our society deemed women's work. So you're balancing that, infact we're living the fact right now, with the Province saying 'we will find an advocacy worker but we'll only give you this much money' and when you do front line work in the shelter you're saying 'we know this is going to stop us but we really need extra help and if they're willing to give us any money, should we take it?' So you're left with this 'see-saw' of 'do we stick to feminist analysis that says we shouldn't be part of that social structure that revictimises women, that devalues women's work'. ... In a perfect world you wouldn't need to compromise there but the reality is that women in [other county] exist. She's not going to disappear because I'm going to stick beside my feminist philosophy and say 'I'm not going to buy into that government package because it isn't enough money to do the amount of work because that woman is still in [other county]'. I really tried to struggle with that and I think from a shelter perspective when you're trying to maintain a feminist analysis and you have to do the work. I think that's a very difficult position to be in and there's no right answer (Ex-Staff Member).

Feminist organisations established during the 1980s moved away from the earlier distinction of characterising women's organisations as being either liberal or radical members of the WLM (Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990). This was also reflected in the transition house which, although not distinctively defined as a feminist collective and therefore was not as Rothschild-Whitt (1979) illustrated an 'alternative institution' or P.Y. Martin's (1990) 'ideal type', it was part of an evolving battered women's movement that had as a result of inordinate pressure been open to transformation (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; Schechter, 1982) resulting in an adoption of a greater degree of bureaucracy within its organisational structure (Broom, 1991; Dahlerup,

1986; Freeman, 1975, 1979; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; P. Y. Martin, 1990; Morgen, 1994; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Ryan, 1992).

As a social movement organisation in organisational preservation phase (Zald & Ash, 1966), the transition house could be characterised as having a bureaucratic structure as it encompassed various features such as hierarchy and authority, however this structural form may not necessarily have been detrimental. As substantiated previously it enabled the transition house's Board of Directors to maintain a stable and secure base as it derived its support in part from the financial resources and legitimacy within the wider community, which it established from its affiliation with government and inter-agency connections (Aveni, 1978; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Potuchek, 1986; Riger, 1994; D. Robinson, 1993a; Zald & Ash, 1966).

The reflections of ex-staff identified the dual role of service delivery and ending violence against women undertaken by the battered women's movement and its affiliation and willingness to be accommodating in its relationship with government that sought to claim such initiatives for itself:

It's one and the same at some levels. What I know is communities with transition houses, ... or women's centres are more organised on issues of violence against women than those communities that do not have that. So just the demand put on the community to respond to having that in their community is an exercise. Exercise in itself to combatting violence against women. ... I think they have been instrumental in organising communities to respond. Good example of that, until they had a shelter in [other county] there was very little being done, almost nothing being done publically on the issue. There was very little responsibility from the police. No inter-agency and I think that's a good example of that's where women's centres, shelters or [similar type] organisations, that's where the inter-agencies popped up first and I don't think that's accidental. Beyond that the public education they do, the work in schools that [the transition house] does especially. We now have teenagers who know intellectually that violence against women is not acceptable and I think alot of that work has happened from the shelter. I remember the Province Inter-Agency Committee, I remember near the end of the life of that committee the Deputy or Minister made a kind of presentation to this committee and listed the things that government had accomplished on the issue of violence against women. Everything they listed was work done by the houses

or by THANS.¹ It really left the impression that if you didn't know the history, that the government had said 'we need a shelter in [other county]' and [name of specific transition house] had opened and [another transition house] had opened. Brand new structures and they were listing these as government initiatives ... we have to be very clear on where the effort has come from, and it has come from the battered women's movement. ... So I don't think this Province would have had, they just didn't have this Eureka experience and said 'we need these services, we need outreach workers,' the lobbying that went behind that. So if you want a response, if it wasn't for the houses and the shelter movement, I don't think any of this would have happened and if it did it would be a very institutional responsibility and not a community response (Ex-Staff Member).

Like other transition houses within the Province of Nova Scotia the transition house adapted itself as it sought to accomplish various activities within a government framework. This was clearly illustrated in the following responses from board, and ex-board members and staff:

Funding parameters have dictated resource allocation resulting in inflexible position development and, in my opinion, hampered initiatives for generation of creative planning for delivery (Ex-Board Member).

Look at different models and that could be an advantage in one way and a disadvantage in another way. All dependent on where we're at and the amount of funding that we get. If we keep people on staff then do more outreach work. We don't get funding, then it's a disadvantage (Board Member).

Now the emphasis on dollars is so great just to keep the house running that transition house may forget the philosophy of providing a safe place to abused women. There is such a risk of a woman seeking shelter who will not be covered financially and thus a deficit that workers must spend more time screening and going after funding (Staff Member).

Compliance with Bureaucratic Structures

As a social movement organisation the transition house had moved beyond development and growth into maintenance phase, subject to government pressure to

¹ THANS is an acronym for the Transition House Association of Nova Scotia and whose purpose was to represent the interests of the transition houses within the province.

reform and accommodate both its feminist philosophy and potential service delivery initiatives. This emanated from the government's bureaucratic characterisation that the transition house was forced to comply with in order to maintain a stable funding source (Riger, 1994; Zald & Ash, 1966). It would therefore be useful to examine the nature of organisational preservation characterised by the identification and assimilation of bureaucracy within its organisational structure in order to review its impact on how the transition house was organised, what brought about its rationalisation and how it balanced the bureaucracy that was engendered with maintaining a feminist agenda for social change.

The influence of bureaucracy on organisations (Aveni, 1978; Ferguson, 1984; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Potuchek, 1986; D. Robinson, 1993a; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Zald & Ash, 1966) held a resonance for the transition house in that it had an impact on its structure and philosophy in response to receiving government funding. As stated previously the transition house was established in the post-feminist collective milieu and as a consequence subscribed to facilitating change through systemic means, what Schmitt and Martin (1999) referred to as 'unobtrusive mobilisation' organising from within to influence the state and community based agencies. Both ex and current board members clearly saw their role as working through government for changes in policy and service delivery:

Government policies have intervened in response to pressure from lobby groups to improve policies and practices in order to protect battered women. Most interventions have been positive.

Get new board members, people who would work in different organisations that might effect women's lives. Always looking for people who could help, how to approach the Community Services (Ex-Board Members).

... placing responsibility and pressure on government agencies for issues which are in the best interests of our clients (Board Member).

D. Robinson's (1993a) suggestion that bureaucracy is self imposed by organisations in order to serve their own interests bears some credence for the transition house in that it was influenced by both internal and external bureaucratic factors that were part of the constituents that formed the transition house (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Organisational survival is predicated on bureaucratic systems, maintenance of the

organisation and the associations formed with external bodies. This mobilisation of resources not only provided the transition house with legitimacy within the community but also enabled it to positively influence the state and community based associations (Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999; Staggenborg, 1988, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). Thus the maintenance of a fine balance can be seen to be a feature of the transition house as its staff focused on maintaining critical services to battered women and supporting a feminist philosophy within its organisation, staff and client relationships. Staff understood only too well the need to respond to new challenges and emphasised this in their service delivery development:

We had visioning days in the last year which involved staff and board where we talked about our vision of [the transition house] and out of that came an acceptance that we needed to focus more on outreach and that we needed to start making a plan. We've had plans brought to us and we've tried to create plans. The schedule that has come about was actually done by a board member and modified by the support counsellors.

Part of our visioning was to reach youth and that's why we're getting into the school system. [Staff member does] public education, [or is] available for clients in [name of school]. It took us ten years to get into the school system. Now that's happened and that's been a vision by board ... by being able to come away ... and do that and we're going to start in another school (Staff Members).

Internal factors pertaining to bureaucracy can only be alluded to in this chapter and will be examined more closely in Chapter 8. The remainder of this chapter will explore the impact of government funding upon the transition house during major points in its lifespan and the bureaucratic form that was manifested (Ferguson, 1984; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

Bureaucracy consists of several features that are useful for understanding the dichotomy regarding the transition house's structural and philosophical transformation and its ability to focus on providing and supporting battered women from a feminist perspective. Some of these features remain pertinent in terms of addressing the impact of internal factors while some can be distinguished from an external perspective. The influences derived from the external environment may also be supported and promoted internally.

The bureaucratic features that will be focused on in this chapter originated from external influences primarily from the provincial government that funded the transition house. These features have implications for the manner in which it was maintained and illustrated the tension of providing stable and secure funding to an organisation whose roots were firmly embedded in a grass roots WLM (Transition House Proposal, 1983) but which had also adapted to an environment that was more responsive to institutionalised forms of structure. The bureaucratic features worth examining here are identified as follows: authority and hierarchy; rules; and division-of-labour. Some of these features may have greater impact than others but all have consequences for the transition house, its philosophy and its ability for social change.

Authority and Hierarchy

By-Laws define specifics of operation of the society such as terms of membership, procedure for calling the annual meeting, voting rights, and minute taking. The by-laws in effect form the contract between the society and its members. They can be altered to fit your needs and should facilitate and support the operation of the society to meet its goals (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.5).

The By-Laws established by the transition house, that is by the first Board of Directors who were responsible for the transition house, were a compulsory component of its incorporation as a society. The benefits to the transition house included not only government acceptance but tax exemption and non-profit charitable status. The Regulations of the Societies Act also maintained that responsibility for employees, membership, policy and financial accountability were key features in establishing and maintaining societies (Department of Social Services, 1984).

The By-Laws pre-determined how the transition house should be operationalised. Operationalising it in this way was also supported by the government which preferred a hierarchical, management based structure for operating transition houses (Department of Social Services, 1984). The By-Laws were to be facilitated by a management body, a board of directors:

The management of the activities of the Society shall be vested in the Directors who, in addition to the powers and authorities by these by-laws or other wise expressly conferred upon them, may exercise all

such powers and do all such acts and things as may be exercised or done by the Society and are not hereby or by statute expressly directed or required to be exercised or done by the Society in general meetings. The Directors may appoint an executive committee consisting of the Officers and such other persons as the Directors decide (Transition House By-Laws, 1983, p. 6).

The Board of Directors thus was invested with the authority to act in the best interests of the transition house. This structural configuration was critical for its interactions with the government as the transition house was directly accountable to the government department responsible for providing it with funding. The movement toward organisational preservation was characterised by compliance with a pre-determined structure by the transition house and the transition house movement within the Province. It transformed the original battered women's movement goal of providing safety and shelter to battered women from within a feminist collective framework as it increasingly adopted a hierarchical structure for coordinating transition house activities (Currie, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Zald & Ash, 1966). Conforming to a bureaucratic structure however was clearly understood as a necessary evil as the following quote from a board member exemplified:

It's hard for government bureaucrats to understand a group structure outside of their own experience (Board Member).

The Board of Directors provided the governance component for the transition house. However there was an underlying tension for ex-board members who spoke of their unease at not always viewing themselves as management as they came to terms with being placed in this position:

One of the things that I struggled with for quite awhile when first going on the board, I had never considered myself as a management position.

... I didn't feel like management, although in a way we were in charge of policy (Ex-Board Members).

Accountability to government was facilitated in two ways, the first through direct contact between the transition house and government and the second through the Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV) which was established in 1983 and consisted of personnel from various community agencies and institutions in addition to transition house and government representatives. This committee was replaced in

1991 by a Transition House Committee (THC) consisting of Executive Directors of the transition houses and government representatives. The results of an organisational survey noted the purpose of the PCFV:

The Committee has, by and large, shaped the development of transition house services in this province. For example, stable funding base, number and location of homes, inclusion of funding for Children's Services Worker, etc. (PCFV, September, 1989, p.2).

The establishment of these two committees enabled the Executive Director to promote the interests and concerns of the transition house. Consequently the Executive Director was able to initiate ideas and policies that supported the transition house and in concurrence with Matthews (1995) actively engaged with the state to promote its feminist perspective. The ability to initiate ideas was reflected by one transition house Executive Director attending the PCFV:

They have reached the point now that everything else is done, beyond the internal shelter work, [what] is in need now [is] a community support system. This system needs to be endorsed by government funding and responsible government ownership. Outreach work provided by shelters is an essential component of breaking the cycle of violence. ... Nova Scotia could take a leading role in Canada by providing 100% funding to shelters to operate not only the internal programmes, but the outreach network of support services for battered women (PCFV, September, 1989, p.13).

As a consequence of such participation the Executive Director and the Board of Directors were thus entrusted with the transition house's decision-making strategies (Dahrendorf, 1972; Reinelt, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Staggenborg, 1989).

The transition house was able to maintain a feminist perspective through its continued participation in the two government committees and it also promulgated the Executive Director's position as expert and primary spokesperson. Empowering the Executive Director in this way was profound not only because she was the manager but as a board member and a founding board member who had been integrally involved with the transition house from its outset, she had an expertise and knowledge base that was considerable. This was clearly evidenced by comments from ex and current staff:

I think the structure of [the transition house] as it is now, somebody has to be responsible for the overall operation and service provided.

[Executive Director] reads every file, she always has. The way [the transition house] is structured right now, based on the house being primary service. The structure works fairly well (Ex-Staff Member).

[Executive Director] likes provincial work and provincial committees.[She] likes shaping how things are going in the province. [She's] no longer an idealist but a realist (Staff Member).

The nature of the transition house hierarchical structure (as identified in Chapter 5) therefore enabled the Board of Directors and the Executive Director to filter information, transfer knowledge and share expertise as a two way process between and within the government committees and the transition house. The PCFV had developed a Mission Statement that rationalised this more distinctly:

To provide a forum for representatives of transition houses, government and community organisations so that women and children who are victims of violence and men who are abusers have a comprehensive range of services available to them. This will be accomplished by exchanging information, identifying gaps in services and making recommendations (PCFV, January, 1991, p.22).

Furthermore as the Executive Director worked within a hierarchical structure in the transition house in order to promote its interests with external funders her relationship with staff was more democratic, participatory and open. There were opportunities for discussion and consultation, to strike a balance as it were with other staff regarding various aspects pertaining to the transition house. Consequently, the Executive Director's role was to support staff by providing information and was able to use her leadership qualities, expertise and knowledge in promoting a consensual and equitable decision- making approach with staff, more in keeping with the 'modified hierarchical' model (Schechter, 1982):

[To] support staff ... and help them to create an environment they can do that in. Also ensure that documentation of and work women do in [transition house] is accurate and correct. Help staff and part of supportive foundation, brainstorm to support women. ... try to be very supportive. ... A person who has a view of a bigger picture in the Province and where things are going in a few years. [The Executive Director's] job to know that, an instinct. ... Representative to the community, the main [job, and] letting board know what's going on here. ... let them know everything. Need support, maybe not do anything but the support, part of being on a board (Staff Member).

I think staff meetings, people have equal say and because of some of the imposed structures for non-profit organisations you have to have a board, you have to have a supervising director who can sign contracts. Who can be legally responsible but [transition house] in particular has struggled with having staff represented at the board (Ex-Staff Member).

More abstractly and in a wider context however, the Executive Director in partnership with other transition house Executive Directors was given the authority to make decisions. The leadership status afforded to all the provincial transition houses' Executive Directors could however have overarching consequences as the authority and expertise held by them were forceful mechanisms that had the ability to override initiatives taken by other groups. An example of this was identified by a THANS coordinator who with an ex-transition house resident, co-authored a chapter on battered women survivors organising a provincial conference for change. They spoke of the power that the executive directors maintained as representatives of the transition house movement in the Province:

As we recount the events leading up to *Strong Women United for Change*, a provincial conference organised by and for ex-residents, you will see a disparity between the avowed intent of the executive directors of transition houses to listen to the women who use their services, and the reality: when ex-residents became more involved in the movement, they were perceived as a threat to the power and autonomy of the directors, and their views were discounted or ignored. We believe that professionalization and careerism in the battered women's movement have played a part in creating this disparity (Stern & Leppard, 1995, p.148).

It appeared that the Executive Directors could lay claim to a level of expertise and authority as they held direct dominance in various arenas external to the transition houses they represented. Their influence could directly impact on the feminist discourse that acknowledged the importance of including the contributions of battered women within the WLM. It would be fair to state that this dominance reflected the relationship that the Executive Directors had with government funders in that their role was to ensure that they represented the best interests of their organisations in order to be sustained. Consequently their energy and commitment was transferred away from solely focusing on feminist ideals to organisational maintenance and sustainability issues. This is not to say however, that all Executive Directors acted in

this manner but as a grouping on this particular issue it appeared to be the case (Stern & Leppard, 1995). Obviously some transition houses worked to maintain a feminist agenda when working with battered women and for some, women's voices contributed to the maintenance of a feminist philosophy of service delivery. The transition house understood the need for battered women to be more systematically involved as board members and policy makers:

[The Executive Director] always suggest that we have some women who have used our services to get on the board and ... it's very important to hear their voice on the board in terms of self esteem and what's needed. [Also] probably on these provincial committees. ... we should have some women who have survived abuse because what happens is they'll depend on [her] to speak for all the transition houses, which means speak for abused women. Well you know ... [she has her] perspective and ... it's not far off but ... it'd be very valuable to have some direct service users on the provincial committees as well as the inter-agency committees (Staff Member).

Battered women should have an opportunity to participate in policy development and implementation through Board of Director participation (Board Member).

Authority and hierarchical implications were further reflected in the job description developed for the Executive Director. The job description endorsed by the Board of Directors originated from the government department that funded the transition houses with some input from THANS representatives. The job description's position scope distinguished the level of authority and hierarchical positioning that the Executive Director held in relation to transition house operations and the Board of Directors:

The control and management of the business of the Association is under the direction of the Executive Director, who is responsible to the Board of Directors of the Association. The Executive Director is responsible to the Board of Directors through the President/Chair for the overall functioning of the Association. She is to ensure that the activities and programs of the Association are carried out according to the values and standards established by the Association as per the mission statement and goals and objectives (Executive Director's Job Description, November, 1991, p.1)

The job description thus exemplified the direct responsibility and lines of supervision of the Executive Director to the Chairperson and in turn the Chairperson's responsibility to the Board of Directors. This direct accountability supports the

centralisation of decision-making structures found within the transition house (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Staggenborg, 1989).

Rules

The rules that Rothschild-Whitt (1979) referred to in her study of alternative organisations focussed on the internal dynamics of the bureaucratic organisation and while internal rules remained relevant for the transition house there were also external impositions on the transition house particularly emanating from the provincial government department that provided funding. The primary issues for the government department consisted of formalising rules pertaining to funding criteria and conformity issues that they imposed upon the transition house. As Rothschild-Whitt (1979) noted rules tended to be inflexible and anticipatory and led to a centralisation of the organisation's decision-making processes (Staggenborg, 1989). This centralisation process was evident in the development of a hierarchical structure with a governing Board of Directors and various board committees established to maintain the transition house's structure and organisational format (Department of Social Services, 1984).

The formalisation of rules in the transition house was thus reflected in the funding criteria established by the government funding department it received funding from. This criteria not only encompassed budgetary requirements but also included safety and health maintenance issues (see Chapter 4). Consequently if the transition house was to continue to receive funding annually it had to comply with the government's Department of Social Services revised guidelines:

Effective February 20, 1985, every Transition House shall continuously comply with the ... requirements as a condition of new or renewed funding support from the Department of Social Services (Department of Social Services, 1985, p.1).

The guidelines imposed outlined the level of safety and health precautions that the transition house was required to adhere to. These guidelines compelled it to develop and adopt policies that met the criteria established by the funders. For example, the transition house was required to undergo annual health inspections, fire drills twice

yearly, a fire inspection on an annual basis and staff training. Although these precautions were critical for the maintenance of safety and health conditions of residents and staff other "restrictive institutional safety codes" (Weisman, 1992, p.103) were imposed because of the residential nature of the transition house. For example, the guidelines imposed by the Department of Social Services (1984) included development of a policy for medications and drug administration. The transition house had to assure the government department that it would not allow women responsibility for their own medication, "... the Chief Administration Officer shall ensure that drugs of residents are stored in a secure manner so that children in the facility cannot have access to them" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.2, 1985). The wording of the Drugs and Alcohol Policy identified that:

No alcohol or non-medical drugs are permitted at [the transition house]. Medications, both prescription and over the counter drugs must be kept in a locked cupboard in the office for the protection of women and children. Access to the locked cupboard will be through staff persons only. Medication will be dispensed only as prescribed except if staff receive confirmation from a doctor. Any changes will have to be documented on medication form. Staff must get directions from the doctor when label reads "Take when needed" (1996, p.4).

Thus women who prior to residence had been responsible for their own medications at home with their children, found that they could no longer have access to them without permission from staff. The development and adherence to such policies in compliance with government guidelines, although critical for the safety of all residents and staff, also reinforced adherence to a bureaucracy that had been imposed upon the transition house. The formalised structure was an indication of women being disempowered, not taking control of their lives. They were prohibited from assuming personal responsibility for the maintenance and care of their medications. Opportunities for women to participate in such decision-making processes about the best course of action for them appeared not to be available. Thus the adherence to bureaucracy within the transition house reinforced the maintenance of such tasks to be performed systematically by staff (Staggenborg, 1989). This clear reflection of bureaucracy being externally imposed through rigidly applied and inflexible rules provided the opportunity to contrast the formalisation process and routinisation of tasks found in bureaucratic organisations with the individual, adhoc, arbitrary and participatory nature pertaining to the decision-making processes found in collective

structures (Ferguson, 1984; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Staggenborg, 1989). The compliance with bureaucracy and its attached rules thus limits opportunities for women to be involved in change making processes. Conversely opportunities for management and staff to have input into alternative policy decisions was constrained by its overall responsibility to government.

A further example of the formalisation of rules can be applied to the transition house's annual budget formulation. The total budget required was apportioned into three funding areas, the first the provincial government's contribution of 75% although not necessarily 75% of the transition house's actual budget submitted (Gilman, 1988) and the municipal government's share up to 25% of the total budget required and other funds that may be fundraised or donated. The transition house had to apply annually for funding to the two levels of government that provided funding. It also had to ensure that other funding sources required to make up the government's 25% shortfall were also in place. The remaining 25% was usually accessed from the municipalities which the women and children came from.² The 25% required was either in the form of a daily *per diem* rate for each mother and child or was given as a total amount in a block grant for the year.

The transition house opted for daily *per diem* rates for its residents and as a result had to make applications to the municipal councils on an individual client basis. The procedures in place for accessing municipal funding were consistent with a well developed bureaucracy. For example board members and the Executive Director were responsible for ensuring that they conformed to the procedures established by these councils in order to make applications for continued funding. Consequently they maintained contacts, made formal presentations and provided councils with written submissions and reports of their activities and budget requirements. Although this was time consuming funding contributions from municipal councils were critical for the maintenance of the transition house because the 25% funding granted was

² The municipalities enacted the British "Law of Settlement" (Dobb, 1978) that meant that women and children from other 'parishes' could not be subsidised from the place that they were residing in at the time of sheltering. The transition house had to bill each municipality to access reimbursement from the woman's original residence.

calculated as a component of the total annual budget required. If this proportional funding was not made available ³ it was difficult for it to maintain its base line costs which it had to cover irrespective of the number of women and children being sheltered:

... if a municipality will not approve a woman's per diem we will never turn her away but ... do worry about the deficit (Staff Member).

Some government funding is based on number of residents. Therefore when residency goes down funding drops and fixed costs cannot be covered (Board Member).

In providing funding the municipal councils could also impose various rules and regulations regarding women's length of stay in the transition house and their eligibility for residency. For example, six weeks was identified as the maximum length of stay in any transition house in the Province of Nova Scotia and women's eligibility criteria may have depended on the number of times they had stayed in a transition house in any one given year or if they had stayed longer than six consecutive weeks at any one time.

Rothschild-Whitt (1979) has stated that bureaucracy may have some flexibility in that rules and therefore decisions made can be appealed. The direct solicitation from the government also showed its willingness to work with transition houses to promote and negotiate their interests thus illustrating the legitimization of women's issues as defined within the transition house (Eisenstein, 1995; Reinelt, 1995). This was demonstrated with the introduction of a new policy that streamlined the municipalities *per diem* access system. This policy introduced in 1993 assisted all the transition houses with processing applications:

Transition Houses reported that they are happy with the new policy which provides for cost sharing of per diems to Transition Houses between the municipality and the Department of Community Services. The forms that accompanied the memo regarding this notification to municipalities have also streamlined the reimbursements. ... It was suggested that if any Transition Houses are having difficulties with the municipalities that they set up a meeting with them to discuss these issues and invite the Regional Administrator for their area to

³ Some municipal councils resisted paying the daily *per diem* rates for women and children who originated from their catchment areas.

participate. If this is not helpful in resolving the issues, the Transition House should contact the Department [of Community Services] for additional assistance (Transition House Committee, January, 1993, p.6).

In terms of the transition house's annual budget submission to the provincial government various key aspects require further examination as they too impacted on its structure and philosophy. Externally imposed rules regarding the budget suggested that the process was not an autonomous one but was influenced over the years by the government committees that the Executive Director and Board of Directors participated in and the ongoing relationships that they fostered with government representatives. Each year the Executive Director and the Board of Directors prepared and submitted their annual budget to the provincial government using a particular format established by the funding body "Fundors often have specific requirements for a budget format" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.23). This format included an approximation of various revenue and expenditures required annually. The centralisation of decision-making strategies and the formalisation process acknowledged through a division-of-labour found within the transition house supported 'organisational maintenance' (Ferguson, 1984; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966), that is the routinisation of critical activities to support the edifice of the organisation.

The external rules imposed on the transition house by the provincial government's Department of Community Services, included rules pertaining to a cap on funding amounts; inflexibility of budget spending; reporting procedures; collection of statistics and client data. These features were all inextricably linked as they enabled degrees of accountability to the funder and reinforced the transition house's bureaucratised structure and organisation.

The additional rules and regulations imposed on the transition house for the purpose of maintaining accountability included financial reporting and statistical client data collection. The Executive Director and the Board of Directors were responsible for providing the government with quarterly financial reports regarding their budget. There were however opportunities for negotiation of rules established by the funder

(Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). For example all the transition houses' Executive Directors requested that instead of completing a separate quarterly variance report for the Department of Community Services they asked to submit the quarterly report they prepared for their individual Boards of Directors. This was agreed upon. The responses given in the study through the data collected and resource material did not elicit many references or overt criticism regarding the nature of report preparation and submission. In the transition house the routinisation of collating and preparing this information was relieved somewhat by the hiring from time to time of part-time staff to assist with this process thus freeing up the Executive Director's time for other tasks.

Data collection was also routinised with the development and revision of statistical forms during the 1980s and 1990s. In 1987 the Department of Social Services (as it was then known) instituted intake and departure forms for all the transition houses in the Province to use. These forms captured a wealth of data about women service users, children and partners, and included medical information, employment history, the nature and extent of domestic violence, criminal justice involvement and referrals. The departure form included data on reasons for leaving the transition house, future residence options for women and children, services contacted, actions undertaken, role of staff and programme evaluation. The monthly statistical reporting form that was also a requirement of the Department of Social Services was sent to the transition house each month. This form captured details from the intake and departure forms. The collection of this information not only provided profiles of women and their abusive partners but also conformed to a level of accountability not usually found in feminist organisations where client data collection was kept to a minimum or not collected at all (Broom, 1991; J. Clifton, 1985; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Rose, 1985):

Statistics, lots of paper work for government to prove it is a vital and necessary project.

We have to do monthly statistics but ... that makes sense to provide statistical reports to the people who fund you but it's a lot of work (Staff Members).

The more you could justify then the more you could justify what your needs were. Credibility (Ex-Board Member).

The collection of statistics further illustrated the transition house's dependence on the government that required statistics to be maintained. The need to justify its existence was paramount as the government sought to capture detailed information about battered women and the level and depth of services provided by the transition house through the numbers of women being assisted (Broom, 1991; Potuchek, 1986). The collection of current client data suggests that although the government's desire is to consider more long-term services and programmes they can also prescribe service provision in the transition houses:

The Department [of Community Services's] plan over the next year is to review all information collected from the Transition Houses regarding their programs both in the House as well as their outreach programs. There is a need to collect better information which will help in the planning for programs and developing services for the future. The Department [of Community Services] would like to review this information with the assistance of representatives from the Transition Houses and/or T.H.A.N.S. Since there is a limit on the amount of time that Transition House staff can give to voluntary efforts such as this, it is decided that the most economical way to receive input from Transition Houses would be to send out sample statistical forms for the Transition Houses to make comments and to return to the Department to assist in developing a form that would be useful and relevant. ... When the forms are reviewed by Transition Houses and comments provided to the Department, a draft form will be designed for both services in Transition Houses, as well as services provided by Outreach Workers and will be provided in draft form to be sent to the Transition Houses before final review (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.5).

The funding limit of 75% of the total budget had substantial repercussions for the transition house in terms of limiting the range of services and programmes to women and children and within the wider community. For example, the transition house was limited to the staff *in situ*, nor could it really estimate its annual budget as the province specified what the 75% was worth. Thus the restrictions in terms of limited resourcing had enormous consequences, such as overworked staff, insufficient staff numbers, underfunding for specific programmes and increased conformity and dependency on the funding bodies for its continued maintenance. The increased impact of government funding on the structure and philosophy of the transition house was identified by both ex and current board members and staff:

Government funding has impacted on the house by shortage of staff, leaving staff to work long hours. Many days not having enough when

the house is full to cope with several women at once. Shortage of hours for the outreach programme (Ex- Board Member).

It limits the quality and quantity of services we can provide. Due to deficit uncertainty about future cutbacks which will hinder services (Board Member).

Government definitely a funding agent, impacted on made it difficult to fully carry out the philosophies and principles of [the transition house] (Ex-Staff Member).

The board and staff clearly understood the limitations of its annual budget provided by government and its impact on the services provided to battered women:

There's never been enough money to do the work properly. I think the work has been done but on the backs of low paid women with little to no benefits. When I look at staff turnover, that's a major impact because once you have that experience of the shelter work that gives you a resume that you can move onto a better paid job and I think we have lost good people to that ... I think one, it's stressful, and two, turnover. You can have only a certain size, the House really needs, it would be nice if they had private baths for each room, it would be alot easier for a woman to go to [the transition house] if she had a suite for her family. To go to a house out of a crisis to a communal situation is very difficult. I think that has an impact on some women staying and accessing services. It takes alot of work to be lobbying. It takes time from the actual work because you're constantly going to council meetings, there's alot of energy that could be refocused in the work inside the House. **If you didn't have to do this dance all the time.** [Emphasis added] (Ex-Staff Member).

There's a lot of women who would not think of going [to the transition house and] we don't have the means to get out and do a lot of public education within rural communities. We have a large area to service and we just can't do that. So there's a lot of women that for some reason haven't heard about [the transition house] and if they do hear about it, it just goes right over their head. They don't pay any attention to it (Board Member).

The impact of limited resources was viewed by the transition house as a reduction or limitation of the services provided and impeded its ability to implement its overall philosophy. The paramountcy of service provision could be seen to be all pervasive as the responses indicated. The negative impact of funding limitations influenced the transition house's focus on maintaining an effective service delivery agenda which had the potential to temporarily displace other important goals as it dealt with the consequences of limited funding (McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Riger, 1994; Staggenborg,

1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). This was evidenced when the transition houses' Executive Directors expressed their concerns to the new Minister of Community Services in 1993:

[One Executive Director] noted the inadequate staffing in the Transition Houses. There is one support worker on each shift and on weekends there is no child care worker for the children, thus increasing the work of the staff who are available. Staffing is generally inadequate with no opportunity to cover for vacation when the child care worker is on vacation and staff experience burnout on a regular basis.

[One Executive Director] received many referrals for counselling and for public education sessions to be provided in the schools.

Agencies in the area see the Transition House as providing counselling and public education around issues related to family violence and they can't keep up with the number of requests.

[One Executive Director] noted the stress that staff and Directors experience. In the last two years, six Executive Directors of Transition Houses have left, which highlighted the difficulties associated with the job (Transition House Committee, November, 1993, pp.1-3).

In light of the overwhelming pressure to respond to the needs of their clientele, transition houses were not only prevented from considering other agendas but staff also suffered physical and emotional exhaustion. The constant striving to match the funding provided with the needs of their clientele was a continuing source of frustration and impacted on the transition house's structure and philosophy:

The crisis level is extremely high at [the transition house] as residents arrive in a state of fear, trauma and distress. The worker must be prepared for the next admission, or distress call, and still attend to the other residents' needs. The level of emotional energy required for this job is demanding and can be physically draining as well (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1988, p.2).

Because of the amounts of money we get in terms of the number of staff and when you replace your staff, the constraints of the amount you do, based on how many persons, salaried persons you can have. You may ask for two Children's Services Workers or an Outreach Worker and six permanent staff and relief workers. You know there is enough need for that many people to deliver all services, but it's unrealistic because you are told that you must go by guidelines of last year's budget dependent for 75% funding and that's a huge constraint (Board Member).

The annual budget was a constant concern as the government placed a funding cap on all transition houses in the Province. The 75% that was provided was somewhat arbitrary as there was no absolute guarantee of the amount the transition house would receive. This meant that the 75% although not fixed, was nevertheless, less likely to change and so the transition house could not easily plan for new initiatives. Accordingly the minutes of the provincial committee reflected this:

The financial environment is one of restraint and many areas are threatened with cutbacks. It is anticipated that there will be no new money in the transition house budget subject for 1993-1994 and it will be held at the 1992-1993 level (Transition House Committee, September, 1993, p.2).

Although meeting the needs of battered women within the parameters of funding was troublesome for the transition house it continued to provide services for all women and children within its catchment area and although the government could determine funding levels and regulate the services and programmes the transition house provided, its Executive Director constantly presented its concerns to the provincial committee both verbally and by providing written reports. The Executive Director and board members also held separate meetings with government representatives to discuss budgets and services:

The Department [of Community Services] representatives normally meet with each Transition House after the Department's budget is approved which would mean that the Transition Houses would not get approval of their budgets until sometime in September. However, the Department [of Community Services] feels that it is important to meet with each Transition House to review the priorities in light of the Department's approved budget (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.3).

The establishment of new and specific initiatives by government, through the concerted and continuous efforts of the transition houses and THANS provided some additional funding but not what was really required to be effective. For example the establishment of the outreach programme not only needed outreach workers but also the operational funding to administer the programme. The government provided funding for specific staff salaries, such as one outreach worker position per transition house but substantially limited funding for other programme costs and left it up to the transition house to locate other funding sources required to fulfil the services:

Other staff not approved in the budget must be paid out of funds raised independently by the Board (Transition House Committee, June, 1992, p.3).

In Nova Scotia our funding has remained the same, yet our costs are going up. Every time we bring on a new service such as the outreach for example, because of the 70-30 split between the Province and the non-profit board, that's another 30% of a salary that a house has to come up with (Ex-Staff Member).

... whatever the big issues were and at the same time keep in mind what the day to day work is ... money for salaries and benefits ... the amount of money ... was always so small, almost embarrassing to make the presentation. Again you're trying to do something with limited resources to work from. Community Services would say this is what your budget is, so much percentage less than last year ... if you're going to stay open find other ways to do it. If you want to stay open find creative ways to do it because you will have another decrease.

I think too that board members have to be willing to fight and to be seen to be fighting on behalf of the organisation and to find out that you're not terribly popular with a certain segment of the community because of what you're doing but yet you're still working to try to help that segment understand what it is. Salaries, to go and argue with the 'powers that be' in Halifax. We did that many a time (Ex-Board Members).

The efforts made by the Board of Directors and the Executive Director to negotiate with government to increase funding levels and establish new programmes was integral to transition house activities. They understood the importance of being willing to confront and challenge the funding levels thus countering their dependence on government (Matthews, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999).

Government representatives understood the challenge of working in this manner but as government representatives could only represent the interests of the department they were employed in and could not arbitrarily make funding decisions independent of government (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schreader, 1990). The transition house was able to differentiate between individual representatives support for the transition house and the autonomy of government to uphold restrictive funding practices (Eisenstein, 1995). Government representatives could not appear to be opposed to government policy regarding funding decisions. Ferguson (1984) in her analysis of class relations

between workers and managers within capitalist structures suggested that the 'bureaucratisation of capitalism' (p.8) encouraged authority and control over workers. Thus government representatives may have held independent views that supported the transition house's needs but because of their position within the departmental bureaucracy were compelled to enforce government policy and inevitably exert control over all the provincial transition houses (Eisenstein, 1995; Schreader, 1990). The formalisation process that government representatives facilitated had far reaching implications in that the transition houses were really faced with a *fait accompli* as they tended to be limited in their ability to influence the overall funding levels that were required (Staggenborg, 1989).

... hesitant to say the next year probably next year because things are so [strange] in terms of the federal transfers. We know they're going to affect us sooner or later, the huge cutbacks in federal transfer money.⁴ However, I think there are people down in Halifax, like [names of government representatives] who are committed to transition houses and I think the [senior government representative] is too. But ... it might be individuals who are committed rather than the Department [of Community Services. There may be someone] who doesn't ... have an understanding (Staff Member).

Examples of this tension were addressed in meetings with the transition houses where government representatives indicated a formalisation process that the transition houses were to adhere to. Although budgets were unchanging they wanted to know what was required by them over and above what could be funded:

... budget meetings have now taken place with all the Transition Houses ... and the process has been helpful and informative. Although it is anticipated that there will be no additional funding for any of the Houses in the coming fiscal year, it is important that all the Houses record their needs in their budget proposals and this will serve as a record in future budget discussions (Transition House Committee, March, 1994, p.4).

⁴ The federal transfer money alluded to can be described in the following manner: "Provincial governments were primarily responsible for health, education, social services, and justice programmes (Status of Women Canada, 1995). ...the Canada Assistance Plan (CAP) (established in 1966) provided federal funding to the provinces on a 50/50 cost sharing basis. Under the federal/provincial arrangement, provinces contributed 50% of their budget to social, health, justice and education programmes while receiving the remaining 50% from federal coffers" (Gilson, 1996, p.2).

Consequently, the funding limits imposed on the transition houses also had an anticipatory dimension attached with the expectation that more funding might be available in the future without the government making any guarantees.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s funding tended to remain static except for the establishment of new specialised staffing positions. Furthermore, the funding provided remained somewhat inflexible in terms of how it could be spent. For example, funding was allocated into categories such as operating costs, household costs and programmes. Within these categories there was some degree of flexibility but the salary component could only be spent on salaries:

The question was also raised concerning what flexibility the Transition Houses had in spending the funds in their approved budgets. There has been some suggestion in the past that Transition Houses had no flexibility in spending the money for salary items but did have flexibility on non-salary items. It was decided to clarify in these minutes that authority is given to Transition Houses to use their discretion when spending non-salary items in their approved budgets. However, money provided in the budgets for salary must be spent on salaries (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.3).

The Department of Community Services position was somewhat ambiguous. On the one hand the Department did not interfere with salary dissemination and this could be seen as a positive and supportive strategy but transition houses had no autonomy in their use of the salary budget, that is, salaries could not be used for non-salaried activities, nor could they be used for non-approved staff. However all transition houses could be flexible with the salaries they paid to staff but this was not without its problems because the houses could not save on salaries in order to hire new staff. This led to a lack of standardisation regarding salaries (Vis-A-Vis, 1989) which was further promulgated by the 75%/25% funding formula. This was brought to the attention of the Transition House Committee by the Executive Directors:

The problem of salaries was raised also with [The Minister] that different Houses are paid different rates for salaries. For example, the Executive Director of [Transition House] in [other county] makes [C]\$27,400.00 and the Executive Director of [Transition House] in [other county] makes [C]\$36,000.00. The suggestion was made to the Minister that it would be helpful if salaries could be funded at 100% across the Province rather than subjected to the 75%/25% funding formula. [The Minister] indicated that he realizes that different areas require different solutions and there needs to be a policy that is

both firm and flexible at the same time (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.2).

Consequently funding provided by the government to transition houses could be seen as extremely divisive as transition houses were placed in the position of vying with each other for a limited amount of funding for operations and salaries:

[We] would like and [we] brought this up with Community Services to look at the way we're funded. For instance 'why is a fifteen bed house that covers three counties funded in the same manner and with the same amount of staff as a nine bed house which serves one county?' [We're] not saying a nine bed house should get less money [but] saying 'give us a reasonable budget' (Staff Member).

The transition house was a 15 bed transition house which meant that it had to find additional funding for its services and staff over and above other houses with fewer residential beds and with the same staff numbers. This air of frustration was clearly visible in the following comment from the same staff member regarding the impact of government funding on the structure and philosophy of the shelter:

We have ten hours in [other county]. I think they need to base their funding on something other than what it's based on. If they're looking at a house with low occupancy how about looking at how much outreach that house is doing and the geographical area they have to service and population size. There's the argument that [other county] only has 15,000 people but [it] is one quarter of the mainland. We have no money in our budget for outreach except for salary. No money for office space, travel, for phone, anything and that's a restriction. So [we] continuously feel pressured to juggle all the money so we can have, provide very basic service in [other county]. It's extremely frustrating I can't even imagine how frustrating it is for who's trying to do the work (Staff Member).

Whilst social change may have been an ultimate goal of the transition house the continuous outpouring of concern by the board and staff and their provincial counterparts regarding funding for the maintenance of basic services was fraught with tension as the transition house was forced to comply with rules and restrictions that funders sought to impose (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Furthermore such impositions restricted opportunities to address other issues and priorities sought by the transition house (Staggenborg, 1989). Consequently constraints established within the transition house as a result of funding restrictions were reflected in various ways. For example, it was prohibited from being more pro-active regarding advocacy and

lobbying for social change as it clearly understood the parameters that were established to conform its approach to battered women and their children:

We have to appear respectable in their terms, there's always the fear of funding withdrawal if we don't present acceptability. This means a campaign against male violence could be tricky to arrange.

... whoever is paying the major part of the costs cannot help but set certain conditions and rules for the use of public funds (Board Members).

For instance I'm going to use Section 22(2)(i)⁵ of the Children and Family Services Act which is a section of the act which I have a real problem with and that section says a child is in need of protection if the child has been repeatedly exposed to family violence and the parent and or guardian does not receive services. I think that should say abuser not parent or guardian because that can be used to put pressure on the woman who is already doing the best she can. If we didn't receive funding from the government perhaps we wouldn't report, maybe, I don't know. We still have the legal obligation but because of that we've had to do things that we have not felt comfortable to do. We don't like calling when a woman returns to our house because we don't have a lot of confidence in the child protection [services, who] is going to support her, and so we think if we were more independent we would fight that more. I bring this up because it's really poor wording and it doesn't put the onus on who's exposing the kids and who's doing the violence (Staff Member).

Division-of-Labour

According to Rothschild-Whitt (1979) bureaucracy consists of a division-of-labour that includes hierarchical structures and specialisation of roles. Many shelter researchers have also identified that compliance with government funders and the acceptance of bureaucratic structures imposed on them has meant that shelters were more likely to be transformed to the point that professionalism and role specialisation became the norm (Currie, 1989; Davis, 1988a; Ferraro, 1983; Potuchek, 1986;

⁵ The Children and Family Services Act 1990, "The purpose of this Act is to protect children from harm, promote the integrity of the family and assure the best interests of the children" (p.2). Section 22 (2) (i) states that a child required protection services when " the child has suffered physical or emotional harm caused by being exposed to repeated domestic violence by or towards a parent or guardian of the child, and the child's parent or guardian fails or refuses to obtain services or treatment to remedy or alleviate the violence" (Province of Nova Scotia, 1990, p.19).

Reinelt, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Tice, 1990). Furthermore Reinelt (1994) maintained that shelters felt it necessary to mimic traditional social service organisations in order to obtain the funding they needed (Lupton, 1994; Schechter, 1982). Davis (1988a) noted that the "institutionalisation of women's shelters as a form of provision took on additional significance as social agency agendas became increasingly integrated into shelter practice" (p.359). Furthermore Salancik, (1981) has stated that professionalism increased legitimacy for shelters as did Potuchek (1986) who argued that professionalism was a requirement of funders as it provided a means of evaluating a shelter's service quality.

As a result of transformation of the battered women's movement, the transition house also sustained a division-of-labour that included role specialisation and professionalism (Walker, 1990b). The new job descriptions developed during the 1990s by the transition houses and THANS and approved by the Department of Community Services and the provincial Civil Service Commission bear this out and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. The reasons for the establishment of a division-of-labour regarding staffing are not clearly visible but the relationship between the transition house and the provincial government, could be characterised as a relationship of negotiation. This engagement with the state enabled the transition house to negotiate services and programmes that were required to assist and support battered women and their children (Reinelt, 1995). The remainder of this chapter will examine the transition house's relationship with the government in accessing funding for staff salaries and the process of acceptability for new roles and the manner in which it impacted on the shelter's structure and philosophy.

In its original submission for government funding, the transition house identified that it would employ an administrator and general staff (Transition House Proposal, 1983). Unlike Beaudry's (1985) description of the early shelters where all staff worked "simultaneously with all the women in the shelter" (p.49), the transition house was established with tasks divided between its Executive Director and staff. The government's guidelines identified "criteria for hiring staff. i.e., relevant life experiences, sole support mothers, counselling skills" (Department of Social Services, 1984, p.7). As in all shelters in Canada during the 1980s staff received remuneration

for their work (Beaudry, 1985) but remained grossly underpaid (L. MacLeod, 1987). F. MacLeod, (1982) in her manual for establishing a shelter also emphasised that "Board and staff should be sure that willingness to hire staff without professional background not be used as an excuse for underpaying staff for the work they do" [emphasis added by author] (p.55). However for the transition house it was not until the early 1990s that the Department of Community Services, as it had then become to be known, agreed that salaries needed updating:

[The Minister] indicated that the development of this salary schedule was the result of much work on behalf of this Transition House Executive Directors and staff and the Transition House Association of Nova Scotia, as well as the Civil Service Commission and the Department of Community Services. He expressed the view that he has been concerned about the level of salary paid to Transition House staff since he was appointed Minister of Community Services and wanted to do something concrete about this situation. [The Minister] hoped that the Transition House staff would be pleased with the results of the work that has been done to this point and felt that this particular salary schedule was a significant change from the previous salaries paid to Transition House staff (Transition House Committee, June, 1992, pp.1-2).

As stated the process for the transition house tended to be one of negotiation with the provincial government for additional and specialised staff to provide services and programmes and throughout their history all provincial transition houses participated in a process that continuously engaged the government to recognise the need for the expansion of specialised services to battered women:

...Transition Houses not only provide shelter, but also provide a range of services in the community and the level of occupancy in the Transition House doesn't reflect the work that is being done in the community.

The Executive Directors noted their priorities in terms of funding issues. ... The second priority item for all the Houses is more staffing: more relief staffing, more child care staff and support staff (Transition House Committee, November, 1993, pp.2-3).

Staff were also able to articulate their needs and provided leadership in identifying what was required to support battered women:

I think that all shelters in Nova Scotia and [the transition house] in particular need to expand its outreach model because some women do not want to come into [the house] they feel there's a stigma attached

.... we have seen in our times of low occupancy our Outreach Workers are still working their butts off so ... that's the way the future lies. Expanding the outreach services to the women and their children.

More staff, more dollars for upgrading skills of workers. More funding for staff salaries who are constantly struggling with the salary they receive. House politics cause team work to crumble and this reflects itself on the service to women (Staff Members).

The ability of the transition house to promote and advocate for its needs with the government was often conflictual and intense as it negotiated its passage throughout the history of the battered women's movement in the Province. The strategy that was espoused marked the relationship between the transition house and government and was made explicit throughout the tenure of the two provincial committees that all the transition houses participated in. The process of what Matthews (1995) referred to as 'active engagement' and what Schmitt and Martin (1999) called 'unobtrusive mobilisation'. This process however was frequently long and arduous as transition houses sought to negotiate their individual and collective needs. This process often took several years to become a reality. Throughout the provincial committees' meetings there were many references to various issues and concerns raised by the transition houses regarding service delivery initiatives, policy development, human resource needs, and budget requirements that were played out in meeting after meeting. It should be noted that not all issues and concerns were given the same priority by the government but the houses continued to focus on their priorities, albeit through frustrating and tiresome periods. The meetings between government representatives, the Minister and the Executive Directors sought to identify and accomplish various mutually agreeable initiatives. The following minutes reflected the approach taken by the then Minister of Community Services within the provincial committee:

[The Minister] asked the group if they wanted to ask him any questions on any issues related to the subjects of their discussion. [The Minister] opened the discussion by saying that family violence is a subject that everyone must be concerned with and he was interested in what policies and programs that the government should be addressing in this area. He specifically requested some input from the group and considers their ideas, suggestions and discussion very important for him to hear so that he will be familiar with the issues in this important area (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.1).

Priorities for all the transition houses included service delivery, additional and specific human resources and budget increases. They worked collectively to ensure that specific human resources were funded as they recognised that new services were growth areas. This was clearly identified by current and ex-staff:

Expanding outreach, individual groups, individual contacts and advocacy. Providing services to children in groups and individually (Staff Member).

Catch 22 situation, need the shelter, need a twenty four hour service but we need outreach. So many women don't want to leave their homes and community and [transition house] services a very rural population. ... have approached some of these needs through the outreach programme, through the groups because alot of women now go to group that never got into the house. I think this advocacy person that is just being hired now will meet some of those outreach needs as well (Ex-Staff Member).

The two specialised services that were proposed by the transition houses were the positions of Children's Services Worker and the Outreach Worker. Both positions took several years to be funded by the government but that did not deter the houses from lobbying continuously for the positions. The Children's Services Worker position was funded permanently in 1987 and the Outreach Worker position in 1992. In 1996 the specialist position of Advocacy Worker was established by the transition house and funded for a period of 18 months by the provincial Department of Justice. It was hoped that the position would eventually be funded by the Department of Community Services. Although the initiative for including two specialist positions was due to the continued pressure exerted on government by the transition houses it was still perceived by some staff as a decision ultimately made by the government:

... the government deemed we needed childcare and the money was provided for a full-time position.

We're going with more outreach and I think that's in part then around the number that we've seen, with the one outreach position, of numbers of women who've accessed the service. So we see that there's been a real positive response too in terms of the access to the outreach service and out of that I think there's been some government pressure for us to respond to that. So that's where the restructuring really comes from. I don't see it as being completely internal. I think the government has had a lot of influence in terms of a pressure of saying things that we need to look ahead and we can do more with less and the new models of service delivery, new thoughts and really the only

new model is the outreach worker position which the government created in response to the Children's Services Act, the Section 22(2)(i) and children witnessing family violence. That's where the outreach position comes from (Staff Members).

Although it can be stated that the two positions were initiated by the transition houses, within the Outreach Worker's job description it was identified that the Outreach Worker must provide services "in accordance with Section 22(2)(i) of the Children and Family Services Act ... in the provision of support services to women whose children are at risk because of Section 22(2)(i)" (Outreach Worker Job Description, 1994). This also included developing protocols:

... with the child welfare agency in its area so that when referrals are made to the agency concerning children who have witnessed or been exposed to the abuse of their mothers would have a procedure in place for making these referrals (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, pp.6-7).

Due to lack of additional resource material it is difficult to explore whether the Children and Family Services Act, 1990 was established independent of the Outreach Worker position which was not identified by the transition houses as a critical service until September 1989 and not fully funded until the 1992-1993 budget. Or whether as the transition house staff indicated the Outreach Worker position was established by the government as the most appropriate focal point for referrals in relation to the Nova Scotia Children and Family Services Act, 1990. However the documentation that does exist tends to support the transition house's responsibility for advancing the specialist position.

The transition house also recognised the importance of receiving salaries that reflected the skills, expertise and responsibilities pertaining to the work that they did. This was exemplified in the budget submission from one transition house to the government in 1988:

...budget will include pay scales for staff that will reflect the required skills and responsibilities of their jobs (PCFV, December, 1988, p.13).

Historically shelter work was poorly paid and as government controlled the transition houses budgets, salaries were seen to be minimal (Beaudry, 1985; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982). The transition house staff spoke of their impressions regarding the

undermining and undervaluing of shelter work by the government brought about by the changes in the classification process and hiring criteria for staff introduced in 1992 as part of the new job descriptions and salary rating scales:

... the way government has judged us has undervalued us, has made people feel less and feel insecure and feel threatened.

... we're put in the position where unless staff have those paper credentials the work is not valued or accredited at any level ... by the government for one because they have a box you have to fit in. They have these criteria that tell you that your skills by criteria which does not measure skills (Staff Members)

The new job descriptions and salary scales were part of the professionalism that was introduced (Potuchek, 1986) by all the transition houses and the government in response to the specialisation of the Children's Services Worker and the Outreach Worker positions. Throughout their history each transition house autonomously negotiated budgets and salaries with government. Transition houses were established individually without direct consultation with other houses. Thus they understood the need to develop specific job descriptions that were standardised across all the houses in the Province in order to standardise salaries for the specific positions that had been established and for new specialised positions:

Concerns raised relating to staff salaries were discrepancies between salaries of the staff among the different Transition Houses (Transition House Committee, February, 1992, p.2).

However agreeing to standardise job descriptions and salaries meant that the transition houses lost an element of independence as government proposed job classifications which included identifying qualifications, credentials and roles and responsibilities deemed necessary to fulfil the new job descriptions. The government department, as on previous occasions, enlisted the help of THANS to assist with the development of job descriptions and salary ranges thus establishing its position as ultimately maintaining control over the hiring of staff, credentials required and the jobs that staff were responsible for:

[Government representative] mentioned that Transition House salaries will be reviewed after the job descriptions for the positions in the Transition Houses are classified and rated by the Civil Service Commission. [Government representative] indicated that input could be given by T.H.A.N.S. regarding a submission for appropriate

salaries for each position. [THANS staff] agreed to prepare such a submission, but was concerned about the salaries in the future and raised the question, what would happen if there is a freeze on salaries in the budgets for 1992-1993 and what are the options if this takes place, for parity? Also, what is the understanding of the Civil Service Commission about the job actually done by women in Transition Houses? [Government representative] explained the process that the Civil Service Commission goes through and indicated that once they take a preliminary look at the job descriptions and make some assessment, they will come back to the Department. [Government representative] asked that T.H.A.N.S. prepare a submission around what they would recommend as salaries for staff in Transition Houses and indicate that they are willing to provide input and participate in a meeting to discuss classifications (Transition House Committee, February, 1992, pp.4-5).

At the March 1992 meeting THANS provided salary recommendations that equalised the Transition House Worker, Outreach Worker and Children's Services Worker positions and increased the Executive Director's position by C\$10,000 over the other positions in keeping with the responsibility and authority afforded to the position. In addition THANS also recognised that the Department of Community Services would establish a range of salaries for the positions:

T.H.A.N.S. also expressed the view that the Department [of Community Services] probably would establish the salaries over a certain range from a minimum to a maximum and, therefore, a further recommendation will be made that salaries can be set within this range by the Board of each Transition House (Transition House Committee, March, 1992, p.4).

At the next meeting the Minister presented the positions and the salary ranges. The Executive Director position was within the range suggested by THANS as was the Transition House Worker position but the Children's Services Worker and the Outreach Worker positions had been classified at lower rates. The transition houses questioned these lower ratings and were informed that the Civil Service Commission had rated the Children's Services Worker position based upon the job description submitted by THANS. Furthermore the Department of Community Services requested resumes from each existing staff member so that they could:

... place the individual on the salary scale. Once it is determined where the staff member is placed on the scale, that salary will be phased in over a two year period. Fifty percent of that salary will be paid the first

year in 1992-1993 and the other 50% will be paid to the employee in the 1993-1994 fiscal year.

The Department will tell the Civil Service Commission that existing employees will be grandparented in and only new staff hired will be assessed on the basis of the qualifications in the job descriptions for the positions. The Board of Directors for each Transition House can decide on the actual salary it pays its staff for the House. However, the approved budget for each House will show the funds allocated for each staff as assessed by the Department (Transition House Committee, June, 1992, pp.2-3).

The 'trade off' that was experienced by the transition houses, that of higher salaries for conforming to government standards led to a lessened autonomy, a greater degree of dependence and conformity to a professionalism that they had not previously experienced. They became inextricably linked with the Civil Service Commission that defined the classification and rating systems for all provincial government department workers:

Some individuals get lower ratings than expected and it has been disappointing for some, but everyone has reached at least a minimum level. The adjustments were designated by the Civil Service Commission and they were not interfered with by the Department. Ratings were unconnected with the availability of money as a block of funds had already been set aside to cover salary increases. The Transition Houses and the Department bought into the process in order to increase salaries. It would have been convenient to pick and choose parts of the process we liked and eliminate the other parts we didn't like, but this is not possible. This whole process has certain procedures and rules which we are not able to change, but the overall benefit has been achieved with significant increases for everyone (Transition House Committee, January, 1993, pp.3-4).

Throughout the next 18 months the Children's Services Worker and the Outreach Worker job descriptions were updated by THANS in order to bring them into line with the classification and ratings given to the Transition House Worker position. At the end of November 1993 the revised job descriptions were reclassified by the Civil Service Commission and supported by the Department of Community Services. However no additional funding for these position ratings was available until June 1994. Thus cooptation of the transition house and its counterparts appeared to be complete as they had very few options but to conform to these new standards if they

were to receive appropriate salaries and recognition afforded to all transition house positions.

Board and staff not only understood the implications of conforming to government standards regarding its staffing in order to receive higher salaries but also strongly advocated for salaries that matched staff skills and responsibilities. The movement in this direction away from the original premise of the battered women's movement's belief systems, that of providing services to women in a non-professional, non-bureaucratic, non-hierarchical way only using committed volunteers (Beaudry, 1985; Schechter, 1982) was clearly evidenced in the transition house's 1988 Annual Report:

At this time our staff relate very well with the residents and board of directors of [the transition house]. We feel that they are underpaid for the quality of services they provide. The staff require special qualities for these positions which are not easily acquired. The demands of the job have to be compensated with salaries that reflect recognition of the workers skills, effort, and responsibilities. ... Our 3 M.L.A.'s have been contacted for their support in securing respectable salaries for our staff from the Department of Community Services. As a board, and as a Society, I urge you to continue to work towards a more equitable pay scale for the women who work at the house. I feel that we may no longer be able to maintain a quality service without supporting our staff with respectable salaries (June, 1988, p. 2).

Conclusion

The tensions and conflicts that the transition house experienced were part and parcel of their continued interactions with the state. They understood the need for funding to maintain services and programmes and human resources but also understood that the accountability measures imposed by government did not sit easily with the underlying feminist philosophy. They acted constantly to address these issues as they balanced their understanding within the milieu of cooptation.

The ensuing chapters will focus on other factors that influenced the transition house's structure and philosophy. In particular the influence of internal factors hold paramountcy as the transition house dealt with social change issues through service delivery and the relationship between management and staff. In addition the aspects of role specialisation and professionalism held much meaning for the transition house

in its dealing with the professional body of social workers in which it attempted to belong.

CHAPTER 7

Government Funding and its Impact on the Refuge

Introduction

The New Zealand refuge was part of the battered women's movement that had developed as a grass roots movement based on a philosophy of collectivity, participation, egalitarianism and self-help much like its North American and British counterparts in the formative years of sheltering (Beaudry, 1985; Cammock, 1994; Lupton, 1994; Schechter, 1982). As explored in Chapter 5, the refuge was thus established in a milieu that fostered a collective and participatory approach based upon the experiences of battered women.

Government Funding and Refuge Stability

A collective approach continued in the refuge until it established an alternative organisational format. This compelled refuge members to rethink their organisational structure as they were required to comply with various rules in order to maintain their organisation. In order to achieve this a Governing Body was established and included a Chairperson, Treasurer and Secretary (Refuge Founding Document, 1986; Governing Body Minutes, July 1986). As a consequence the newly organised Governing Body, albeit unintentionally, established an increasingly formalised structure for dealing with issues such as funding, policy and human resources. This departure from an overt collective philosophy was integral to the new organisational structure the new Governing Body put in place of which the internal ramifications of this will be examined in more detail in Chapter 9. Conducting research with this refuge provided insights into the relationship between funding, accountability and governance as it enables a greater understanding of the development and maintenance issues that refuges increasingly have to deal with in order to be sustained.

The refuge movement in New Zealand was generally characterised as feminist collective organisations that remained autonomous and had not appeared to be transformed by the impact of government funding (Review Team, 1986; Schechter,

1982; Weiner, 1991). This autonomy however depended on the buffering role that the NCIWR provided between the refuges and the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) (see Chapter 2). Consequently, criteria for membership of the NCIWR not only depended on the member refuges' adherence to its feminist collective philosophy but also on their agreement to be accountable and responsible to the NCIWR for various NZCFA reporting requirements.

As previously stated the refuge had formalised its structure and moved away from a collective organisational form (Schechter, 1982). This was further compounded when in the late 1990s the refuge like its North American counterparts, found itself with no staff members represented on its Governing Body (Ahrens, 1980; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982). This separation of staff from the Governing Body will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9 as it speaks to the impact of other factors that influenced the structure and philosophy of the refuge. Furthermore the refuge's application for a local funding contract through the NZCFA also directly impacted on its structure and philosophy as it was required to conform to Level 2 Standards for Approval (NZCFA, 1995a) in order to ensure funding. This will be discussed in greater detail later in this chapter as it profoundly influenced the structure and philosophy of the refuge. As a consequence the structural form upheld by the refuge ran counter to the NCIWR *Code of Practice for Refuge Collectives* (NCIWR, No date):

... will ensure that the following practices are in place in our Refuge collective: collective management which enables shared responsibility, participation and accountability between all members; good employment practices; collective responsibility for all financial matters (NCIWR, No date, p.2).

Exploring the relationship between the refuge, the NCIWR and the NZCFA will provide a greater understanding of the dynamics of funding, accountability and governance of the refuge in terms of its ability to maintain a continued relationship with its funding bodies.

The impact of government funding on the refuge was reflected in refuge staff and governing members understanding very well the need for a stable funding environment:

We certainly could not run a refuge without the funding.

We could not possibly work to the scale we do today without that funding (Governing Members, Group 1).

Totally restricted us. It has allowed us to do so much, to do a basic, operate a basic function. Our budgetary needs are about 120,000 dollars a year. Government provides us with 44,000 dollars but they still expect us to provide base services (Staff Member, Group 1).

The refuge's governing members understood the need to accommodate and be receptive to change as they realised the need for funding (Levesque, 1996; Sullivan 1982; Weiner, 1991). This pragmatic attitude was consolidated by their willingness to compromise their philosophy so that they could meet their increasing responsibilities:

The whole thing for me there revolves around the National Collective [of Independent Women's Refuges]. The advantages and disadvantages of belonging to that and having to basically belong to that to get the government funding. Now while I think there's lots of advantages in terms of interaction between the refuges and being able to pick up things from one another and help from on another, there's also the disadvantages that if there are things that you really think at times that are maybe a bit outside our philosophies or our time limits or all that sort of stuff, you actually are tied to it.

The Code of Ethics pretty well sums up everything that we endeavour to do because we're obligated to do that through the National Collective. That's why the obligation's laid upon us (Governing Members, Group 1).

The refuge's reliance upon the NCIWR reinforced the tension between them with regard to the refuge's changed structure and philosophy which clearly did not directly match with its national body. This had implications for the refuge's facility to foster social change as it did not see itself primarily managing a feminist agenda for social change at the structural level. This tension remained and was reinforced through the refuge's noticeable middle-class image and middle-class attitudes identified as aspects of the governing members' roles within the refuge:

I think one of the things that we did which was really noticeable when we went to the national hui¹ was that the refuges were saying "we don't get middle-class women. We know they're being beaten up where are they going?" They were coming to us. We were the one

¹ The "national hui" is the national annual general meeting and conference held by the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR).

refuge that they were coming to in this ... and there was another group I'm aware of in another city that seemed to run in a similar way to ours and they went to them.

So the fact that we were all middle-class battered women meant that we could talk in the same language to other battered women. Empathise with them, there was that connected thing (Ex- Governing Members).

Thus the refuge was not only viewed by other refuges as a middle-class organisation but its members also saw themselves as being middle-class women assisting middle-class women.

Although there were some philosophical differences between the refuge and the NCIWR, staff understood that the NCIWR's role was to act as a lobbying and advocacy force on behalf of its member refuges. The refuge was able to articulate its understanding of the role that the NCIWR played in ending violence against women (DiMaggio, 1983; Good, 1985; Matthews, 1995; NCIWR, 1992b; Reinelt, 1994, 1995; Review Team, 1986; Weiner, 1991):

An example is that government gives us 3.5 million to provide our service but the actual cost of providing refuge in New Zealand is 15 million. So our national office lobbies on our behalf to have a voice in Parliament to convey that and they do that on our behalf effectively but nothing changes.

One of the things that is important, that I think is valued in that we do belong to a national organisation and we get bulk funding if you like for the service we provide which eliminates our individual resources in trying to get that money. So we don't have to lobby on our own behalf to do that. We have a national office that does that so therefore we are assisted by a national organisation to obtain those funds (Staff Members, Group 1).

National Office and National Foundation [the fundraising unit] are the P.R. people. I believe that it is their responsibility to ensure a commitment through media etc. to ending violence against women (Staff Member, Group 2).

Thus the refuge's association with the NCIWR reflected the organisation's pragmatic response towards its national body as it reflected on its intense reliance on the NCIWR for funding. This was noted by the Governing Body with regard to the importance of attending NCIWR regional meetings held between refuges:

These have been called to discuss current and future issues namely: NZCFA and our funding situation; Police, five year strategy plan and our involvement, NCIWR five year strategy plan. What our collective wants from National Office, what gaps exist and what constraints exist. We support the existing situation recognising our strength while we are under the umbrella as it exists. We want national to lobby government on our behalf for funding and to distribute these funds. We support wholeheartedly their efforts in obtaining funds from other sources and take on board the responsibility of media responses and statements about the work we do. Also to continue with the work of training. Our concerns are what will happen if the funding situation changes? It is difficult to predict how we will perceive a national office if for example all our funding comes from local level and the funding is barely adequate (Governing Body Minutes, August, 1993, p.2)

The refuge's realistic attitude towards and its increasing dependence on the NCIWR and the subsequent stability that was gained, was demonstrated in the refuge's ideological movement away from its feminist collective model - a movement consistent with its more liberal roots and reflected in its apolitical stance, in its relationship of dependency and its facility to be transformed and become increasingly bureaucratic as it adhered to funding requirements (Ahrens, 1980; Schechter, 1982).

These characteristics were reflected in the following responses:

The government has given [the refuge] a continuity and security of operations (Ex-Governing Member).

There are strict guidelines in which we must follow. I think it would be easier for refuge if it was 100% government funded as then we wouldn't have to try and get funding from different community groups which seems like a constant battle (Governing Member, Group 2).

The development of the refuge's bureaucratic tendencies was a necessary component of its ability to manage the requirements laid down by the NCIWR and the NZCFA (D. Robinson, 1993a). The various aspects pertaining to the refuge's bureaucracy included authority and hierarchy which were inseparable from the accountability and responsibility that the refuge was required to maintain. According to governing members their roles and responsibilities included skills in administration and management which they understood to be critical for the degree of responsibility that they had to uphold:

Well a [member] has with any group finances to manage, money to make, money to come in, and then it has to be distributed out honestly and fairly and to the best advantage of everyone in the [refuge] and that's a big responsibility ... I have a good sense of management skills, and understand how to delegate (Ex-Governing Member).

It's the managing overall administrative part of it rather than the hands, it's not so much managing the hands on things with the woman but it's ensuring that everything's set up in order that managing the things for the woman can be done (Governing Member, Group 1).

The refuge thus reflected a willingness to accommodate both the criteria laid down by the NCIWR and the refuge's pragmatic approach to funding. For example, during the 1980s and 1990s the two governments (Labour and National) that held power were not specifically concerned with supporting the refuge movement in New Zealand in addressing the social problem of domestic violence but saw it as part of a continuum of social welfare services established to address the needs of people who could not help themselves (Maykind, 1995; V. Smith, 1996).

Compliance with Bureaucratic Structures

Adherence to the NCIWR was in conflict with the refuge Governing Body's structure and philosophy. This had implications for the refuge as it amended its organisation to accommodate its status as a member of the NCIWR and in gaining funding stability, its funder the NCIWR, and later the NZCFA sought greater accountability from the refuge (Levesque, 1996; NCIWR; 1992b; Nowland-Foreman, 1996; V. Smith, 1996; Woods, 1996). The refuge however did not completely revise its structure and philosophy in order to comply with the NCIWR's feminist philosophy but it was able to be more democratic in its Governing Body membership recruitment:

I guess if you look at our actual[refuge document] it's a very sort of dry business sort of document. It almost doesn't really reflect the true philosophy of what we do almost. So if you look at that as the sort of legal document that binds the [refuge]. I suppose at the end of the day our philosophy is very much open to the interpretation of the [governing body].

Well at the time when I became a member there was no such thing as being voted on and you were there for life.

But the collective members had no say in it at all in those days, but they do now. They can all nominate, second or vote women of their choice (Governing Members, Group 1).

The refuge's compliance with bureaucracy could be traced back to the 1980s when it received funding from the NCIWR, and various non-government sources. During this time period the formation of a funding base enabled the refuge to provide a service to battered women without having the same level of accountability as it did during the 1990s when the NCIWR negotiated a national contract with the NZCFA. Only from the 1990s onwards did the refuge directly have to accommodate the requirements of the NCIWR and the NZCFA in order to access additional government funding. The establishment of various bureaucratic features by the refuge were more strenuously required by government as a result of receiving funding:

What they did do was make us more accountable. That required extra work on our part to actually write down the services that we provided, more specifically and categorise and made us count every individual client that we provided a service for.

Increased accountability. Introduction of KOPPS² document and policies, procedures and process. The HROS³ document, the way in which we deliver the service(s) (Staff Members, Group 1).

Furthermore, the stability that funding provided also brought with it specific roles and responsibilities for the staff who worked in the refuge as the following response from an ex- governing member indicated:

You've got to have one administrative person. As I say with all this paper warfare it takes one person a whole morning to keep abreast of it. You've got to have a house person, a [staff position] who's got the hands on with the women and children. You've got the [staff position] who coordinates the volunteers and who also has hands on with the women in the house (Ex-Governing Member).

² KOPPS is an acronym for 'Key Operating Policies, Procedures and Control Systems' and describes services provided, the practice and operations documents required by NZCFA.

³ HROS is an acronym for "Human Resources and Operating Statistics" and addresses internal control systems that ensures that management, staff and volunteers action the refuge's policies regarding human resources, financial management and service delivery as required by NZCFA.

Consequently the bureaucratic features that characterised the refuge emanated from external exigencies such as the NCIWR and the NZCFA in response to the need for continued funding. The liberal nature of the refuge, as it had become was more receptive to adaptation and conformity to external measures. As stated previously this stemmed from the historical circumstances that the refuge was involved in. The bureaucratic tendencies that the refuge pragmatically adhered to can be identified as follows: authority and hierarchy; rules, and a division-of-labour. All these features impacted on the refuge, its philosophy and its social change agenda.

Authority and Hierarchy

The refuge's founding document outlined the operational aspects for governing the refuge. Although there were no by-laws as such the founding document did include rules that identified the structural components that it had to adhere to, such as scheduling meetings, minute documentation, elections and voting of members as well as enabling the Governing Body to establish additional operational processes:

The [Governing Body] shall have power at any time and from time to time to make any rules, regulation and by-laws for the administration of the [refuge] and for the conduct of their business as they shall think fit ... provided that if in the opinion of the Commissioner of Inland Revenue such alterations to rules, regulations and by-laws nullifies the charitable status or the charitable purpose for which the [refuge] carries on its activities the [Governing Body] shall immediately institute new rules to restore its charitable status (1986, p.3).

Furthermore as a result of receiving funding from the NCIWR's national contract and the NZCFA's local contract the refuge was expected to establish a structure, a Governing Body that it would strictly adhere to (NZCFA, 1995a). The refuge thus had established a governance structure that maintained overall responsibility for financial matters, employment issues and policies regarding service delivery and accountability measures as required through its *KOPPS* document (Lynch, 1998).

As previously identified the Governing Body's structure was established during the 1980s and historically had consisted of a mix of voluntary members and paid staff

members.⁴ However from the mid-1990s onwards this organisational structure dramatically changed resulting in only volunteer members participating on the Governing Body. (This radical change will be discussed further in the Rules section.) Suffice it to state here that the Governing Body was the authoritative body that represented the refuge and this was clearly visible in terms of its relationship with government, the NZCFA and its umbrella body, the NCIWR.

The refuge's accountability to the NZCFA's national funding contract was addressed through the NCIWR. Like its counterparts the refuge maintained contact with the NCIWR through regional meetings and the annual general meeting. The regional meetings consisted of member refuges' representatives meeting to discuss a range of issues pertaining to the operational and structural aspects of refuges and their relationship with the umbrella group, the NCIWR. Programme development, employment issues, fundraising and service delivery were examples for discussion, information sharing and potential resolutions and recommendations. These meetings helped maintain collective relationships, furthered feminist discourse and encouraged the 'politics of engagement' (Reinelt, 1995) with the state (Mansbridge, 1995). This was accomplished through the Core Group which consisted of two representatives, one Māori woman and one non-Māori woman from each of the four geographical regions (northern, central, lower northern and southern) which filtered information, suggestions and decisions. The Core Group represented the management committee for the 51 member refuges (PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC), 2000) with four Māori Core Group members comprising the Māori Caucus and four non-Māori Core Group members comprising the non-Māori Caucus from member refuges. This Core Group functioned as the national governing body in conjunction with the national office which consisted of paid staff in various specialist positions. According to the NCIWR's Society's Rules, "The Core Group shall be charged with the full administration of the affairs and business of the Society" (NCIWR, no date, p.6).

⁴ Several of the paid staff had been governing body members prior to their refuge employment. Their new status did not initially prevent them from also being governing members. This status changed however in 1995.

In terms of funding for the refuges the NCIWR's Core Group was responsible for the national contract with the NZCFA. This was facilitated through the national office staff who were employed by the Core Group through its Chief Executive Officer and who were responsible for negotiating funding on behalf of all the refuges. The bureaucracy that developed reflected the changing nature of the economic climate that was increasingly prevalent (Piper, 1994; Weiner, 1991). The 'new right' ideology adopted by the Labour Government during the 1980s and continued by the National Party in the 1990s supported the free market philosophy of tendering out welfare services through direct contracting with voluntary organisations (Levesque, 1996). The streamlining and increasing focus on developing quality assurance standards and cost benefit analysis that imposed conditions in order to meet objectives that focused on reducing agency costs was supported by the Public Finance Act of 1989 which instituted legal guidelines that sought to capture "funding outputs" across a wide spectrum of organisations that included government and voluntary bodies (V. Smith, 1996). This forced voluntary organisations including the NCIWR to be directly accountable for how the funding was spent and the outcomes (Piper, 1994; Potuchek, 1986; V. Smith, 1996; Weiner, 1991).

According to Rothschild-Whitt (1979) the authority and hierarchy invested in the NCIWR and the Core Group was in their collective interactions with member refuges, that is:

... organisations without domination in that ultimate authority is based in the collectivity as a whole, not in the individual. Individuals, of course, may be delegated carefully circumscribed areas of authority, but authority is delegated and defined by the collectivity and subject to recall by the collectivity (p.512).

Schechter (1982) however preferred to identify such a structure as a "modified collective" (p.100). She maintained that for example, for appearances sake when securing funding, the organisation would be viewed as hierarchical but internally, information would be shared and members would ideally support a consensus model regarding decision-making processes.

This study's purpose however is not to research in any depth the NCIWR's organisational structure, so it is difficult to reach any far-reaching conclusions

regarding its collective formation. Suffice it to state that the NCIWR was not immune to establishing hierarchical structures in order to ensure that it actively engaged with the state (Matthews, 1995). These hierarchical features that the NCIWR embodied reflected what Koopman-Boyden (1992) and Riger (1994) identified as a component of institutionalisation, for example, the national office experienced an increase in staffing levels as well as staff turnover. Consequently the NCIWR's national office not only experienced staff changes over the years but specialist staff were employed including a chief executive officer, a policy advisor, trainers and the establishment of a Māori Development Unit with three specialist staff. Moreover within a three year period, that is from 1995 to 1998 the national office doubled its staff numbers (McNeill, 1998). Furthermore the need for various external funding sources for the member refuges was also a component of institutionalisation as the NCIWR managed government imposed standards of practice on member refuges (NCIWR's 1996b). This was reported in both the NCIWR's Annual Report (Lynch, 1998) and the *Women's Refuge Newsletter* (New Zealand Women's Refuge Foundation, 1998) which identified the establishment of the quality assurance programme in 1997 as a response to the NZCFA's accountability requirements for national standards throughout member refuges regarding service delivery and organisational structures:

The quality assurance programme was launched in early 1997 with the creation of the programme manager position. For funding reasons it started as a one-year project that aimed to assist refuges meet new approval standards set by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency. As 1997 progressed it became clear that the QA programme would become an ongoing part of national office activities (Lynch, 1998, p.7)

The programme involves a formal evaluation of each Refuge to ensure they meet the standards of service for women and children required by the National Collective, funding bodies and legislation (New Zealand Women's Refuge Foundation, 1998, p.4).

According to Weiner (1991) the introduction of standards by state coalitions that supported battered women's programmes in America, was one way for an umbrella group to mediate between the government and shelters. She maintained that some state coalitions in America introduced measures that enabled them to maintain control over "... program standards as well as allocations and monitoring criteria for all battered women's services ... receiving Title XX funds" (p.266) very much like the

NCIWR which in creating its own 'Standards of Practice' within the refuge network could maintain control over service delivery and organisational structures (Lynch, 1998).

The refuge's Governing Body maintained overall responsibility for funding and annual budgets but generally divested ongoing interactions between the refuge, the NCIWR and the NZCFA to a senior staff member. The accountability to these two funders was accomplished through two distinct formats. The relationship between the refuge and the NCIWR was conducted primarily through providing collated statistics, service delivery reports which included an evaluation process and telephone contact throughout the year:

The [Quality Assurance] Unit ... created a Self-Assessment process for refuges to review their work against the new standards [of practice] and assist continuous improvement in all areas of management and service delivery. Self-review will be supported by NCIWR's national quality assurance programme (NCIWR, 1999, p.7).

The refuge's contact with the NZCFA was characterised by face-to-face meetings between a senior staff member⁵ and the NZCFA outreach worker, and through providing statistical, service and organisational reports.

More importantly this senior staff member was responsible for the administration and overall coordination of the refuge and thus able to represent the Governing Body in regard to managing the refuge's funding requirements, meeting with funders, and attending and representing the refuge at local and national refuges' meetings. Thus this staff member promoted the interests and concerns of the refuge to its funders, and other refuges. The senior staff member maintained a unique status in that she was well placed to be the knowledge source and expert in all funding matters in addition to being a primary spokesperson for the refuge. Although this staff member maintained the responsibility as well as the expertise regarding all aspects of refuge funding, the Governing Body's structure was inhibitive in that the senior staff

⁵ For reasons of anonymity the author is not able to identify in more detail the staff position referred to in the text.

member's position was only advisory as she was not empowered to make any substantive decisions about the refuge.

The irony of this situation meant that although this senior staff member was excluded from decision-making processes she provided leadership, maintained and made available a considerable knowledge base regarding the needs and concerns of the refuge. This was reflected in the reported minutes in which this senior staff member suggested the best use for new government funding applications such as the visioning of potential new services and programmes and the need to develop job descriptions for governing members in response to fulfilling the NZCFA requirements:

[Senior staff member] would like to focus on funding for a Community Project as present needs indicate this service could be enhanced and developed. Volunteer Expenses were considered, however meeting the needs of clients were considered a priority at this time (Governing Body Minutes, April, 1997, p.2).

We acknowledge the urgency and absolute requirement that this document [job descriptions] be compiled before the next elections. Not only does the organisation benefit from skilled managers but the staff also can be used to their fullest potential in an efficiently and effectively managed environment. As we move forward in the professional areas of client services and business accountability we are constantly challenged by the need for expertise and professionalism in all our work areas (Staff Team Minutes, August, 1997, pp.1-2).

It can be seen from the last reference that this senior staff member provided leadership for the refuge's organisational structure and philosophy in such a way that focused on responding to the externally imposed bureaucracy by maintaining its own bureaucracy (D. Robinson, 1993a; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). This was critical for the refuge as it influenced its social change agenda. In her dealings with funders and their constantly increasing requirements the senior staff member clearly understood that the refuge could not stand still but needed to be responsive to a funding environment that fundamentally insisted on accountability and responsibility. Responses from staff identified the tension between the accommodation of the refuge to meeting the needs of its two main funders, the NCIWR and the NZCFA and staff input into the changes required:

One thing that has changed dramatically in the last twelve months has been the requirement of us to complete much more detailed statistical information.

They also require you to attend more meetings, national meetings or regional meetings.

And because of the change in the national structure, yes, we've been much more involved with having a hands on and getting a structure put in place (Staff Members, Group 1).

The responsiveness identified by the senior staff member that required the refuge to be more adaptive and changeable was thus in direct response to the demands made by the government funders not only in terms of funding but also in the increasing preoccupation with establishing and maintaining standards of practice regarding services to battered women and their children. This tension placed extreme pressure on the refuge as it pursued government funding within an environment that was caught up in the maelstrom of competition. In response the NCIWR's *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) aimed to establish a standard of service provision across all refuges and by developing standards of practice that matched the funder's and its own requirements would ensure that "...the focus stays on the woman and her needs" (Caton, 1998, p.5; Weiner, 1991):

Standardise refuge practises, upgrade accountability procedures and update all refuges on available resources and information by the provision of support assistance, regular monitoring and biennial service reviews (NCIWR, 1996b, p.14).

The environment that the refuge existed in had its roots firmly embedded in the 1990 National Government which had moved away from a citizenship philosophy of participation and accommodation to one which focused on a 'safety net' mentality that provided the minimum of support for those people with the greatest need (Higgins, 1997a; Levesque, 1996; V. Smith, 1996; Trebilcock, 1995). This perspective reflected what Maykind (1995) cited in Levesque (1996) considered as returning to "... nineteenth century issues of philanthropy and charity. ... It is about the well-to-do giving assistance to those in need. It is the language of charity and dependence, not mutual assistance and citizenship" (p.13). V. Smith (1996) also argued that the government had moved away from the responsibility as the primary provider of social services and should be seen not "... as a direct provider but as a supporter and

funder of services" (p.3). Thus the 'take it or leave it' approach of government described by refuge staff supported what Nowland-Foreman (1996) identified as the "... great reluctance in this country to support the necessary voluntary sector infrastructure ... for effective contestability in social policy and programme planning" (p.13).

The refuge's reliance on the NCIWR for funding and subsequently additional funding from the NZCFA directly thus had implications for service delivery as the refuge was expected to provide services at a fraction of the actual cost required (Levesque, 1996). Consequently the refuge understood that the inadequacy of funding prevented them from undertaking other important initiatives as it focused on meeting accountability requirements (Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). The dependence on government for funding was identified by Heise (1996) who stated that the move toward cooptation, that is the focus on organisational preservation characterised by establishing hierarchical structures in place of collectivities; the employment of professional and specialised staff; goal changes where service delivery becomes the primary goal not social change; the loss of autonomy due to reliance on and accountability to government for funding and the maintenance of legitimacy through a network of external resources (Ahrens, 1980; Potuchek, 1986; Reinelt, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Zald, 1970; Zald & Ash, 1966), was increasingly likely to happen as organisations sought singular funding sources instead of diversifying their funding support.

Rules

A further bureaucratic feature of the refuge was the formalisation of rules which were both internal (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) and external in nature. The external rules were imposed by the primary funders of the refuge, that is the NCIWR and the NZCFA. The rules that the NCIWR were concerned with included various accountability measures, such as the provision of written reports and data collection. This contractual relationship between the refuge and the NCIWR thus had built in requirements tied to funding and compliance with national standards of practice (NCIWR, 1994, 1998). This eventually resulted in the revision of approval standards

pertaining to policies and procedures of the refuge's organisational structure in order to meet new criteria required by the NZCFA. Similarly the NCIWR also undertook to develop a national set of standards across all member refuges by developing a strategic plan to establish refuge excellence in service delivery and organisational structure (Caton, 1998; NCIWR, 1996b).

As previously stated the NCIWR was responsible for negotiating the contract between the refuges and the NCIWR and the NZCFA and as a consequence the refuge was obligated to meet various contractual requirements " ... the national collective would receive funding on behalf of its members refuges, allocate that funding and monitor the provision of services" (NCIWR, 1995b, p.1). Thus the NCIWR was able to purchase services on behalf of its member refuges via a national contract that on average only provided 25% of the total funding required by each member refuge (Higgins, 1997a; Lynch, 1998; V. Smith, 1996; Snively; 1996) whilst holding the refuge(s) accountable for all service provision irrespective of the amount of funding contracted. V. Smith (1996) noted this change in service provision:

The amount of funding is not explicitly linked to the full cost of service but the quantity of outputs specified in the contract identifies the full amount of service provision of that particular type by the organisation, and the organisation is required under the contract to deliver that full amount of service (p.9).

Consequently, the refuge's reliance upon government funding had implications for its service delivery as it was expected to provide services at a fraction of the actual cost required (Levesque, 1996):

We are limited by the amount of funding we receive. So much of what we do is done on a shoe string budget. Imagine what we could achieve especially in the area of education and prevention if we were given more money (Governing Member, Group 2).

The rules imposed on the refuge reflected the tension between the wish and ability to deliver meaningful services and programmes to battered women and the threat of losing much needed funding to other social welfare organisations if the refuge did not comply with the funder's requirements. The following critical response from a staff member clearly illustrated this dilemma:

They expect us to provide education programmes in our community and with clients. They expect us to meet all the needs of the clients while they're in the refuge. They expect us to maintain a follow up service for ex-residents. They expect us to provide a crisis line offering information, support and assistance. They expect us to provide a referral service for those not wishing to become a client but to give women somewhere else to go to, that better might meet their needs. And in any application that we put to government we say "this is the service that we will provide, this is the number of clients that we will provide that service for and this is the cost." But they will still only provide forty percent of the budget, of the money to do that, but they contract us to provide the numbers that we have put on the application and they require us to get additional funding from the community because they say they will only give us partial funding. But they don't reduce the client numbers by sixty percent. They've still the expectation that we provide one hundred percent service delivery for the numbers that we specified. If we say "you're only giving us forty percent of the funding we'll only provide forty percent of the services" we wouldn't get any money at all. We've had long discussions about that. They're very happy to give the finance to another service provider who'll do that (Staff Member, Group 1).

Thus the refuge was placed in the position of having to comply with the government's requirements regarding not only the breadth of services provided but it had to account for the total amount of services provided irrespective of the funding source (Levesque, 1996; V. Smith, 1996). Furthermore the refuge was obligated to fulfil a contract without prior consultation as to whether in fact it could do so (D. Robinson, 1993c). This was demonstrated in the following dialogue between staff when asked about the impact of government funding on a particular aspect of refuge work, training in legal issues:

The legal training has been another issue hasn't it? The television advertising stating that women's refuges will give you all the advise because they're trained in this area and so [staff member] is meant to get this training programme together and have it done by a certain date. Huge number of hours is required.

And that's so that volunteers can provide the information to those requesting the assistance. And that's actually been without consultation.

That's been National Office though hasn't it, not the government?

I think it's more disappointing that it should come from National Office who should have more sympathy and understanding.

No it wasn't. National Office was given x amount of dollars to the involvement of a training programme that covered the new act.⁶ They made a contract with the funding provider that we would all be skilled and trained to assist women with the new act. But that was the assistance that I see for the service that we provide our present clients.

It was passed down the track so that people like [staff member] got this incredible burden and responsibility to add to your others. It was up to you to train your collective.

But there was no financial reward involved, ... for the extra required (Staff Members, Group 1).

Thus the refuge had to comply with the NCIWR's initiatives for funding, even when staff felt overwhelmed with the increase in services. The refuge like its counterparts was restrained by a limited budget that could not provide a comprehensive level of service that its Canadian counterpart provided. Services were available to battered women but were circumscribed by a philosophy within the refuge movement that had historically relied on volunteers to provide them (Ball, 1994; Beaudry, 1985; Cammock, 1994; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). Furthermore comprehensive and consistent services were restricted as paid staff only worked during the day. From their own homes volunteers provided information and advice services via a 24 hour answering service and were rostered on call-out to assist women in accessing refuge accommodation after hours and on weekends.

The level of volunteer support for refuges was documented in the NCIWR's 1998 Annual Report which indicated that 75% of all member refuge workers were unpaid and that they provided 70% of the total number of contact service hours that could be confirmed. These numbers did not however include providing services for women residing within refuges themselves. Using volunteers to such a degree meant that the government could opt out of its responsibility to provide more funding for comprehensive and consistent services (NCIWR, 1996b; Snively, 1996). For the NCIWR this was a critical issue as " ... records indicate a decreasing pool of volunteer labour available to refuges, particularly in rural areas. This raises concerns for the viability of the service" (NCIWR, 1998, p.12). Furthermore the Snively Report's

⁶ This is in reference to the Domestic Violence Act 1995.

(Snively, 1996) intent was to document the services provided by all refuges in order to access a more appropriate level of funding that fully reflected the quantity and quality of services provided by paid staff and volunteers. The movement away from volunteer labour to paid staff was an important goal of the NCIWR's *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) which aimed "To Strengthen and Diversify our Funding Base to Reflect the True Economic Cost of NCIWR Work and decrease our reliance on volunteer work" (p.17). This goal transformation also reflected the cooptation of the battered women's movement's characterised by underlying philosophical changes in the NCIWR which supported paid staff rather than relying on volunteers to maintain the bulk of services provided by refuges (NCIWR, 1996b; Snively, 1996). This level of active engagement with the state reflected the NCIWR's strategy to formulate refuge needs within a social and political context that advocated changing the environment for battered women by improving standards of services, increasing refuge funding and professionalising staff in order to compete more effectively with other social service organisations for funding (Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995).

The funding limits experienced by the refuge impacted on the level and depth of services provided to women and children. The contract that the NCIWR negotiated included providing a base range of services and programmes by both staff and volunteers. However, the refuge considered that the funding was not matched with the needs of the women and children seeking its services:

I don't think that we are funded sufficiently to cater for, to meet the needs of children. We talk about women and children in the services that we give but really we just give emergency. We're just emergency service providers to keep women safe and give them some information and assist them to make some choices over that emergency period.

And for our refuge I don't think that we do enough to ensure ongoing support for clients. We do a limited amount usually for the first month or two months and up until recently it's been done by phone contact or the ex-resident is encouraged to come here for a talk or something but often after that time because our limited financial resources and other commitments that we have with new clients, the ongoing support diminishes at that time. And often women although referred to other support agencies actually don't follow up those other agencies. Some do, I'm sure that many don't (Staff Members, Group 1).

The obligations that the refuge had to adhere to meant that if services were not provided then its funding was in jeopardy. For example, volunteers were inextricably linked to the funding contract. Consequently there were various repercussions on the refuge such as overworked and frustrated staff, fewer volunteers, and continued dependency and conformity to the funders for refuge maintenance. The impact of these factors on the ability to meet the needs of the clients and subsequently the impact on the structure and philosophy of the refuge was balanced by the refuge's need to survive (Zald & Ash, 1966):

I think it really gets down to the fact that we haven't got any money to pay somebody else or pay added hours to lighten the workload.

Bit like being on a roller coaster!

We tried to incorporate and invite more volunteers to be involved so that we can spread the workload but that's very difficult to do and it's getting increasingly difficult.

Our service is based on volunteer input. If we didn't have volunteers there would be no service. There'd be no operation (Staff Members, Group 1).

[Funding] means that you can actually concentrate on the work rather than the finances. And you know that the cheque's going to come in at the end of the month. You know that the phone bill is going to get paid and the lights are still going to be on and yes, the mortgage is going to be paid. And that the [refuge] is not going to close up on the 30th of the month (Ex- Governing Member).

Thus the refuge was contracted to adhere to a system that relied heavily on volunteers to provide basic services and yet the refuge was not recognised by its funders for the invaluable work that staff and volunteers did, nor for understanding that recruitment of volunteers was becoming increasingly difficult. Furthermore the contracting for units of service directed toward funding impeded flexibility as the refuge was expected to provide a comprehensive range of services irrespective of the availability of human resources:

I think because the whole thing has to run according to what the finances are and at times they're definitely inadequate but somehow we keep going and this is where the voluntary people are so necessary. We just can't afford to employ all the people we'd like to (Governing Member, Group 1).

The majority of staff worked on a part-time basis only and volunteers were limited in their availability. The increasing dependency and conformity to government requirements and the critical need to survive meant that the refuge could not envisage the possibility of not having government funding:

... we can't afford to say " take your money, we'll go it alone and we won't do the paper warfare" because we can't (Governing Member, Group 1).

Furthermore the concentration on accomplishing so much with so little impacted on the refuge's ability to be an agent for social change. The following response regarding the role of paid staff identified that:

It's the same thing that it comes back to, there's always other stuff going on. The focus always has to be on the women and children, their safety and well being and I think that's for all of the jobs, even though they're all different, there still has to be the focus. If there, the employees, [sic] is the well being of the women and children and their safety, even though it may be done in all ways by different people that are employed, it still always has to remain the focus and sometimes you have to pull yourself back and remember that (Governing Member, Group 1).

The refuge's adherence to external rules was also manifested in additional measures imposed by the NZCFA. For example, the NCIWR initiated and developed a *Standards of Practice* manual for all member refuges as a direct result of its development of a strategic plan (Lynch, 1998; NCIWR, 1996b, 1999). The manual was developed to standardise service delivery and organisational structures within refuges, thus being responsive to the need for "professional accountability" (Caton, 1998, p.5). Prior to its development, the NCIWR and the Core Group had participated in a planning process that enabled them to construct medium and long-term strategies for ensuring amongst other things that refuges adhered to a quality standard of practice regarding the services that they provided (NCIWR, 1996b). In the environment of economic rationality the NCIWR understood that in order to receive the level of funding that matched 'outputs' then it had to establish a variety of practical strategies in order to add extra weight to the lobbying for funding. Snively (1996) stated that:

The key differences in the approach of this report to its predecessors is its analysis of costs in relation to services designed to provide positive outcomes for women and children victims of family violence.

The methodology employed produces a comprehensive picture of NCIWR services. This more complete analysis is more useful than those which stem from a misconception that the value of the services provided is equal to the amount of funding made available to fund specific service expenses (p.6).

Thus the NCIWR was required to be responsive to a funding climate that was highly competitive in nature (Malcolm, Rivers & Smyth, 1993; Nowland-Foreman, 1995, 1996; Woods, 1996) and by employing nationally based measures to evaluate member refuges' service performance then the true costs of providing refuge services would be reflected (Caton, 1998; Snively, 1996; Woods, 1996). Furthermore Higgins (1997a) stated that contracting for social services also accomplished adaptation in organisational structure and service delivery much like the NCIWR's decision to make refuges more accountable in its *Standards of Practice* manual that focused on service delivery operations and management systems (Dowdall, 1998; Lynch, 1998). V. Smith (1996) also identified that contracting for services carried with it "... the pervasive expectation that explicit standards of quantity, quality, and cost will underpin all funding relationships" (p.4). Thus it can be seen that the NCIWR in its strategic planning process (NCIWR, 1996b) desired to implement standards of refuge practice across all member refuges in order to develop, "High quality standardised Refuge service in all houses throughout Aotearoa" (p.14).

In responding in this way the NCIWR could also preempt somewhat the government's intentions and actions regarding imposing measures of accountability by instigating and prioritising the development of its strategic plan and standards of practice and subsequently negotiate with government to implement its preferences (Matthews, 1995). In addition it was also a means to validate an increased need for funding for its member refuges. It must also be noted however that the NCIWR was responding to the chameleon effect of the NZCFA that continued to introduce more exacting standards throughout the 1990s in order to extract a more competitive relationship between organisations seeking funding under the auspices of the NZCFA (Nowland-Foreman, 1995) so that "... more appropriate and responsive services" (Nowland-Foreman, 1996, p.13) would be available. Thus it can be seen that the NCIWR aided the refuge movement as it established a system for service delivery excellence that was a model for ensuring that refuges met the criteria established by local NZCFA

contracts and consequently provide a competitive edge when negotiating with government for additional funding. In identifying the impact of other factors on the refuge staff understood that they existed in a competitive environment that forced them to consider other options which also impacted on their ability to be structurally and philosophically adaptable in order to be responsive to battered women:

It forces us to look at service delivery and we often change our structures to meet the needs of the current philosophy of the community. For example, in terms of internal structures, at particular times of the year if there's a focus on family violence we would get more calls to have more speakers at more groups.

In terms of accountability that government place on us, there needs to be a change in structure if that alters. So if there's more accountability placed on our part and there's an introduction of a new form or a new format we have to be adaptable to meet those needs. We have to be very clever, thinking of new ways of obtaining the funding (Staff Members, Group 1).

Although the NCIWR's strategy was to standardise services and organisational structures in order to increase funding for refuges and be able to more competitive, there was a trade-off. The establishment of new 'Standards of Practice' meant that the NZCFA could expect a uniformity within the refuge and across all other refuges which had the potential for not only reducing their uniqueness, independence and autonomy but impact on their ability to enact social change. The refuge became increasingly concerned with meeting standards, measuring performance and being accountable to both the NCIWR and the NZCFA in order to be the recipient of much needed funding (Levesque, 1996). This was confirmed by the Snively Report (Snively, 1996) which stated that, "The study gives both NCIWR and government a more robust basis on which to make their planning, policy and funding decisions" (p.44). Accountability was of paramount concern to the refuge's Governing Body:

I think the whole government thing, if we want their money we have to be accountable but in doing the accountability, that takes off more of the money in terms of admin. Yes it's like a vicious circle really if you don't do the accountability you're not going to get the money (Governing Members, Group 1).

and further espoused when asked about the roles and responsibilities of staff:

Without it we're so tightly drawn into the government as against National Office when that changed over. Because National Office

were only interested in the outline of stats in a manner of speaking. Whereas government practically needs to know the number of sheets of toilet paper we use (Governing Members, Group 1).

Consequently the refuge was subject to the NCIWR's 'Standards of Practice' over and above the funding accountability measures required by the NCIWR. It was also subject to the NZCFA's Level Two Standards for Approval (NZCFA, 1995a) criteria that encompassed policies and procedures pertaining to refuge structure, organisation, personnel and service delivery when the refuge applied annually for a local funding contract. The revision of the Standards for Approval criteria was in response to the 1994 Amendment to the Children, Young Persons and Their Families Act (CYPFS) 1989, which resulted from the need to improve standards for service providers working with children and youth. This meant that each refuge had to develop a document that would accord with these new standards:

This key document is intended to be a stand alone piece of work that will provide paper evidence of the ways in which an organisation meets our standards. As such, its key statements will be drawn from the organisation's various documents, e.g. its constitution, annual report, policy statements, and organisational procedures (NZCFA, 1995b, p.3).

The development of this document by the refuge known as the *KOPPS/HROS* document thus coincided with the *Standards of Practice* document initiated by the NCIWR. The development of the *KOPPS/HROS* document by the refuge, still in draft form in the 1997-1998 period, enabled the refuge to have a stand alone document that could be used in conjunction with meeting the NZCFA Level 2 Standards for Approval. It was however more than just a check list but represented all aspects of the refuge's policies and procedures pertaining to its organisational and operational structure, its service delivery, human resources and financial management. An example of this was noted when after the NZCFA's annual audit of the refuge had been completed, some documents were still outstanding:

We have working documents and some procedures and some policies, however we are required to have policies for all facets of our work and link them into a working document. This is called HROS (Governing Body Minutes July, 1997, p.2).

The document was to be used as a monitoring and evaluative tool in terms of facilitating the refuge's annual review of its Level 2 Standards for Approval,

undertaken by the NZCFA Outreach Worker assigned to the refuge (NZCFA, 1995a). Consequently the development of this document like the development of the *Standards of Practice* document forced the refuge and the NCIWR (Lynch, 1998) to observe the rules imposed by the NZCFA.

These additional rules and regulations regarding Level 2 Standards for Approval known as the *KOPPS* document further endorsed the accountability measures imposed on the refuge by the government funding agency, the NZCFA. The refuge's need to compile documentation to meet the total requirements of the NZCFA meant that the senior staff member not only had to ensure that existing refuge documents were available but also had to develop new policies and procedures in conjunction with the Governing Body, that had not been previously formulated.

This new set of standards demanded that the refuge was accountable for all areas of refuge work and for the governing body's structure and organisation. Consequently the refuge had in place "... formally established, written system of rules and regulations" (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p.512) that could only be changed as a result of internal reorganisation and service development initiatives. This level of regulation reinforced the bureaucracy that the NZCFA adhered to in a rigid and regulatory manner.

For both the NCIWR and the NZCFA the refuge was obligated to fulfil various reporting procedures in order to receive funding. Funding from the NCIWR was provided in six monthly instalments (NCIWR, 1992b) but did not delineate areas of expense such as wages, administration, operational costs, volunteer training and programming but grouped them together under units of service purchased. Who provided these services did not matter as long as they could be measured at the conclusion of the purchasing agreement:

Well there's an expectation that volunteers be accountable and volunteers volunteer their time to provide a service and the accountability is required that those volunteers are accountable. And there's no acknowledgement that volunteers are required to provide a service. We provide a service via the contract that we have with government. We rely on volunteers to assist in providing that service.

So I don't believe that government recognise volunteer input. There's an expectation that it will always be there.

The government in New Zealand is very much aware that the refuge movement is based on volunteers.

The way I see it, they expect the service to be carried out free of charge because the money that we get wouldn't even cover all our wages (Staff Members, Group 1).

Thus the refuge relied heavily on volunteers to provide basic services with funding remaining inflexible in that it could not be renegotiated as service needs arose as it was not made available for previously identified areas of the budget. Once the contract was in place the refuge was responsible for ensuring that all contracted services were fulfilled or as D. Robinson (1993b) states there is "... a requirement to re-pay any unspent funds at the end of the contract period [which also] raised the question ... as to whether the CFA was attempting to "purchase the agency" rather than to buy a service from it" (p.1). For the NCIWR the contractual obligations were manifested in several reporting mechanisms. The collation of statistics each month using a designated format was one such mechanism. This form collected a range of data including client details, abuse information, some family history, services required and provided. This form also included measuring 'outcomes' for each woman receiving services (Nowland-Foreman, 1995). The 'outcomes' measured consisted of an individual client plan that included refuge services provided and details of follow-up support services. This performance measure complied with the NCIWR and the NZCFA that purchased units of service which could be directly accounted for. This form was sent to the NCIWR monthly and monitored for errors in reporting. An amendment form was sent back to the refuge to correct errors. The refuge's direct accountability and contractual obligations to the NCIWR were clearly demonstrated in the following reports about the problems complying with extensive accountability measures:

[Senior staff member] advised the [Governing Body] as an employee she had a responsibility to them to advise that work was not being done. She gave [examples], minutes not being typed, stats not being done in three months, and filing months behind ... and that National Office would put us "on notice" as a consequence. How impossible it is to maintain the office functions when staff are on leave and no allocation is made to replace with a reliever. The instruction "to do

the best we can" was very unsatisfactory (Governing Body Minutes, November, 1996, p.2).

We must be up to date by February or funding will cease until we are up to date. Staff are doing their best, but are having difficulty with client plans not being up to date (Governing Body Minutes, December, 1996, p.1).

Furthermore the NCIWR expected six monthly reports regarding the services provided, annual audited accounts and an annual report. The accountability to the NCIWR and the NZCFA was viewed as frustrating by refuge staff and governing members alike:

We acknowledge that part of the information, the statistical information that we are obtaining helps our National Office to prove the service that we provide. So that's acknowledged but there's still frustrations at grass roots level that we don't have actual funding to actually help that process to gather that information. Now it's frustrating that we actually have to gather that information first and have all those statistics before government will say "yes, we'll give you more money" (Staff Member, Group 1).

Can be too much time spent on accountability methods, paperwork, stats etc. with decrease of hours to deliver the services (Governing Member, Group 2).

Duplicate and duplicate it but in every single business today you have, whether it's government funded or what, you've got to prove every penny (Ex- Governing Member).

The refuge's contract with the NCIWR was to conform to accountability measures over and above its service obligations. Furthermore, accounting through these measures was not funded and therefore placed greater strain on the refuge as the part-time paid staff and volunteers were expected to maintain specific and unrealistic levels of services to battered women and their children. This was reflected in the diminution of services to community clients and the reduction in volunteer levels to maintain basic services as staff juggled their numerous responsibilities in order to sustain services:

[Staff member] believe it is only a matter of time before we get a written complaint about the lack of support for a community client. Others in the office cannot do [staff member's] main job while [staff member is] away. They are fully committed trying to get their own tasks done (Staff Report, December, 1997, p.1).

More community clients are asking for face to face support. This is increasingly difficult to arrange due to lack of time and shortage of experienced volunteers (Staff Report, April, 1998, p.1).

Thus the refuge was obligated to a contract over which it had no control as a result of the government's new funding strategy (D. Robinson, 1993c). The tension that arose as a result of meeting pre-designated services with the limited funding that it received meant that the refuge was not only dependent on the NZCFA for its funding but also on the NCIWR of which it was a member. This amplified the refuge's dependency and lack of autonomy and illustrated its increase reliance and ultimately its cooptation by the government.

The refuge's more direct relationship with the NZCFA was also established with various rules and regulations to adhere to. The funding agency upheld a systematic process that the refuge was forced to comply with in order to receive additional funding. This systematic process included the initial process regarding approval status, beginning with the completion of an application form, followed by a visit from an outreach worker to make an assessment and write a report. From this the refuge would receive notification of the status of the application. In order to meet the NZCFA Level 2 Standards for Approval the refuge had to comply with the Standards for Approval criteria. If the refuge could not meet all the standards then the refuge could be granted conditional approval until all the standards were met. Moreover when changes occurred within the standards approval process then the refuge would have to provide the pertinent documentation that addressed the areas of change as reflected within its organisation. This would be followed by an approval assessment report which identified the standards to be met and the responses from the refuge as to how they would meet the standards. The approval status then would be reviewed annually to ensure that the refuge complied with the standards. The NZCFA in making an annual assessment would visit the refuge during the year to meet with staff and clients, read case files, ensure that documents were in place and review reports prepared for the NZCFA (NZCFA, 1995a). The approval status was granted annually and each year the refuge had to submit a new application for funding thus repeating the process. Although the refuge was contracted for units of service and had to adhere to the Standards for Approval, funding that was requested was not necessarily

what the refuge received. For example, a request for funding in 1997 for NZ\$184,000 resulted in the refuge receiving only NZ\$22,000. The NZCFA thus could propose a funding package dependent on what it saw as an appropriate level of funding as it negotiated services to be provided but with a more restrictive funding source and was thus less concerned with ensuring that various necessary refuge overheads were covered. As Levesque (1996) noted:

This contracting system was the outcome of the roles of the state as funder and provider by decreasing the state's involvement in the direct delivery of welfare services. The state had become the purchasing agent controlling pre-determined welfare policies. The private and voluntary organisations under the system are reduced to the providers of state funded welfare objectives (p.13).

The services purchased from the refuge were subject to a formal contract that included determining quantitative and qualitative standards regarding the aspects of services and the resulting 'outcome' performance measures (NCIWR, 1995b; NZCFA, 1995b; V. Smith, 1996). The funding contract also included the amount of funding allowed for each type and individual unit of service to be provided (Boston, 1999; Levesque, 1996; B. Robinson, 1998). Providing a contract in this manner meant that the refuge had to spend considerable amounts of time administering the budgets:

Is it the [Governing Body's] intention to give the responsibility of managing the CFA contract to [senior staff member] Or [does] the [Governing Body] wish to manage it? As you are all aware the time to do this is substantial and it falls outside the time frames of [senior staff member's] job requirements, the accountability and time commitment has changed so much from five years ago (Staff Report, May, 1997, p.1).

The complexity of distributing the funding was captured by the senior staff member who advised the Governing Body that, "Our contractual agreement puts emphasis on the service not necessarily the money" (Staff Report, October 1997, p.4). This meant that the services provided were disseminated into the units of service agreed upon. For example, units might include the number of actual contacts, irrespective of the time commitment, number of programmes delivered, again time frames excluded and the number of hours provided for counselling purposes. Consequently funding did not adequately address the total amount of services provided but that was not part of the

contractual agreement between the refuge and the NZCFA (Levesque, 1996; V. Smith, 1996).

A further feature of the adherence to rules by the refuge was concerned with the number of paid staff as Governing Body members. At first glance it might appear that the NZCFA disallowed staff from being governing members but this was not entirely the case. The NZCFA was not particularly concerned with the philosophical perspective of the refuge movement, only with the procedure that dealt with staff being Governing Body members, in order to prevent a conflict of interest from occurring:

Where employees are also on the Governing Body of the organisation, the Governing Body accepts responsibility for the supervision of the performance of the separate roles (board member and staff member) of any member of the Governing Body (NZCFA, 1995a, p.25).

The refuge was given the opportunity to negotiate with the NZCFA for the development of policies and procedures regarding how the refuge addressed staff as governing body members. The Level 2 Standards for Approval criteria did include a management structure as a standard. This standard appeared to be open to negotiation as when staff were members of the Governing Body a system was required that ensured that a conflict of interest did not arise. For example:

CFA have highlighted possible conflicts of interest between being a [Governing Body member] and a paid employee. ... Ultimately it is up to us to find something that works for us, keeping in mind protecting the [refuge] funds while holding the best interests of our consumers and all other collective members uppermost in all decisions (Governing Body Minutes, November, 1995, p.3).

Opportunities to directly influence the NZCFA were rare but obviously possible but the refuge's Governing Body agreed upon a course of action with its staff that finally resulted in staff no longer participating on the Governing Body. The reason for staff not being governing members will be discussed further in Chapter 9 as it relates directly to the internal organisation of the refuge. Suffice it to state here that the NZCFA did introduce the concept of conflict of interest with regard to paid staff also being governing members. For example in the 1995 round of NZCFA contracting with the refuge it was granted conditional approval and identified various conditions

still to be met. In response the Governing Body addressed the NZCFA's concern over a potential conflict of interest by making two decisions, the first that the Treasurer "must agree with all motions that involve financial outcomes" (Governing Body Minutes, November, 1995, p.3) followed by the formulation of an employment sub-committee consisting of governing members only to address employment and staffing issues. Thus the refuge complied with the NZCFA standards without paid staff losing their status as governing members.

At the first meeting of the new year the issue was again raised by a governing member who pointed out that the refuge document stated that it was the Chairperson that had "a second or casting vote" not the Treasurer (Refuge Founding Document, 1986, p.3) which could only be rescinded if the refuge document was amended. This was followed by a description of the position of the NZCFA with regard to the refuge changing its policy:

[Senior staff member] explained how the policy came about and CFA's concerns of the possible outcomes where the employees as [governing body members] had the voting power [majority power within the organisation]. [CFA outreach worker] gave an example of another [governing body]. She said the quality of our service to our clients and volunteers is paramount, as well as the protection of our [refuge] funds. Because our Treasurer is not an employee therefore unbiased in decisions affecting financial advantage to [refuge] employees and she had proven ability in ensuring the [refuge] financial security. CFA supported that she must approve all financial transactions. That if the [Governing Body] were to make a policy of this nature, CFA would be satisfied that we were covering ourselves in the event of a complaint. It would be up to the [Governing Body] to enforce such a policy as being in our best interests because it was recognised the [refuge document] was our legal document with which we worked by. CFA's Level 2 Approval has been continued based on the policy that had been made at that meeting (Governing Body Minutes, January 1996, p. 2).

As a result of this statement the refuge rescinded the previous policy regarding the Treasurer approving all financial activities and agreed to revise the Governing Body structure by placing a limit on the number of paid staff as governing members at any one time and to rotate the Chairperson position among the non-staff members.

The refuge thus was placed in a difficult position in that if it did not conform to the NZCFA requirements then it was in jeopardy of losing its funding. However, the refuge also sought a compromise in that although it could not conceive that the Treasurer had the final decision-making authority it agreed that there should be a more equal distribution of non-staff governing members. However this changed again in the 1997 NZCFA approval process when the refuge decided in its criteria for management structure that paid staff who were governing members no longer had voting rights, thus appearing to comply with NZCFA's concerns regarding conflict of interest issues (Governing Body Minutes, August, 1997). This was not strictly accurately reported as the remaining staff governing members had in fact resigned from the Governing Body during the 1996-1997 period. In response to this action the Governing Body coopted two staff to attend meetings in an advisory capacity but they did not have voting rights. Furthermore the senior staff member had the authority to sign contracts on behalf of the refuge in conjunction with the Treasurer. Thus in 1997 there were no staff members on the Governing Body and this did not change. The changes that occurred meant that the Governing Body no longer could be identified as a collective structure as the divorce of staff from the Governing Body was final. This extraordinary transmutation will be discussed in Chapter 9.

Division-of-Labour

The refuge's compliance with a bureaucratic structure was a particular expedient measure as it dealt with the accountability features that the NCIWR and the NZCFA imposed on it. The refuge's adaptability and conformity to a bureaucratic framework was also identified in the division-of-labour that was upheld in the refuge (D. Robinson, 1993a; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). The development of role specialisation was instituted as the refuge accessed greater amounts of funding and was required to be more accountable for it (Davis, 1988a; Potuchek, 1986; Reinelt, 1994; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982). It is critical to explore this transformation more closely as the specialisation of roles also impacted on the structure and philosophy of the refuge.

In the beginning the refuge movement in New Zealand drew on voluntary labour for providing shelter and safety for battered women (Cammock, 1994; Hancock, 1979).

This situation has changed little in the past two decades with volunteers representing 75% of the refuge work force and providing 70% of the reported non-residential services to battered women and their children (NCIWR, 1998). The refuge was no exception to these statistics with only 24% (6) of its membership being paid staff. The remaining 76% (19) of its members were volunteers as governing members and/or direct service volunteers. However the number of paid staff had increased since the refuge first opened its doors although only four staff, three of which worked various part-time hours, had any real sense of permanent employment. The remaining part-time staff continued to be funded under short-term, temporary contracts.

There are two strands to the human resources working within the refuge environment that require attention and acknowledgement. Within the refuge, paid staff worked in conjunction with the volunteers. As stated earlier in the chapter volunteers provided crisis intervention and enabled battered women to access the refuge. Thus the volunteers required a high degree of skill and experience to meet their job requirements. This was achieved for the most part through ongoing training, direct work experience and supervisory meetings with staff responsible for volunteers. Furthermore several of the volunteers had prior experience of domestic violence which was viewed as critical for working with battered women as they understood their experiences and consequently were able to empathise and be supportive. Up until the early 1990s the volunteers were the backbone of the refuge with staff employed on a part-time basis only. This changed however with the advent of funding primarily from the NCIWR and augmented by the local contract funding from the NZCFA.

Historically the NCIWR in its funding package to each refuge had delineated paid staff as being specialists and to a lesser degree, professionals. The NCIWR indicated that funding could be used for a refuge coordinator and a house supervisor (NCIWR, 1992b) whilst other staff could be supplemented through other funding means. Each of these positions identified in the collective employment contract was rated differently with the coordinator position's salary rated higher because of the need for "... [a] large variety of skills, [where] appropriate experience is essential" (NCIWR, 1993, p.6). Thus it can be seen that the NCIWR had moved away from the collective philosophy of paying all staff the same rate of pay, equal task sharing and role changes

(Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982) to one which embraced a more hierarchical and specialised structure.

The permanent positions matched the NCIWR employment contract (NCIWR, 1993) positions but job descriptions for these positions were sketchy at best and were a constant cause of concern for the refuge. The refuge's need to develop job descriptions resulted from the increasing and more complex workload the staff encountered. The increasing complexity of the funding the refuge was accessing nationally from the NCIWR and the NZCFA local contract resulted in changes to the accountability processes. These actions caused staff to reflect on the manner in which they were able to meet the needs of battered women:

Having a realistic time to perform the duties of the job description because none of us have got realistic times to be able to perform the duties of our job description. Our job descriptions are actually ideals.

Increasingly we are expressing our dissatisfaction that we are unable to carry out all the work that is required.

One thing has changed dramatically in the last twelve months has been the requirement of us to complete much more detailed statistical information.

And that has required an additional time for us to actually make it happen. And it's not acknowledged in any additional funding that we get from the government agency that gives us the funding (Staff Members, Group 1).

and how they as staff perceived the impact of government funding on the structure and philosophy of the refuge:

We get the same that we have got for the last six years. Even though our statistics have been increasing over that time we don't get more money because the government only allocates x amount of dollars to put into the budget for the various needs of the community. And the argument may well be, and it is, "why does the community fall back on the government to provide services to assist areas where there's family violence. Is it our responsibility? Is it government's responsibility? or should that not fall back onto the community because it's the community's responsibility." That's the argument.

Every five minutes [staff member] spend with a client, whether it's on the phone or whether it's face to face work, you have five minutes paper work (Staff Members, Group 1).

The refuge staff clearly understood that their workload was increased by the accountability measures imposed by the NCIWR and the NZCFA. Not only that but they understood the tension implicit in relying heavily on government for funding whilst the latter was in fact only purchasing services that they identified as warrantable (Boston, 1999; Levesque, 1996; B. Robinson, 1998).

The NCIWR as stated earlier had developed a strategic plan (NCIWR, 1996b) with an emphasis on standardising services across all member refuges and increasing its funding base. One of the aims was to devise job descriptions that reflected all aspects of refuge work. Up until this point refuge staff had devised their own job descriptions, which were ratified at a special general meeting in 1995, one year after the Governing Body had instigated their development, with changes occurring as the NCIWR developed its *Standards of Practice* manual (Lynch, 1998) to which all member refuges would have to adhere. The Governing Body noted this in their monthly meeting minutes:

The Statement covers all aspects of our work and accountability for these job functions. It follows on that there will be policies written and job descriptions written to cover all services we are contracted to provide. Includes consequences for non-compliance of service delivery and other malpractices within the refuges (July, 1996, p.3.)

Furthermore the NCIWR in their *Strategic Plan 1996* (NCIWR, 1996b) focused on establishing and maintaining a work force that was increasingly specialist and professional in nature:

Ensure NCIWR employs skilled workers, develops clear personnel policies and procedures for all refuge advocates (including breaches of code of ethics) and establishing staff recruitment policies (p.19).

Thus the refuge was driven by the requirements of the NCIWR to comply with its criteria for standardisation across all member refuges and although this added to the responsibility of the refuge staff, who through their regional representatives developed job descriptions within the *HROS* mandate, it also placed inordinate pressure on the refuge, as one staff member was a regional representative and spent a great deal of time complying with these requirements. So it may be seen as a double edged sword with on the one hand the refuge having input and control of human resources and on

the other hand reducing its ability to function effectively with one staff taking on additional responsibilities not accounted for within existing refuge work.

The refuge's compliance with the NZCFA was also critical as the refuge was expected to hire staff and recruit volunteers, "on the basis of a job description which states the skills required for the position and the expected qualification and/or training and experience." (NZCFA, 1995a, p.20). For example, in the 1994 application for local contract funding the refuge had to identify how it would meet various standards of approval. The refuge indicated that job descriptions for three staff and for volunteers were included. The follow-up correspondence with the NZCFA identified that other criteria were necessary to guarantee funding including external staff supervision, and a recruitment process for staff and volunteers (NZCFA, 1994, personal correspondence, July 25). As a result of supplying this information the refuge was granted approval status with an annual assessment scheduled for the following year, "In order to ensure that your organisation continues to meet the appropriate standards" (NZCFA, 1994, personal correspondence, July 29). Thus the refuge was directly accountable to its funder for maintaining various policies and procedures pertaining to employment issues. This was further manifested in the expectation that as new staff were employed, albeit temporarily and not necessarily funded through the local contract, the refuge would submit position specifications and job descriptions for the new positions. In addition job descriptions were required from the Governing Body's executive including Chairperson, Treasurer and Secretary (NZCFA, 1995, personal correspondence, December 19) so that the refuge could meet the new NZCFA level for approval standards which tended to change from year to year.

Furthermore the development of the *KOPPS* document in the 1997-1998 period outlined the matching of the refuge's management structure with the requirements of the NZCFA (Lynch, 1998). This structure included the responsibility of the Governing Body, the various sub-committees which were responsible for human resources, staffing positions and work hours. Thus the refuge was expected to draft various policies and procedures including developing contracts for unpaid volunteers, policies on staff replacement, code of conduct etc. (Governing Body Minutes, October, 1997).

The refuge's compliance with the NZCFA accountability was based on its ability to meet its funding requirements. This was clearly identified in the following responses from staff in team meetings and reports:

At present we are stopping filling the gaps. Request we all think about our job requirements and realistic expectations. What constructive ideas can we make to change things to meet our contractual requirements and fit our expected budget (Staff Team Minutes, May 1997, p.2).

We have a reply from [the CFA outreach worker] in the form of a **Draft Approval Assessment Result Report** [emphasis added by staff]. It includes CFA's requirements in order that we receive any money. [In reference to the development of training and grievance policies], please keep in mind it needs to be done ASAP because we don't get the [funding] for the [specific project] plus any other \$\$ until [the outreach worker] has the info in writing (Staff Report, May 1997, pp.1-2).

Thus the refuge was constantly caught up with meeting the requirements of the NZCFA which diminished their independence and autonomy and placed inordinate pressure on the staff as they struggled to provide services and programmes to battered women and children. The time consuming nature of work required to meet exacting standards of approval from NZCFA and from the NCIWR impacted on the structure and philosophy of the refuge which focused on organisational preservation (Zald & Ash, 1966). The refuge came to be seen to be gradually moving away from its grass roots intentions of providing safety and shelter to women and children fleeing from abusive partners as it continued to address the exacting requirements of its two major funding sources. The introduction of standards constrained other responsibilities as the arm of bureaucracy extended to permeate the nature of service delivery:

... the CFA are introducing new Standards of Practice. [The senior staff member has] had meetings with our outreach worker. These new standards require [the senior staff member] to spend lots of time in the next month to write the Standards that would apply to [the refuge], including supporting documents and write new ones if we don't have the documents in place. The Standards require endorsement from you as [the Governing Body] before the end of November. ... would like to speak to this as the next meeting (Staff Report, October, 1997, p.4).

and as staff and governing members noted:

I agree to a certain standard about accountability but we employ [several staff whose responsibilities include administration as well as being employed in other roles]. Put this against one full-time and two part-time coal face workers are we running a refuge or an accountancy firm? (Staff Member, Group 2).

Funding is urgent and if it is given in one lump sum in one way to one place and then gets divided and divided and divided and divided we end up with very little for the battered woman and her child or children. As it is this funding can be available through various departments but you've got to know where to go to get it. And you've got to have the stats then to back it up. So if you haven't done your July stats you don't get your August pay (Ex- Governing Member).

Conclusion

In complying with the accountability measures imposed by government the refuge understood the tension inherent in trading off independence and autonomy for funding. The cooptation of the refuge meant that it had to retain a focus on funding in order to maintain basic services to women and children. The refuge's ability to uphold a social change agenda was also relegated to secondary importance as the refuge struggled to conform to its funders requirements. Only on very few occasions in the data collection process did the refuge participants refer to or underline being directly involved as a feminist organisation with a feminist structure and an agenda for social change. The reliance on the NCIWR to provide a feminist overview and structure in relation to themselves and to government was not challenged but endorsed as the most appropriate means to deal with such issues. The 'arms length' approach the refuge held however influenced their main focus on service delivery which impacted on their internal organisational structure as they struggled to address many issues.

Chapter 9 will focus more directly on other factors that impacted on the structure and philosophy of the refuge particularly its service delivery focus and the management structure that evolved and changed as it moved from the 1980s into the 1990s.

CHAPTER 8

Managing the Process -

The Implications of Transformation on the Transition House

Introduction

Are shelters just another type of human service agency, or are they an aspect of the political struggle to end violence against women? If they serve both ends, how are both objectives reconciled? (Hoff, 1990, p. 148).

This characterisation of the battered women's movement in which battered women's shelters are often seen as 'hybrid' organisations incorporating both hierarchical structural processes and feminist collective modelling of service delivery (Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990) requires further attention as it is highly pertinent for exploring the transition house and its ability to enact social change. Riger (1994) and P.Y. Martin (1990) clearly identified that these two elements can co-exist within a feminist organisation as they serve different interests and do not necessarily indicate that feminist organisational goals and values will dissipate. As Riger (1994) notes, "The challenge to feminist organizations is to adhere to an alternative vision while adopting some bureaucratic forms" (p.290). Feminist organisations can thus be seen to be subject to change as they balance the need to sustain themselves (in which they effectively maintain their organisations within a bureaucratic framework) whilst upholding feminist visions. This change may be beneficial as they adapt to circumstances and situations enabling them to continue to exist (Curtin & Devere, 1993; Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1994; Riger, 1994; Schmitt & Martin, 1999; Staggenborg, 1988; V. Taylor, 1983; Tice, 1990).

As explored in Chapter 6, the transition house was under no illusions regarding its need for funding and the ensuing costs to its autonomy and independence that funding imposed. The structure and philosophy of the transition house was bureaucratic and one in which the pragmatic aspects afforded by a continuing and considerable source of funding co-existed with a feminist philosophy that was embodied in its goals and values (Broom, 1991; Currie, 1989; Lipsky & Smith, 1989-1990; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1994; Riger, 1994; D. Robinson, 1993a; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter,

1982; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). The transition house's original funding proposal to government embodied an individual empowerment model of service delivery as it sought to focus on servicing the needs of battered women rather than exploring a more radical analysis of the institutional causes of wife abuse and women's oppression (Bograd, 1990; Bouchier, 1983; Staggenborg, 1989):

The [transition house] was formed to supply and render services to battered women with the aim of enabling them the freedom and emotional support to reassess their situation and arrive at their own decisions regarding actions towards their future (Transition House Proposal, 1983, p.1).

Although the influence of funding for transition houses and refuges has remained significant there are other factors that have been profoundly influential on the battered women's movement generally, and more specifically on the transition house being studied. This chapter thus seeks to examine the impact of various features that have influenced the way in which the transition house characterises its philosophy and practice. These factors directly relate to the influence of the transition house's adherence to the bureaucratic features outlined in Chapter 6. The notion of promoting social change, albeit limited by the influence of external factors, was crafted somewhat differently for the relationship between staff, the board of directors and the services provided to women and children. Significant resonance can be attributed to the manner in which the transition house's bureaucratic structure and service delivery approach were influenced by the social service model (Davis, 1988a). This model characterises battered women as victims, dependent on partners, who use a transition house to remain safe and to address individual crisis issues (Davis, 1988a; McDonald, 1989; Schechter, 1990; Struthers, 1994; Walker, 1990a).

Management Structure - Balancing Bureaucracy and Feminist Philosophy

It can be argued that the evolution of the transition house should be viewed in a much broader context of what was occurring across the Province of Nova Scotia in that any semblance of a collectively organised grass roots movement had all but disappeared as bureaucratic and hierarchical formations became operational (Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995; Stern & Leppard, 1995; Walker, 1990a). Although the transition house's management structure was hierarchical as a result of specific government

guidelines and the transformation within the broader battered women's movement from a collective to a bureaucratic structure, it was also an expedient measure as it sought board members from the professional community to maintain credibility, to provide communities with linkages to the transition house and to enable professionals to further their understanding of the issues of family violence and service delivery (Aveni, 1978; Drucker, 1989; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Potuchek, 1986; Schmitt & Martin, 1999):

That they couldn't be dismissed as cranks. When we went through the [process of recruitment] every June to try and come up with someone whether he, it was quite specific, the principal of a school or someone from the [government] Department or whatever it might be, in order to, although we ruefully recognised it, in order to get kind of credibility within the community (Ex-Board Member).

[Transition house] made me much more aware of my own community. What has happened with involvement with [transition house] now more involved with community, talking to lots of women and children in my community and now everybody associates me with the community and how people call me to find out what's going on (Board Member).

Thus the incorporation of professionals within the transition house's management structure provided a credible public persona as it enabled the house not only to consolidate its position within the wider community, and therefore increase its legitimacy it also enabled the Board of Directors to focus somewhat on social change issues through prevention, raising awareness and providing educational programmes that addressed the problem of family violence within the wider community:

It's difficult to pin down [the role of the transition house] because of a need to keep the location as unknown as possible within the community. You couldn't therefore see ... the shelter itself as a physical embodiment of what it was for. ... It existed more in the mind, ... not quite so, but the concept and the role of what [it] was as a shelter had to be seen with different manifestations. Several I'm thinking of, the annual board meeting was a significant event for a certain segment of the community. They were always well attended. ... The other thing was the relationship between [the transition house] and [the men's group]. I don't think that [the men's group] would have got started if it hadn't been for all the work being done to set up [transition house] in the first place. ... There was always a good relationship between the individual workers. That's why the government got involved. It wasn't [transition house] as a building but what [it] was all about and its profile in the community and its relationship with [the men's group]. The advocacy that was being done

on [transition house's] behalf through specific events, all the trips we made to town councils and make presentations and the public education programme going into schools, very high profile. So [transition house] as a shelter had different manifestations.

... you don't put your finger in the hole to stop the leak, you fix the leak. Branch out and get the community involved. [Transition house society] tries to bring in the community particularly the annual meeting where you try to bring in everyone to hear what is going on in the community and the house itself (Ex-Board Members).

My goal is to work towards the community that will not have any use for transition houses (Board Member).

The Board of Directors thus saw that one of its roles was to end violence against women by various means, what Schmitt and Martin (1999) refer to as "*from the inside to the inside*" (p.369) and what P.Y. Martin (1999) (cited in Schmitt and Martin, 1999), described as "occupy and indoctrinate" (p.369). This mobilisation strategy is unobtrusive in that the transition house's intervention methods were channelled through established institutional forms. These included, for example, through the transition house's participation on the government's Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV) and the Transition House Committee (THC) that eventually replaced the PCFV; through conducting education programmes in schools and the community, participation on several inter-agency committees, and liaison and advocacy work with community based agencies and institutions. The feminist philosophy endorsed by the transition house facilitated understanding of domestic violence issues and influenced policy development:

I was thinking of the [transition house] society, public education, asking to change laws that are wrong and have negative effect on women. Through [transition house] and working with other agencies alot of work being done to change this (Board Member).

... there is an inter-agency committee on the local, municipal level that lends great credibility to the work of the shelter and its outreach and public education efforts. Of course it was the Executive Director of the shelter who was instrumental in getting it established, but it is a good example of local government agencies focusing on the issue. The Inter-Agency Committee helped improve relations between the shelter and local services and police forces. The local Council of Churches organised an awareness week ... about five years ago and this helped make it acceptable for some members of different agencies to participate in the inter-agency committee (Ex-Board Member).

Engagement with the state that is, "feminists creating a presence within the mainstream" (Mansbridge, 1995, p.30) and in the community at large enabled the transition house to put forward a feminist agenda balancing the need to change women's situations and yet also to transform the views of professionals and public servants from within the system (Bouchier, 1983; Mansbridge, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). Consequently, the focus for the transition house was to ensure that battered women, the wider community and various levels of government were subject to a feminist influence.

The Board of Directors' ability to balance its bureaucratic structure with its feminist philosophy and practice was therefore important as it recognised the trade-off that was inherent with government funding. The co-existence of these two discordant aspects emphasised a perspective that was astutely balanced by the transition house through its board members and staff and was evidenced in the perceptive and pragmatic responses from ex-staff when asked about the influence of other factors on the structure and philosophy of the transition house and the battered women's movement generally:

All shelters respond to community boards. I think the board structure is important because that's your accountability and if we want not to be responsible totally too that's one of our outs with the government is to say 'you only give us seventy percent of our funding and we're responsible by law to this community board' so that gives shelters 'their out' when the rubber hits the road and they balk at something the government is pushing down their throats. So I think that's a really important structure to maintain. They have to be accountable to the public and how do you do that? ... The dilemma in that structure is, **again in [name of county] we've been fortunate with how the board has been** [emphasis added]. ... the structure is consistent all round, but you begin with your memorandum and your charter and all of these things are feminist but you may or may not have a feminist collective of board members. ... the shelters have been trying to win over their communities and involve the communities and the different agencies, we've often brought in lawyers and police, men and business people and service providers who may not be feminist at all, but we want them to understand the shelter. We want them to take ownership and not be intimidated or threatened by the shelter, so the boards have often got when they do recruitment say 'we need probation on for example, because we want probation to help us get the orders for women etc.' So you want these people to be involved and that's one way to keep those people involved but on the other hand when you're trying to make decisions that impact on the house,

very often those people on the board come from a very conservative set of ideas (Ex-Staff Member).

The transition house's management structure thus could be seen to be maintained by an underlying pragmatic acceptance of these divergent structures that exemplified the tension between a feminist ideology and the need to be accepted by the community. It can be noted thus that the transition house's structure and philosophy often included contradictory elements and were thus somewhat ambivalent as the transition house strove to balance its internal features with the external demands made upon it. Social change activities necessarily took on various forms as the transition house accommodated these influences.

The maintenance of a fine balance between authority and hierarchy on the one hand and feminist processes on the other was manifest throughout the life of the transition house's management structure. For example, because the transition house was not established as a feminist collective the recruitment of board members could be based on the premise that a well-defined specific membership who had various skills and expertise was required to maintain legitimacy and work effectively with government and community agencies. Membership included staff and ex-residents of the transition house but they did not form the majority of the membership. Thus at any given period in the transition house's history there was a combination of male and female board members who were influential in terms of what the transition house decided to focus upon and thus had opportunities to exercise authority and influence decision-making practices (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982).

The position taken by some board members was hardly surprising when one considers their roots within the professional community and their increasing responsibilities as a result of the inordinate external pressures placed on them. Board members understood their multiple roles very clearly:

Each board member may have a different role depending on what committees they are on. They are responsible for the operations of the house, spending within budgets, providing useful services to women and children, keeping qualified staff in place, raising funds and finding other means to which to fund additional programmes. Keeping up with

the changing needs, keeping public informed and educated. Also placing responsibility and pressure on government agencies for issues which are in the best interests of our clients (Board Member).

Board members are required to attend monthly meetings, join two or more committees and throughout the year vote on decisions about the house salary increases, expenditures and upkeep of the house (Ex-Board Member).

It can be seen that board members fully comprehended the responsibilities that came with the voluntary position. It is understandable therefore that the multiple roles and the many interests that required attention and resolution were facilitated by a board that saw the efficacy of a hierarchical structure. This type of structure was much simpler to maintain than a collective structure that required considerable amounts of time and commitment to maintain equitable participation levels and mutual decision-making processes (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Wharton, 1987).

Although a hierarchical structure was in place the general ambience in the transition house was to promote a balance within its structure and practice. In endeavouring to accomplish this board members considered that when they were recruited feminist principles would be actioned through the service delivery component of transition house work:

My understanding when I joined the board that [transition house] operated from a feminist model not a patriarchal model.

We always asked our volunteers if they understood the feminist philosophy and explain this (Board Members).

To adhere to a feminist philosophy. To support women. To empower women. ... To work towards changing a patriarchal society (Ex-Board Member).

Within the transition house structure there was always the interplay between bureaucratic accountability and responsibility for funding and the team approach that board members encouraged between themselves and staff. This philosophy guided the board through the multiple issues and concerns that faced them. This was clearly exemplified in the transition house's second Annual Report (1985) prepared by the Chairperson:

... It has become clear ... that here at [transition house] we have an outstanding organization that can work together cooperatively and at the same time be efficient and provide effective service delivery. We seem to have realized that all areas of the organization that is staff, volunteers and board are equally valuable and necessary. I personally feel very fortunate to have been part of this team and value the knowledge and experience I have acquired. ... I know we will be constantly writing grant applications and hiring project personnel. Now that the house is open and operational we have requested the staff to evaluate the service we are providing. This means looking at the policies in place to see if they are effective on a day to day basis and looking at the role of the Board to see how we can continue to support the staff (June, pp.6-8).

Although board members encouraged a team approach between themselves and staff it was the Executive Director in her professional managerial capacity who bridged the gap between board and staff. She provided a wider perspective and guided the players through the varied and many transition house issues, and thus facilitated, "... the kind of division of labour that allows [the executive director] to use and develop [her] own organizational skills" (Staggenborg, 1988, p.603). The Executive Director's own beliefs and philosophy enabled her to establish and promote a more open and participatory approach with staff regarding various aspects of transition house activities as well as, in her capacity as manager, provide guidance and support to the Board of Directors independent of her position as a board member (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979):

In transition house there's not the hierarchy that you find in other community services areas and it works well this way, because it's a team approach and the Executive Director sees herself on the same level as staff and staff see themselves on the same level. It's not the hierarchy that government is based on.

... in the position I'm carrying now if I call [Executive Director] and say what about this, often her response is "well I can take it to the staff meeting" and all of these things to me speak of trying to maintain a non-hierarchical approach (Ex-Staff Members).

[The Executive Director] attends all board meetings and provides information and recommendations. Attends or provides staff resources for committee meetings as required. Prepares as requested, special written and/or verbal reports, briefs, and/or documents. Interprets board policy to staff. Brings staff concerns to Policy Committee. Sits as ex-officio member on all board committees. Assists in recruitment

of board members and coordinates Board orientation and training (Executive Director's Job Description, 1991, p.7).

Thus the Executive Director's position in the transition house was extremely influential as she moved between her roles and responsibilities with the Board of Directors and staff. In this vein it appeared that the majority of staff and board members considered that their relationship existed within an environment that was mutually beneficial and supportive but obviously not all staff and board members had the same experiences. In their support for a feminist philosophy, the majority did appear to conform to what Rothschild-Whitt (1979) identifies as "members who share their basic values and world view" (p.513). This was captured in a response made by an ex-board member when asked about board member roles and responsibilities:

I think the [transition house society] worked very hard between the board and the staff to maintain an excellent working relationship. In no way adversarial. I didn't feel like the management, although in a way we were in charge of policy. ... We worked very well together. I think staff felt that too. I think we supported the staff in just about any requests they had. We tried to elevate their wages, their benefits and support them because they had a stressful job (Ex-Board Member).

In keeping with the transition house's support for a team approach, board members were involved in an induction and training programme that including information about the transition house, and their responsibilities as board members:

When I came on the board everyone was given a large information package with pamphlets. A lot about [transition house] and its history and philosophy. We were also given a buddy who had experiences of one or two years. It was up to the buddy to clarify, to understand what [transition house] does. Then an orientation to the house. Then training in volunteer procedure explained. Be able to shadow staff. I was educated to whole board. A hands on approach, supper meeting, role and function of the board (Board Member).

The Executive Director participated on all eight standing committees of the Board of Directors with individual staff members who were rotated as board members and included on various committees as demonstrated in the Personnel Committee policies (1996) statement:

There shall be a standing committee of the Board of Directors ... known as the Personnel Committee. This committee shall consist of a chairperson elected by the committee and at least two additional members. The Executive Director and a staff representative ... will

also be invited to participate with this committee. Staff are encouraged to attend board meetings. Personnel Committee meetings shall be scheduled on an ad hoc basis; that is, as need arises. The committee shall make every effort to schedule its meetings to accommodate all members, particularly keeping in mind staff schedules (p.1).

When asked about the role of the transition house a staff member identified the involvement of staff at the board level as critical:

I think we have a responsibility to keep ourselves on top of things and keep ourselves educated to what the needs are in our community. To be able to listen to that, to facilitate a voice through our Board and committees and ex service users (Staff Member).

Although staff had input into the Board of Directors both directly as rotating members and through committee involvement, there was still a sense that the board operated independently, as the various beliefs held by board members influenced decision-making. For example there was a recognition that as the constituents of the board changed¹ then board members were likely to prioritise issues that concerned them (Ahrens, 1980; Pence, 1992; Schechter, 1982):

I think the board changes, the people on the board change and I think it would really depend on who was on the board and values that they placed on things at times (Staff Member).

Views held by individual board members regarding their roles and responsibilities in relation to the transition house organisation, philosophy and what influenced its structure were also reflected in their expectations of staff to uphold the transition house's philosophy:

I think if the philosophy of the specific shelter is not being reflected by its staff then I think there is something drastically wrong because they haven't got the message or they don't understand the by-laws and constitution under which they are functioning and I doubt that they'd understand what the role of the board is. So I think it's extremely important that the staff understand it (Ex-Board Member).

As stated staff were eligible to be board members but were limited to two representatives on the maximum 21 person Board of Directors. There was for some

¹ In the first instance the Board of Directors were elected for a two year term of office and were eligible for re-election once their term was completed.

staff a perceived imbalance between management and staff which went some way in influencing the transition house's structure and philosophy as the physical and ideological separation of management from staff and in-house activities was explicitly characterised:

The people that are making policies and decisions have never been in the house. Never felt the pain, the frustration of staff and even the board in some cases. Quick in and out of the house. The board should be shadowing in the house, get the feel of it. Should be lobbying. How can you really make a decision, have any positive feedback if you've never felt or seen it. That's what happens sometimes. People making final decisions 'never get their feet wet' (Ex-Staff Member).

Thus for some staff the distancing of the transition house's management body from its operations was seen to reinforce a structure that was not entirely participatory as it was between staff in their professional relationships with each other. The ideological disparity upheld within the transition house's structure suggests that aspects of social control communicated through a hierarchical division-of-labour could be used to maintain organisational goals that did not necessarily match the needs and concerns of staff (Heise, 1996; Morgen, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979):

I believe the board members and Board of Directors may have far too much input. When burn-out happens to the driving force - the Director who controls all aspects because of their control aspect of the board and staff - the staff falls under the control of someone who is struggling to stay in control and the staff feels abused at times (Staff Member).

The discontinuity between organisational structure and workplace practices meant that there were circumstances where the Board apparently overlooked and discounted the value of staff experiences and expertise as part of their decision-making processes thus supporting a hierarchical formation that maintained power and influence in the hands of a few (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Obviously some staff preferred that the Board of Directors experience transition house work at first hand so that they could have a greater understanding of the issues facing battered women and themselves. Consequently the feelings of disempowerment were very real for some staff. However it remained the situation that the Board of Directors did not reach decisions lightly or with ease as they felt a responsibility and obligation to develop and maintain the

structure of the organisation, and ultimately they were mandated to make critical decisions that impacted on the transition house's sustainment.

To help maintain a balance the transition house's Board of Directors included survivors of domestic violence who could provide a perspective that was not usually voiced within the management structure of shelters:

... suggest that we have some women who have used our services to get on the board and I think it's very important to hear their voice on the board in terms of self esteem and what's needed. ... we have had at least one woman who's used our services on the board ... like to see it more than one (Staff Member).

Battered women should have an opportunity to participate in policy development and implementation through board of director participation (Board Member).

In accepting the position of board member these women felt that it was important to contribute something back to the transition house in a meaningful way:

Learnt a lot being on the board, learnt a lot about myself.

... when asked to be a board member I was pleased to give something back.

One of the biggest motivators that I had was the help that I received from [transition house] and when I was invited to be a member of the board it was my chance to help someone else in the same situation (Board/Ex-Board Members).

Although there was always a place for survivors of domestic violence as board members, current and ex board members held differing views over the role that battered women should play in deciding and implementing policies as they articulated their thoughts about the inclusion of battered women survivors on their Board and in policy making arenas:

[Battered women] should have an input into all new policies and be on boards or organizations who can evaluate and take part in implementation (Board Member).

I see nothing wrong with users being part of the board of directors as long as they are not controlling the operation. The board needs a much wider range of members.

No women in crisis would or should be expected to have to deal with politics. Once she is out of crisis and in follow-up her new sense of solidarity may impel her to want to help others. If there was money available to enable her to offer her experience and support to others in crisis and eventually, if appropriate, further education and training, she would benefit herself and others. Former clients are on the board but often they don't stay in the community to follow through on policy making. Also a lot of policy making is pretty esoteric stuff making it difficult for a lot of women to feel their experience is valuable (Ex-Board Members).

Obviously not all board members thought alike as some considered it invaluable for survivors of domestic violence to be involved whilst others identified barriers to women's membership including women's involvement potentially being too politically influential, whilst others framed their concerns in a more elitist and paternalistic manner that was more in keeping with a model that viewed women as victims requiring help (Davis, 1988a). The limited expectations held of women survivors could thus be seen to reflect an unwillingness by some board members to diversify power whilst also believing that because of their experience as battered women and the stereotyping that tends to situate them as powerless and subjugated, these women would be unable to provide a meaningful contribution to policy development and implementation (Loseke & Cahill, 1984).

These attitudes reflected the views of some board members who clearly distinguished a board member's role and in doing so differentiated between themselves and women survivors. This position does not match the original goals of the battered women's movement that focused on equal participation and mutual decision-making processes between women using services and staff and volunteers providing them (Ahrens, 1980; Beaudry, 1985; Pizzey, 1974; Rodriguez, 1988; Schechter, 1982). It does however reflect the board's ability to transform its goals as board member perspectives and expectations fluctuate and change as they focus on ensuring the continuity and maintenance of the transition house (Zald & Ash, 1966). The ability to balance a hierarchical management structure with elements of feminist philosophy was no easy task and yet the transition house's history is permeated with striving to maintain a such a balance as it focused its attention on serving the needs of battered women.

Empowerment and self-determination were regarded as the cornerstones of the feminist service delivery model and appeared to be the determinants for individual women's opportunity for personal change. The relationship staff had with women residents and non-residents was supportive, nurturing, empathetic and promoted their empowerment. However underlying this philosophy were various additional features that were somewhat incongruent with this service delivery model as the transition house included aspects of the social service model which focused on:

Creating change in women's and children's lives is believed to be the necessary first priority. This means focusing on protection, networking, counseling, support, and advocacy in the court or welfare agency (Davis, 1988a, p.410).

This model serves the diverse needs of battered women and children and espouses the maintenance of various policies and procedures to which women residents adhere (Davis, 1988a).

Empowerment and Personal Growth - Staff and Residents Perspectives

Staff reported that their lives had changed as a result of their work in the transition house. Their stories described their personal and political growth in such a way that they were not only helping battered women but also benefitting from the work that was part of their everyday lives:

... but sitting there and working with the women and having to believe what you said to them about having their own power and what their choices were, for me it was very personal work at the same time. ... I was really coming to an understanding of what the issues were.

I certainly remember ... my self esteem was low and so that was a key change working with women was a great pleasure, just cooperative way of working together was wonderful.

... I found feminism which helped me plan a critical path for myself. It reinforced my spirituality. It increased my self- esteem and personal potential.

On the work level I've developed my skills a lot more since I began [working in the transition house] and I really see that as part of the supervision that I've had an opportunity of experiencing both [in the transition house] and in some of the work I've done with [programme]

where I've done some partnerships with [other professionals] in the community (Staff/Ex-Staff Members).

The transition house's aim was to provide a safe and supportive environment, to ensure that women were validated and empowered, to provide information and practical assistance that aided in the decision-making process, and to enable women to take control of their lives and make informed choices. According to staff their role and the role of the transition house were interlinked and functioned with a common purpose:

[Transition house] role to provide services to abused women. Shelter, outreach services and those described in the transition house worker's job description, support, information and referrals. Public education in the community. Our job to stand up for women.

I see myself as being there to validate, explore feelings, have them expressed and supported, to support the woman who knows herself best and support her decisions. I believe I have to be there to encourage women to fulfil their natural potentials, to be safe and to learn to practice new survival skills. I am there to listen, show empathy and compassion. I am a role model (Staff Members).

Women who used the services of the transition house supported the comments made by staff. Being provided with information and raising awareness about domestic violence was critical, as was the opportunity to understand what had happened to them, why it had occurred and the impact of abuse on their and their children's lives:

Biggest service for me is information. The knowledge and understanding of how deeply we were suffering from being abused and watching somebody you love being abused. How deeply and the long term effect that goes and the behaviours that tend to result from living that way and the worker helps me to understand where the children are coming from. ... We back each other up as far as she reinforces what I say to the children and I reinforce what she's saying to the children. It's like we're a team working and for me to watch the children ... makes it a lot easier for me to feel myself because they are the most important thing, and when I see they're going to be okay and I feel they're going to be okay, then I can put more time and effort into my own healing and we can heal together (Resident).

Women entering the transition house identified that the safety they experienced was not just physical but also psychological as they realised that the house was an

environment where they could live free of fear, reduce the feeling of isolation, be believed and empowered:

For me it was the first week. I don't know I didn't say too much. I didn't let anybody know me. I found before I left that I learned to trust and trust to a point that really believed before I finally left that someone did care what happened to me. ... By the time I left I felt that the women did really care what happened to me (Ex-Resident).

In addition women were able to articulate the importance of the transition house in terms of encouraging other women to use it:

All aspects of [transition house] reinforce physical and emotional well being. The need for rest and the need to be by yourself, to realise that you are a person. They respect any decision made whether to return to partner or to decide to leave. They're very non-judgemental (Ex-Resident).

Consequently for the women empowerment was critical as were opportunities to consciously understand that what had happened to them was not their responsibility or fault. In taking control and bringing about personal change women could consider and decide their own futures:

The very act of walking through these doors is the first step of taking control of your life. [emphasis added] They can't do it for you and they won't even let you give them the credit for doing it. They just support you and find out which direction you want to go. ... It's weird having control over your own life, reactions, decisions, your own thoughts. Not having to justify or explain them or wait for some kind of assault because they don't agree with that, or just being allowed to think for yourself, for what I think is best and be able to act on it. I've never had that before, it's scary. I'm terrified of making a wrong decision but even if I do I don't have that abuse, somebody putting me down, calling me stupid, demanding that I justify every thought and action or decision that he refused to take part in. To have control over my own life is heady and is something I'm quite new at. It's nice to be allowed the dignity to have my own thoughts without having to come up with a million reasons to back it up. The abuse happens so subtly, for so long you don't see it coming. You don't realise how much of yourself you have lost. To come in here and get the information, to talk to people, you start to realise 'my God that was nasty. I didn't deserve to be treated that way.' It was as if he was taking everything that was precious to me. To not be able to control that, ... knowing what signs to look for. ... I could stop anybody from doing that to me again. That gives me alot more power and control over my own life. I think that for me was the biggest thing. I was so isolated and so brainwashed for so long. Just getting enough control

about my decisions, have my own thoughts, it's a very good thing (Resident).

If you are talking about control it didn't happen right away. They planted a seed and we all do what we want to do. Of course I went back, but when I was ready to go those residual things, they were still there and I was braver to venture out when I decided to go out. So I guess they planted that seed, but it didn't bloom until I was ready for it to. That fear of going out and being alone with your kids, all the financial things that you worry about, the housing. Just a whole area of things and I think that for me they planted something there. I've talked to different women, I think they do a lot that way for them. There's still a sense of control when you go home although it might not seem that it's there. It's still the strength that they provide for you and it's connected right to the [transition house]. You just feel it's there (Ex-Resident).

Accordingly the transition house's ability to further a feminist philosophy was facilitated through the women's experiences amassed from their time within the house and the empowerment these women experienced enabled them to make decisions that worked for them. These women felt stronger, more determined and in control as they experienced the benefits of staying in the transition house. The change in status quo enabled these women to participate in a consciousness-raising process that changed their lives (Mies, 1983).

Service Delivery Models

The changes that women experienced in the transition house were substantial but some staff were concerned that because of the level of abuse women experienced six weeks² was not long enough for women to make life changes and were fearful for women who in returning to partners would be subject to continued abuse (Ferraro, 1983; Loseke, 1992; P. Morgan, 1981; Murray, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Stern & Leppard, 1995; Sullivan, 1982; Wharton, 1989):

Women have every opportunity to take control of their lives. If they are feeling emotionally and physically strong enough to do so. Some are so emotionally strung out that six weeks in a transition house just isn't long enough to look ahead. They haven't had enough time to

² Six weeks was the maximum length of stay for women in the transition house.

realise the realities of a life, going it alone, and often return to the abusive situation.

... Chance to see the possibility of change in her life. Chance to talk things over. Supportive staff are really helpful in giving self control. ... If you don't change chances are you will go back into same situation again (Ex-Staff Members).

However staff also understood the importance of enabling women to return to the transition house if they wanted to:

My work as a shelter worker and this is where I learned to do this was not to direct the woman. I know there has always been the policy at the end of a woman's stay, so many women go back and that's always been a discussion. So many women return to the home, to the situation. ... It was pretty standard policy and practice that at the end of it, one of the things you were saying is "I'm very concerned about you" doing a safety plan with her and making sure that she didn't feel that if she left and went back that she couldn't come back again. To me that's empowerment of that woman and to take control of her life (Ex-Staff Member).

Thus staff understood only too well the limitations of the transition house in that they knew women were likely to return to partners. In this respect they focused on individual safety and opportunities to discuss personal control and empowerment issues in order to provide women with the tools to make informed decisions even if they did go back (Mies, 1983). This ideology supported the overwhelming practical and pressing issues that women faced as a result of leaving their partners as they came to terms with the socio-economic implications of independent living (Murray, 1988).

Women felt that the services provided by staff were helpful in the following ways:

I don't know my rights. I don't know the procedures and the steps to take. I was very isolated in my situation and I came here and even the simple act of trying to find an apartment I'm lost. Any other time I was trying to relocate, circumstances were different. I had my husband and his income and having to talk about going to social assistance³ and the steps and procedures and appointments ... (Resident).

A client empowerment approach helped to frame the underlying philosophy of the transition house which existed in a social, economic and political environment that

³ Social assistance is the closest equivalent to the Domestic Purposes Benefit in New Zealand.

was driven by funding and accountability requirements. This approach was pervasive but the staff also balanced this approach with elements of the social service model (Davis, 1988a). This model is bureaucratic utilising rules and control to regulate women's behaviour and focuses on addressing women's "... deficiencies and needs" (Davis, 1988a, p.410). Davis (1998a) also maintains that this model is adaptive as it conforms to funding regulations, it regards sheltering as a short-term proposition, it maintains set schedules and board-staff differences about transition house structure and practice occur.

Although the transition house did not experience all these traits it did experience some of them. That is not to say that the transition house embraced a social service model but it did not adhere to the absolute feminist ideology found in the early shelters as it became more absorbed in to the fabric of social services within the province (Department of Community Services, 1994). Although the transition house remained autonomous with regard to how it provided its service delivery, " [the programmes] ... reflect the preventive and less intrusive philosophy that has been given a high priority in the department" (Department of Community Services, 1994, p.13) it was required to conform to various requirements established by government, such as health and safety regulations. Furthermore because it was not an *ad hoc* body it had to develop policies and procedures that incorporated all aspects of transition house operations including managing women's behaviour during their stay in the transition house (Davis, 1988a). Davis' (1988a) social service model has some credence thus far as the transition house invoked policies that directed how women and children should behave. These included scheduling meals, women and children's bedtimes and wake up hours, curfew restrictions, reporting requirements to child protection services if women did not return at night, the number of times women could return to the house annually, use of the in-house pay telephone and attendance at residence/staff meetings and participation in programmes. This was accomplished in order to maintain order, "... and ensure smooth operation of the house" (Transition House Guidelines, January, 1996, p.1) thus ensuring that authority was maintained. This is in contradiction to the earlier shelters where:

No one but the mothers taking refuge in the house may answer the telephone or sit behind the small desk and run the open diary. ... All letters that come into Women's Aid are opened at about 10 o'clock

each morning ... and everyone ... can read them. ... All financial decisions are made at house meetings and therefore all expenditure is known to everyone and agreed (Pizzey, 1974, pp.30-31).

Combining the feminist empowerment model with aspects of the social service model thus promulgated the idea that women needed on the one hand to be supervised and given direction during their stay in the transition house but on the other hand needed to be empowered in order to make informed and independent decisions about their future. This juxtaposition is characteristic of the tension that arises from being part of a coopted movement in which bureaucracy becomes the norm and the feminist philosophy distorted and de-politicised as it becomes integrated into the various components of a bureaucratic organisation and therefore becomes restricted to focusing on women's individual personal growth and change (Ahrens, 1980; Loseke, 1992; Murray, 1988; Schechter, 1990):

Battered women need to work on their self esteem, assertive skills, need lots of support and encouragement. The transition house plus the women's centre, outreach services can help women to cope and learn new skills. They often need up-grading skills and child care facilities if they find work. ... They often need to learn new parenting skills, how to cope with loneliness, budgeting skills (Staff Member).

... Most, if not all need follow up with support to repair the damage accrued by psychological, physical and sexual abuse in their relationships or their life experiences. On the practical side they increase or develop new parenting skills, gain insight into their situation with relationships. Learn cooking and budgeting tips, live more cooperatively and realise that disclosure can be safe and that it is possible to rebuild trust in oneself and in one's life (Ex-Staff Member).

This is further characterised in the transition house's 1996 Annual Report which described the importance of facilitating and endorsing a personal change model that was more likely to be supported by funders as the transition house looked to the expansion of services beyond sheltering and safety provision to longer term in house and outreach services:

Our program provides self-esteem building, one on one counselling, behaviour management, group, identification of feelings and responsibility for our own behaviour.

... receive referrals from other agencies including mental health, Children's Aid etc. The outreach program provides one on one

counselling to clients. ... Also the support workers are providing children services outreach to their follow-up clients and their children. The program focuses on education, discussing abuse, children's feelings, self-esteem building activities, anger management and providing a positive role model as well as establishing counselling goals.

[We're] now in the school system. ... received several referrals ... as well as referrals from students who wanted to access our service. ... currently providing one on one counselling to twelve students. Some were consistent in attending weekly appointments while others accessed the service only when in crisis (p.1).

Paradoxically when staff were asked to define the transition house's philosophy they were divided into two camps. The majority expressing the transition house's philosophy in terms of empowering women:

Empowering women to take control of their lives and make decisions. Take control of their lives and wellbeing. To enable her to be in control (Ex-Staff Member).

Only a few staff expressed transition house philosophy in more overt political terms:

I think our philosophy is to support abused women and that women should be able to live lives free of violence, control and oppression (Staff Member).

However the issue of feminist and non-feminist formations cannot be simply dealt with as staff struggled with meeting the almost insurmountable needs of women and children and accomplishing this in an external environment driven by accountability and cost-effectiveness aligned with concern over occupancy rates and by staff and board members who appeared to hold conceptually and practically divergent perspectives about management and service delivery approaches. The balancing of perspectives with regard to working in the best interests of women was somewhat blurred as staff articulated that the most suitable structures for meeting the varied needs of battered women included situations in which both approaches were appropriate as circumstances dictated:

If it was an outreach model ... then you would have a case manager who's assigned to that woman and who would follow her through but she's still going to have to be able to call the twenty four hour crisis line for example and reach somebody else because nobody can be on call twenty four hours a day, seven days a week. The outreach model is almost a more social work kind of model because you have, you're

assigned a worker ... and if you have a worker with [transition house] because there's more than one person involved [Executive Director] becomes the Case Manager actually for all the cases in the house. ... I know she reads every file at some point during the week. . .and with ... outreach too there are some women who don't need the physical safety and shelter. ... I think if the structure is such that it's a one on one outside the house then I think group becomes extremely important ... women have to hear other women's experiences for them to start understanding this isn't personal, this is political, this is social, this is a social structure and one on one I don't think that necessarily happens, no matter how many times I tell her (Ex- Staff Member).

The staff thus appeared somewhat paradoxical in their perception of service delivery for battered women. The underlying philosophy was such that they understood the need to provide a feminist framework but this was overshadowed somewhat by the influence of a bureaucratic and hierarchical structure that facilitated the integration of the social service model as a response to the expansion of services in order to meet the needs of battered women (Currie, 1989; McDonald, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987; Struthers, 1994). This modelling was further reinforced by staff identifying that their reasons for working in the transition house could not always be attributed to feminist beliefs but were just as likely due to pragmatic reasons ranging from economic exigencies to having started transition house work as a volunteer, gradually working their way through the system to relief worker and eventually paid staff position, and potentially reaching board member status. For some staff then the work had to be viewed practically and illustrated the evolution of the battered women's movement from a politically driven movement to one of compromise and acceptance within the bounds of existing social structures. Thus it is not surprising that staff maintained a practical sensibility regarding their employment and their individual belief systems. For example, in responding to how staff felt about the role of the professional within the transition house setting, staff referenced a province wide conference of shelter workers that had discussed the issue of professionalism:

... other workers and other shelters in Nova Scotia were saying "it's time now not to be the big martyr, this is the issue and our commitment to work. ... we get paid for forty and it takes fifty hours to do the work as we do that. The work is going to be number one in our lives. This is a job, it puts food on our table, a roof over our head and we have a right to be recognised and paid for that. We have a right to have adequate benefits and recognition of that so in some ways to feel like the professionalism will give us more fuel power and

be able to fight for that and be recognised and not be seen as just simply doing this because of the cause." It's certainly part of it but ... have to pay the mortgage ... have to eat as well and ... have a life outside of here (Staff Member).

This perspective was further strengthened when staff were asked to explore the balancing of a service delivery focus with a commitment to ending violence against women:

I think it's a hard balancing act. I think that, of course I would like to have it, both to have equal priority but I think for many of the women who work in transition houses, for themselves they're doing their work providing services, is their way of helping to end violence against women. I don't think that all the women who work in transition houses want to work on the larger picture but I see it as the shelter's responsibility, when you think of the the shelter in terms of the board, executive director and staff and direct service providers. ... say to people the "Take Back the Night" march is coming up and I don't see anyone from [transition house] there and I wonder why and I know it's because part of me thinks that it's because people aren't making the connections and part of me thinks it's because people are tired and they put in forty hours that week and I think it's probably both. I think it's often, **I can't speak for the other houses but I don't see staff as being really political, not all of them, a couple of them, and I think that's okay because I think of the women who use our services are not really political and they really don't want to hear about feminism. They want to hear about how they can have a safe life** [emphasis added] (Staff Member).

Staff and board members tended to separate the service delivery aspects of transition house work from a greater appeal for social change. The pragmatic responses identified thus far tended to support the apolitical stance of staff and their practical role in supporting women. The issue of the transition house's commitment to ending violence against women was articulated more in terms of an abstract concept and for the most part board members and staff considered that community-based education and inter-agency involvement were the best means to achieve this state:

I think the [transition house] society as opposed to the [transition house] has a mandate to promote a non-violent society more than the in house staff who don't have time to deal with it except off hours or in the time of their work but mostly they're there for the women (Ex-Board Member).

[Transition house] does some of the education. Be committed to the education. ... along with committed schools and groups. Should be a

focus. It would be nice for there not to be a need for [transition house]. [Transition house] should have that as one of their goals (Ex-Staff Member).

However some staff understood that the philosophy of the transition house to end violence against women although undertaken particularly through the empowerment process established within its service delivery activity also had long-term positive implications for women:

I think it needs to be part of everything we do. When we do focus on a service level you are letting women know what their rights are. You are helping them get back bits of their life regardless of what their choices may be. You are offering them respect. Women have the opportunity here through outreach ... [to do a] group that's twelve weeks long and then to take part in a twenty four week drop-in group here that touches back on some of the issues. ... often the women have had the experience of coming together in a group, [it can be] empowering politically in terms of them saying ... "I made the choice that I was going to leave my partner or I was going to reconcile with my partner on these conditions that he no longer treats me in those ways and that he had to access services". ... I see it as a real empowering part of a political movement. Now to come together in the last year on two different occasions, former clients have done some public speaking on that experience and I see that as part of the political movement (Staff Member).

Consequently staff were influenced by both models of intervention which were less than clearly delineated as the transformation of the battered women's movement focused on hierarchical structures and social service models of intervention (Currie, 1989; Davis, 1988a; McDonald, 1989; Schechter, 1982; Struthers, 1994).

The ideology of empowerment thus far relates to the particular individual woman's situation in which she was expected to work on herself in order to become independent and self-reliant, unlike the original collectively organised shelters which were concerned with ensuring that residents were involved in all aspects of a shelter's organisation including collective decision-making, self-help and mutual support, peer counselling and house policy formulation (Davis, 1988b; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). Consequently the relationships upheld in the transition house were somewhat contrary to the collective model as the residents remained dependent on the staff to provide them with the physical and emotional resources to sustain them and their

children and access the knowledge that would enable them to be empowered to make realistic decisions about their future.

Policies and Procedures - Influencing Life in the Transition House

The discussion surrounding the establishment and maintenance of policies and procedures has been well documented in the literature (Loseke, 1992; Murray, 1988; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Wharton, 1987, 1989) and has tended to reflect the differentiation between hierarchical and collective structures and as a consequence reveals the uneven distribution of power between women residents and staff within shelters. As examined in Chapter 6 the transition house subscribed to accountability measures imposed by government funders that included various policies that normally were associated with residential institutions, for example, health and safety measures and policies that placed parameters on the length and number of times individual women could remain in the transition house.

There is no doubt that the establishment of policies and procedures play a critical part in maintaining internal control within organisations and the transition house was no exception as the Board of Directors established a Policy Committee that formalised various policies and procedures that addressed the multiple issues that impacted on staff, women and children and as a result influenced the transition house's structure and service delivery. For example this committee was responsible for establishing and updating various policies pertaining to the transition house's operations, maintenance, service delivery, admission criteria, risk assessment, inter-agency protocols, volunteers, suicide intervention and health and safety issues. The development of policies is what Broom (1991) refers to as 'the crisis' phase and Riger (1994) states as the 'formalisation stage' with the stages of transformation within feminist organisations and what Koopman-Boyden (1992) refers to as the stabilisation phase. This fits with Zald and Ash's (1966) perception of social movement organisations that become transformed, focusing on sustainability.

The transition house thus imposed written policies that effected a source of social control as staff " ... understand and implement the aims of those at the top" (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p.513). For example the Policy Committee developed and updated various policies including transition house guidelines which were given to women residents and established transition house policies which were a reference guide for staff. The guidelines included various categories of responsibility that all women and children had to adhere to. The establishment of such policies contrasts with collective organisations that tend not to keep written documents but prefer to address issues as they arise and call upon personal and moral values in order to maintain accountability for decision-making (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991).

The dependence of women residents on the staff was manifest in several ways and impacted on women's daily life in the house, and their involvement with various programmes. A transition house's philosophy implemented through its policies, structure and processes may go some way to help explain why women only stay for short periods in transition houses and why they return to the marital home and their partners (Loseke, 1992; L. MacLeod, 1987; Murray, 1988).

As a component of the transition house's structure and practice organisational rules were an aspect of transition house life. The fundamental rule of confidentiality was in place to ensure that women did not disclose the address or the whereabouts of the transition house thus keeping all women, children and staff safe.⁴ Visitors were not permitted nor were they able to telephone women directly. Only staff were permitted to answer the door which was kept locked at all times to ensure the " ... safety of residents and their children" (Transition House Guidelines, January, 1996, p.4). Although the transition house was extremely cautious regarding safety issues they were flexible in terms of allowing women to leave it at night as long as they adhered

⁴ The *Ottawa Citizen* (12.6.99) reported that Ginette Roger, a forty two year old woman was murdered by her husband, Michel Samson whilst she was staying in a shelter in Saint-Jean-Sur- Richelieu, near Montreal, Quebec. "Ms Roger was hit by seven bullets from a shotgun in front of stunned women and children in the shelter. Mr. Samson is accused of breaking the shelter's door down, shooting Ms Roger and then trying to set fire to the building" (Mofina, 1999, p.A5).

to the two a.m. curfew and informed staff if they were to be out later than stated. However there were significant penalties imposed if curfew was broken as previously identified, and women were likely to be asked to leave if they stayed out overnight. These rules were made in the best interests of all women and children residents and understood by residents as being critical for safety maintenance:

Safety is excellent. Non-compliant residents they do not tolerate. If women violate rules and regulations or puts themselves at risk, not tolerated by [transition house], it's a safe house. If out past curfew my responsibility to call, to check in, has to be a valid reason for staying out. If return to husband for one evening invalidates [transition house] (Ex-Resident).

However the nature of the rules reinforced women's further dependence not simply because they were expected to adhere to rules but that the rules conveyed an implicit criticism that women potentially might not act in a responsible and considerate manner or that they required continuous monitoring of their activities. Although these expectations may be reasonable as safety remained a prominent issue (Loseke, 1992; Wharton, 1989), the rules ultimately reinforced a *fait accompli* as women had little opportunity to discuss and evaluate policies and procedures nor consider alternative models that might benefit their and other women's stay within the transition house. This was exemplified when exploring the opportunity to suggest changes or improvements to the transition house. Women articulated many suggestions including one which proposed an additional safety system for women returning to the house after being out:

At [the transition house] ... the door bell [is] on the outside and you can't get in until someone opens the door and it may have only been for a few minutes but the wait [may appear to be] extremely long ... and if they could have an inner porch type of thing that you could get into safely and then ring the doorbell. You're not visible standing on the veranda. ... If there was a way you could punch in a code that only you know and it led to safety and then you could ring the doorbell (Ex-Resident).

This lack of participation calls into question the notion of empowerment for women as they perceived that they had no obvious means of providing input into transition house conditions (Murray, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991). It is interesting to note that when women were asked what they considered as influential to the structure and philosophy of the transition house the following insightful comment was made:

When you think you are going to a place and it's just like jail and it's just what you're thinking in a lot of ways. You know better but it's still what's in your mind, am I, I'm going to be locked up [emphasis added] (Ex-Resident).

It may not be so surprising that women felt imprisoned when they went to the transition house. They were subject to various policies and procedures in the interests of maintaining their safety but ultimately their stay in the house was perceived negatively as their movements were restricted.

Policies regarding day-to-day activities also limited opportunities for women's empowerment. House maintenance was an aspect of transition house life as women were responsible for chores and meal preparation. A "chore chart" identified at each compulsory weekly meeting of residents was kept in the kitchen and delineated each woman's daily responsibilities. The first part of the policy regarding weekly meetings implied that the decisions concerning house maintenance would be made by women residents thus intimating that they would be solely responsible for these activities. However the policy was somewhat ambiguous as it also stated that staff would participate in such decision-making and not leave it solely in the hands of women:

Day to day decisions regarding the running of the house will be made at weekly meetings of the residents. New residents or residents in extreme distress may be excused from one meeting, but it is expected that all residents attend. The meetings will be an opportunity for staff and residents to discuss mutual problems as well as setting up the weekly chore chart and making menu decisions (Transition House Policies, February, 1996, p.7).

Some women's expectations of being in the transition house were somewhat different from others. Not all women were enthused about having to leave their own homes to come and appear to 'take care' of other women. They felt that they should not be expected to deal with the additional responsibilities imposed on them and indicated that this is what they would change in the house if given the opportunity to do so. The women indicated that they were not consulted and not given the chance to be flexible with regard to household task allocation as they were immediately placed on a roster when they came into the house:

... when you come from a relationship and you leave that relationship that night and as soon as you come in, your name is there and I know

we have to do our part, when you're so used to, you do this and you do this and you cook, until you get through that grace period it's like I can do this at home, why do I have to do it here?

I think maybe with chores that raw individuals maybe if they took everybody individually when they're taking the intake, considering the condition and wellbeing. Some women come in and they're a little bit psychologically stronger than other women and maybe if they took it on an individual level may be this person needs a couple more days than another person. That might help because we're not all the same (Ex-Residents).

When exploring the impact of changes on the transition house, women felt that if they were given choices and allowed to make decisions about various house maintenance issues, then they would have had a greater opportunity to develop problem-solving and decision-making skills and co-operative ways of working (Srinivasan & Davis, 1991):

I think it would help women in the decision-making process. That most of them would be efficient in because it's sort of negotiating.

Women helping women. If I had to cook breakfast in the morning and I just couldn't cope that morning, if somebody noticed it and I didn't have the courage to say anything, kind of help you out a little bit, or if you can get that courage and go to the counsellors (Ex-Residents).

It was obvious from these comments that some women felt that staff controlled even the basic aspects of transition house living and that they were in fact not entirely approachable to address these basic issues with them. Although institutional living is fraught with complex situations and operational regulation and monitoring by staff is required to maintain order, this model is far removed from the collective shelter philosophy of open structures that nurtured egalitarianism, mutual participation and universal self-help (Pizzey, 1974; Ridington, 1977-1978; Schechter, 1982). Under this regime women were excluded from participation in decision-making policies and practices that affected them directly.

This was further demonstrated in the departure form (required by the transition house's primary funder, the Department of Community Services) completed when women left the house. Questions were asked about staff support, and programmes that were helpful, and other useful programmes. They were also asked to comment

on concerns not dealt with during their stay, but there was no specific evaluation of the structural and organisational aspects of the transition house for them to comment on. Loseke (1992) in her study of an American shelter argued that house maintenance for all that it was shared among residents was still demeaning work and not empowering as it did not address positive ways to change women's lives:

... each of the ensuing tasks held the status of dirty work - activities having nothing to do with the organizational goal of transforming clients' lives, activities which, in fact, interfered with establishing the preferred "supportive" type relationship. Further and critically, when clients did not act grateful, it was difficult to see the meaning of shelter work (Loseke, 1992, p. 123).

Although living in cramped and overcrowded conditions with other women and many children of various ages is somewhat problematic as women are brought together to address their multiple problems of violence and abuse and try to make sense of their individual situations, it is however logical that policies and procedures that facilitate the smooth organisation of the transition house be instituted (Srinivasan & Davis, 1991). These policies were for the most part normative as they provided the parameters for what most people would accept as customary behaviour and therefore acceptable for general transition house maintenance. For example, women were asked to smoke in a designated area only, they were to maintain responsibility for their children at all times except when their children participated in an in-house programme, they had to respect other women's personal property, and were not to enter other women's bedrooms without permission nor be involved in any form of violent activity, including physical chastisement or verbal abuse. If these rules were broken then staff could intervene or ask women to leave the transition house.

Consequently the transition house's constitution and its organisational aspects influenced the women's perceptions of the house. Notwithstanding the institution of various regulatory and monitoring components as identified by policies and procedures, the attitudes and personal situations of women were also factored into their understanding of transition house living. For example, when interviewed women identified a range of personal situations and expressed attitudes about their experiences in the transition house. Some women had no expectations about the house other than just being relieved that they were safe, while others felt that having

to admit using the transition house was stigmatising, and some women indicated that their intention to return home to their partners was paramount. Whilst some women felt empowered for the first time other women found it difficult to deal with overcrowding, lack of privacy (on occasion women had to share bedrooms), and the number of children living in the transition house. When women were asked their views on the influence of changes on the transition house overcrowding and lack of privacy were important issues:

Some of the people are kind of upset because they need the room and everyone's taking over so you couldn't really relax. No place for the children to go. Children were running around and the parents were trying to get organised.

Unless you were in the bathroom there was no place to go to be by yourself (Residents).

Two assumptions arise when women use shelters. The first is that women are a homogeneous group who are relieved to escape violence and therefore willingly subject themselves to conditions they might not ordinarily experience. The second is that women enter shelters voluntarily and consequently if they are unhappy with the situation they have the option to leave (Loseke, 1992; Murray, 1988; Wharton, 1989). These assumptions are fraught with difficulties as shelters tend to measure their achievements in terms of the women actively responding to the shelter's ideology and practice (Wharton, 1989). When women express displeasure or dissatisfaction they may not be heard, or may even be thought to be unco-operative and ungrateful as they experience discontent with the practical situation they find themselves in, coupled with being treated not as equals with staff but as clients who have been victimised and requiring individual therapeutic responses (Davidson & Jenkins, 1989; Davis, 1988a; Loseke, 1992; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Sullivan, 1982). The tendency then to focus on a social service model enables staff to address individual problems and provide resolutions that impact directly on women. Furthermore because staff focus on addressing individual women's needs they may not recognise or acknowledge the validity of women's experiences within the transition house. This was somewhat recognised by women who, when given the opportunity to explore transition house changes, were clearly able to identify the conditions they found themselves in and also ways to remedy them:

If your nerves are bad and not used to having children around you and you're away from it and all of a sudden even though you like children, you've got all these kids running around and your nerves are [in pieces]. All you want is a quiet place (Ex-Resident).

I think if they could train in more areas, intake, appointments. Volunteers that come, not enough volunteers to [go to] police station. Need more helpers and the crisis line which is really busy. Some work seven days straight, too much. Didn't have someone to go to talk to a lawyer today (Resident).

It must be noted that not all women staying in the transition house did (or will in the future) experience the negative aspects of life in a transition house. For many women the house provided a means to take stock of their individual situations, they were empowered to make decisions and utilise choices in framing their futures as well as continuing to be supported by staff. These factors they stated would encourage them to suggest the transition house to other abused women:

I found for me it was my first time so I felt safe and I didn't have to worry about somebody hollering and screaming and everything. If you wanted to lay down and just wanted to do nothing and it gave me time in a safe place to make a decision what to do with myself before I left [transition house]. If I could handle to stay that long. Just by being in an atmosphere it made me make a decision, "do I want to be abused for the rest of my life or do I want to make a new break?" and that takes time. But in the length of time I've been here it helped me make that decision (Ex-Resident).

The support from everywhere. Safe place to come to your own decisions, own realisations. When you're in a situation right there you cannot think clearly, you can't even react. You're so busy trying to get through the day. Can take time to see what you need to do in this place. Take blinders off. So busy getting through the day, struggle. In here you can see other options (Resident).

Staff also recognised the limitations of the transition house and its impact on meeting the needs of women:

I think some women find [transition house] very difficult to come to. Perhaps the lack of privacy. Coming here with children especially when it's really crowded having to deal with children. It's very oppressive, getting upset because their children are picked on. Other mothers get upset because they feel they have to watch their child. Some women find it very busy, others find they get nothing out of it (Ex-Staff Member).

The transformation process that the battered women's movement has undergone coupled with the retention of a feminist philosophy regarding service delivery (Hoff, 1990; Riger, 1994) remains problematic as individual shelters strive for sustainment and yet remain focused on ensuring that battered women are empowered to make independent decisions and life-changing choices. The focus on ensuring that the transition house remains viable may infringe upon the individual circumstances of women using the services. If they are unable to adapt to transition house circumstances and staff expectations then they have few choices but to return to violent partners or live lives at a level of poverty to which many would not willingly succumb.

Quantitative and Qualitative Issues in Programme Organisation

It was assumed that when women entered the transition house they would participate in various programmes. These included individual counselling sessions as well as group programmes. According to the Transition House's Guidelines given to women on entry:

We have group for all women resident at the House, once a week. We also have "Moms Group" once a week. Please ask staff for day and times of these meetings. All residents are expected to participate in these programs. Mothers must participate one hour in children's program in order for children to participate in childcare program (1996, p.3).

Although in-house group programmes were compulsory for women opportunities for spending quality time with staff was somewhat limited. For example on intake a staff member would spend time with the woman completing a detailed four page intake form that included gathering information about her personal circumstances, medical and family history including partner history, history of abuse and criminal justice/agency intervention, stress and suicide factors and the impact of violence on children. However this process could take longer than one session due to the shortage of staff and was exemplified in the comments made by one staff member regarding the transition house not meeting the needs of battered women:

Transition houses are very understaffed and because of this may not be time to spend quality time with each woman in the house. A worker is often kept busy answering the phones or doors, writing in

files which must all be done and deciding what crisis to attend to. Time to sit and talk is sometimes hard to find (Staff Member).

There is an enormous sense of staff being overwhelmed by the work that they had to undertake in the transition house. It must be noted that at the time of the research the house was undergoing staff roster changes with two staff employed on the day shift, shorter working days, eight hour shifts instead of twelve hour shifts for the general staff, with relief staff working the night shift at a lower rate of pay as they were permitted to sleep for part of the night. In addition the transition house was responding to the increase in outreach work by re-deploying an existing staff member to provide follow-up to women who had left the transition house.

The staff juggled with providing services and programmes to women who became residents of the transition house in a situation where they felt grossly understaffed. Staff were acutely aware of the need to continue to provide existing services and to expand into new areas as they struggled with the dilemma of being cost-effective in light of the level of funding they received from the government especially when the transition house had experienced changes in occupancy levels and the increased need for outreach services and programmes for women who were not using the residency service:

The reason that we restructured the schedules is because ... we need to provide more outreach and we can't depend on [name of outreach worker] to do all that especially while you've been here Dorothy, we've been super, super busy but we have gone through, like we had a, think everywhere we had a thirty eight percent occupancy rate. You cannot justify all the money that goes into human resources to keep a shelter running when you have that low an occupancy. Meanwhile outreach is just overloaded. What we have to do is shift toward outreach and so ... pushed very hard for our new schedule so that we can do that and as it turns out the shift workers, the transition support workers are very glad to be going on eight hour schedules because the twelve hours although it has its benefits in terms of you work longer hours but you have more days off, they're tired (Staff Member).

Two issues remain pertinent and require further exploration as they impacted on the structure and philosophy of the transition house, reinforcing the ambivalence between authority and hierarchical structures and social service models and feminist methods of intervention. The first has to do with meeting the needs of battered women, and

the second aspect with responding to the political climate where governments in various Canadian provinces were reducing shelter funding (Ontario Association of Interval and Transition Houses (OAITH), 1995). The two issues were inextricably linked as they influenced one another in various practical ways.

Divergence - Staff and Residents Perspectives

The first issue was the apparent inability of staff to respond effectively to meeting the needs of women. The premise on which the transition house was established was that staff would assist and support battered women to explore options and choices and make decisions that would impact on their lives. This was a primary transition house objective. There was a dichotomy between what the staff believed they could and wanted to achieve and the uneven services that the women actually experienced. Staff were acutely aware of the need for more funding and services to meet the needs of battered women:

More staffing, more money to provide that staffing in support and children's services, outreach and office (Staff Member).

... When you take staff, two through the day plus your childcare worker I think that will bring improvement of services in the house and more time for one on one counselling.

Better services to residents. One of the main things is to meet the needs of children and meet the needs of women with regard to their children and you'll have some moms that come in there with small children. The children are in such need and the moms are so stressed and physically tired and emotionally just exhausted. They're trying to meet the needs of the children and trying to refocus their own life and get back on track (Ex- Staff Members).

Staff believed that they practiced a feminist philosophy that focused on empowerment principles in their support for battered women. However some of the existing policies that the transition house maintained also inevitably held women in a position of dependence and disempowerment, for reasons already stated, and thus contradicted somewhat not only those empowerment principles but also the policy that identified, "The role of [transition house] staff is to help clarify problems, explore possible solutions, and offer resources" (Transition House Policies, February, 1996, p.3). These basic staff roles were expanded upon in the job description for the transition

house worker which included responsibilities such as crisis counselling, conducting needs assessment and intake procedures, case management and action planning, facilitation of support groups and advocacy. Thus it was not unreasonable to assume that women could expect to receive a level of service that matched job descriptions and transition house policies that supported such empowerment principles.

Some women were aware of the inconsistent nature of the services that they assumed they would receive from staff. The premise that the transition house was a place to begin the process of healing and be empowering was somewhat subjugated to the ever pressing issues that the staff encountered daily. The multiple roles that staff were employed to do had far-reaching consequences as they extended themselves beyond the bounds of normal expectations as they attempted to meet the increasing and complex needs of battered women in an environment that was increasingly complex and accountability-driven. Against this backdrop of an insufficient number of staff in the transition house to manage all that was required, women clearly identified problems they experienced as well as suggesting changes:

When you're going to sit down for a session and something very personal or very raw is coming to the surface and the crisis line rings then you have to get up and walk out of the room. You feel very exposed to go in and face a bunch of people. So that's kind of difficult to have a situation like that.

When you start something with one person and then they have to stop and go somewhere else to another person and then they come back to you, they need more staff. Then when it comes back to your time again, it might be late at night, then you're so tired that you can't talk. They've got other things to do. I get exhausted trying to get a lot of information about abuse (Residents).

One resident expressed her concern about various staff being responsible for addressing all their needs when they were asked questions about the opportunity to suggest changes within the transition house:

It's quite confusing to have several different people working on something for you. In my case I was talking to one staff member ... about [housing] and I didn't know where to go from there and so she's saying "we can do this and we can get as much as we can" now she's off. The one taking over today came out and said "well no we can't do that and we can't ask for this." It's like everything I understood [then] is different [now] with this new person and so I was lost, confused,

doubting, maybe I didn't hear it right. I just automatically went back to doubting myself and maybe that's not what she said at all. I know it is. So the different personalities and approaches working on the same things I found confusing and now I guess she's finished her shift today and someone else comes in tomorrow. I don't know what their angle will be and what they will go for and what they want. Just shut up and wait and see what happens (Resident).

These women being sheltered not only experienced frustration about the inconsistency of services provided by staff but also experienced disempowerment when they exposed their utmost vulnerabilities to staff as they recounted abusive situations and poured out emotions and feelings in circumstances that were problematic as staff dealt simultaneously with their and other women's concerns. This course of action thus limited staff's ability to function effectively. The possibility that contact between women and staff could lead to women doubting their own cognitive abilities as they had limited opportunities to get to know and trust staff, is indicative of a situation in which the transition house was stretched to the limits as staff strove to provide consistent and reliable services (Murray, 1988). The dependence of the women on staff to provide them with counselling in order to address abuse issues and the critical information required to start the process of change is what Murray (1988) calls "informational control" which she states is "... necessary to the continuation of the shelter and serves its own long-term organizational needs" (p.88). The dependence on staff was an issue for women who expressed their concerns with lack of service consistency in terms of trust:

I felt for myself when there was just a few of us ... and I would get to know each one individually and fairly well it wasn't as much of a problem but with so many people coming and going all the time as house got fuller. I didn't know the people I was talking to even in terms of some of the staff, they have so many of them that I haven't met all of them yet. I find it difficult to trust when someone comes in and says, "I'm so and so and I'd like to get the chance to talk to you about your notes." Generally something personal, how you're getting along, "why should I tell you, who are you?" I was more comfortable when they, I had a chance to sit down and talk to them, they'd come out [of their office] and visit and chat for a bit. It built some kind of rapport but with it being so busy now there's no rapport, just I'm just so and so, let's sit down and talk. You don't trust that person (Resident).

Thus according to women's perceptions the asymmetric positioning between themselves and staff was disempowering. This impacted not only on a personal, emotional level but also in practical terms. Women were excluded from the process of determining issue resolution (Murray, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991) as they were kept from opportunities to evaluate services and propose service delivery solutions. And yet when women were interviewed about the problems they encountered they were able to identify necessary changes and how their implementation would influence the transition house's structure and principles:

I think it would be a lot more efficient and even if they had say a set schedule where one worker, they had the people designated for one week at a time and then at the end of that week they could fill in the one coming in for the new week, this, this and this has all been done, so that they wouldn't be able to follow through on that much so that there's less confusion with this way of it being told to so many different people, it's losing something or it's adding something. So I think down to a minimum amount of people to have to deal with for the same thing. It would make it a lot more efficient and less confusing for us residents who are not familiar with the rules and regulations and our rights. We pretty much depend on their guidance at that point. So having to be dependent on so many different people and not very trusting. We've learned you can trust one or two people a lot easier that you can trust five or six people to do what's best for you.

Perhaps one for phones,⁵ one for residents and one for making the appointments and going to the appointments with the people. That way they're not rushing from so many different areas all at once. It's got to be hard on them. They have to put things off. If they had one person doing one particular job that would be better (Residents).

Although these solutions may not have been economically viable at that time (and if only paid staff were used to provide services) when given the opportunity, women were able to offer various remedies. It is interesting to note that women opted for the social service/case managed model so that consistency of service could be maintained. This approach however was restricted to the outreach programme. In the transition house it was the Executive Director's responsibility to manage all operations and services provided and maintained responsibility for all residents:

⁵ "Phones" refers to the transition house's crisis and business telephone lines which the staff member on duty has to be responsible for as well as being the sole staff for residents and house management issues at the same time.

I haven't done an analysis of whether having one case manager responsible for that woman and following her through because [transition house] operates as " I'm on days today, so my work is focused on her appointments, her advocacy, that kind of thing. If I'm on nights then I'm responsible for her counselling, her emotional needs because during the day you don't have time to do a lot of that emotional work" (Ex-Staff Member).

As Davis (1988b) states the social service model has been integrated into feminist oriented shelters:

... the institutionalization of women's shelters as a form of provision took on additional significance as social agency agendas became increasingly integrated into shelter practice. The discourse remained feminist - empowerment for women remained a key theme - but the underlying practice incorporated a social welfare orientation (p.359).

This level of integration was manifest in the transition house's service delivery approach as the outreach programme provided women with their own outreach staff who provided a range of services:

The outreach program has continued to evolve and grow over the last year with an increase of thirty seven more women accessing our services this year as compared to last year. We are now providing more hours of outreach services with our support counsellors also taking on some follow-up clients. In fact, starting April 1996 our support counsellors have taken over doing all the individual follow-up with ex-residents. This will allow [the] position to focus on abused women in the community and rural areas for service delivery (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1996, p.1).

The staff were very much aware that they had to address the increase in outreach services. For various reasons some women did not utilise the transition house to address domestic violence issues⁶ whilst women being sheltered wanted to continue to receive services and programmes on leaving the transition house and these services were consistently provided by the outreach worker:

⁶ This thesis does not study why some women do not request or require sheltering but the 1990s has shown that women's needs are increasingly diverse and complex and therefore require more than sheltering to address them. These women are consequently looking to shelters to provide them with various ongoing and substantial services and programmes whilst remaining within their own communities (Gilson, 1994; NCIWR, 1998; Snively, 1996).

... [outreach worker] becomes their worker and their needs are met by having one person who follows them through day by day. Who does counselling with them, sets up appointments and goes when she can. So if it was a woman who didn't need the physical safety and shelter and I think that model would work more appropriately as her needs are more, she needs somebody to connect to. She needs somebody to bounce things off and it would be good if it was the same person but my [instinct] tells me when a woman goes to a [transition] house it's because she is desperate for something the house offers (Ex-Staff Member).

Staying Alive and Occupancy Issues - Assimilation or Rejection

The transition house's move toward outreach services and programmes was in direct response to the increase in women requesting and the obvious need for such services but the ambivalence experienced in moving in the direction of non-residential services was reflected in balancing the need to maintain residency services whilst responding to a changing political climate where provincial governments were beginning to reduce transition house funding:

With the financial situation right now I think the challenge for the houses and a lot of their work is being focused on maintaining a service. The shelters in Ontario are literally being closed overnight. In Nova Scotia our funding has remained the same, yet our costs are going up. Every time we bring on new service such as the outreach for example, because of the 70-30 split between the province and the non-profit Board, that's another 30% of a salary that a house has to come up with and fund raising is impossible right now. ... A lot of the challenge in front of the houses is to maintain the level of service and it is not easy. I think it's very real and everytime you go to the Province they have an excuse because of the money situation in Canada right now, it's the same across the country. We're trying to respond to [transition house] looking at an outreach model for example, we're trying to respond to the women and what the stats. are telling us, yet to do outreach you need travel budgets that they don't have right now. ... there are other costs when you go to an outreach model. But you can't close the house down because women are still using the house. You still have to provide safety and shelter and I think financially to change your stride it's really hard right now (Ex-Staff Member).

In addressing the needs of battered women the transition house had to find ways to effectively respond to the increasing number of women seeking outreach and follow-up services. This was further compounded by the concern that the provincial

government might reduce funding if occupancy levels remained consistently low. The move to change the Transition House Workers daily work schedules in response to increasing staffing for the outreach services was not of recent making but had been an issue for several years.⁷

However changes to staff schedules only really occurred with the expansion of the outreach programme. Whilst exploring the impact of other factors on the house it was acknowledged by staff that they needed to change their focus in order to be responsive to new initiatives thus pre-empting government from redefining the transition house's purpose:

The staff saw right away that we need to have something figured out before the government figures it out for us.

I don't know if it's an internal thing but when we're empty we have to justify being, doing the work, not that we don't but I think on a statistical and on a government level. I guess pleasing the government to say we are doing the work. ... but to justify, yes that outreach is ongoing we might not have the population in the house but we're still doing the service within the community and it's outside of the house. I think we might have to justify that more and more as changes in how we're funded. I see that as the government doing that and I think we have to look at that so if we want more funding I think it is going to start more so with our outreach services (Staff Members).

In pre-empting the possibility of a reduction in funding, a change in the funding formula, the transition house was forced to develop new models for delivering services and programmes. As identified the house was inextricably linked to government through the funding formula which permeated every aspect of the transition house's operation and structure. Board members and staff were thus concerned not only with a survival mode of operation as they addressed remaining

⁷ Transition house workers were employed on a different schedule to other specialist staff who had been hired under conditions that matched the needs of the transition house at the time of employment. With the changes that were occurring transition house workers wanted to reduce their 12 hour rotated shifts to eight and include a lunch hour which they did not normally have. Newer and more specialist staff were employed to work eight hour days and had a one hour lunch break. Transition house workers had for some time been concerned that they worked long hours under different conditions from their peers.

viable by being innovative and pragmatic but also actively engaged with government by proposing new models that addressed meeting the needs of battered women (Matthews, 1995). It can be argued thus far that although supporting and assisting women remained a paramount issue as the transition house moved to introduce a second Transition House Worker on the day shift, it also focused on ensuring that it could be sustained long-term (Zald & Ash, 1966). Staff responses to the exploration of the kinds of organisational structures that meet the needs of battered women provided an insight into the innovative processes that would assist women whilst enabling the transition house to be sustained. Thus the board and staff proposed a new model of service delivery that would address potential funding concerns and future responses:

Shelters and outreach services combined. I think we need outreach services in every single county. **I don't think we need shelters in every single county** [emphasis added]. I've come to the conclusion because of the low occupancy some shelters are experiencing. Probably half the shelters are experiencing but I do think we need outreach services in every county. I think it's fine if these outreach services are administered through shelter. I know that some areas will want to develop their own. ... You could do the administration through the transition house and it would cut costs. **My vision would be and what I think is needed, outreach services in each county and transition houses probably regionally as opposed to each county** [emphasis added] (Staff Member).

In exploring this model further it was also identified that if women required sheltering then they would have to travel greater distances to reach a transition house. However staff also considered that new initiatives such as the Nova Scotia Department of Justice's *Framework for Action Against Family Violence* (1995) pro-arrest and pro-prosecution policy would lead to the "Arrest and removal of alleged perpetrator from the home in all cases where charges are laid" (p.3). This policy coupled with effectively implementing Section 22 (2) (i)⁸ and Section 30⁹ of the Children and

⁸ See Chapter 6, section on Division of Labour for description of Section 22(2) (i).

⁹ Section 30 (1) of the Children and Family Service Act (1990) addresses the making of a Protective-intervention order and is "...directed to any person where the judge is satisfied that the person's contact with a child is causing, or is likely to cause, the child to be a child in need of protective services" and under Contents of order 30 (2) states that "The Judge may make a protective-intervention order in the child's best interests, ordering that the person named in the order (a) cease to reside with the child; (b) not

Family Services Act (Province of Nova Scotia, 1990) would mean that children would be protected by the mother, and the father, the perpetrator would be required to leave the marital/partner home thus enabling the woman and children immediate residency of their home. These government policies would thus mean that transition houses would not be required in the same manner as previously (P.Y. Martin, 1990; Schmitt & Martin, 1999):

... the houses that are experiencing very, very low occupancy convert to outreach and have one transition house in the region that you would send women to especially with this new Justice initiative where it's pro-arrest, pro-prosecution, getting him out. **If Children's Aid would use Section 22 (2) (i) properly and get him out of the house, women wouldn't have to use transition houses as much. It would only be the extreme cases** [emphasis added] (Staff Member).

Although the strategy outlined by staff was based on economic exigencies it was also felt that other transition houses in the province might not agree with such a proposal even though transition houses could expect the law to be vigorously enacted:

Given our limited money which for the future will be the same or less and that's a solution that I'm sure others working in the other houses would not want to hear [emphasis added]. We're trying to move more to an outreach model while still covering the house twenty four hours a day.

When asked to clarify about the costs of this model and the funding ramifications if the government were made aware of this radical new model:

It wouldn't costs as much because you don't have to pay somebody to be on [night] shift. It's cheaper.

I don't think it would jeopardise [transition house] because I think we should be the house for the region but I certainly think it jeopardises other houses, this idea. In terms of, they wouldn't need as many people. But I think we have to be realistic and look at, you know, the bottom line cannot be, and I know this isn't appreciated, the bottom line cannot be for me, and it's easy for me to say because I don't feel any threat of losing my job. **The bottom line cannot be job creation and job security. The bottom line has got to be what do abused women need and how can we do it** [emphasis added] (Staff Member).

contact the child or associate in any way with the child, and imposing such terms and conditions as the judge considers appropriate for implementing the order and protecting the child" (Province of Nova Scotia, 1990, p.27).

The expediency of this new model can be seen in terms of saving money as transition houses would be limited to specifically identified regions thus reducing the number of staff required as several houses became outreach centres. However this model does present various problems. For example, government policies may not be as practically viable as the theory assumes - they remain open to interpretation and the possibility of inconsistency regarding implementation. Furthermore there may be a consistent number of women not using transition houses but there also need to be consistent community-based strategies that can address women's issues effectively. For the women who need to use transition houses there need to be consistent and comprehensive services and programmes available. Reducing staff further disempowers women as they struggle to cope with abusive lives in an environment where staff would not be available to provide adequate services during their transition house stay. Reducing the number of generic transition house workers in favour of specialist staff providing outreach and follow-up services and programmes to women and children, also emphasises the ever increasing focus on role specialisation and professionalism as transition houses establish new models of service delivery.

Specialisation and Professionalism

As the battered women's movement evolved specialisation of staff roles and the increasing notion of professionalism became the norm (Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982). The Canadian transition house was no exception to this phenomenon as during the 1990s it embraced specialisation of roles, substantial but justified increases in salaries and detailed job descriptions that delineated almost to the last detail, the comprehensive and ever-expanding roles of specific staff. The transition house's staff (as noted in Chapter 6) had evolved from the generic low-paid worker to relatively well-paid, qualified staff with tertiary credentials,¹⁰ specific titles and complex individualistic roles by which to assist and support battered women. Job descriptions and the appropriate ensuing salaries reflected role expansion, and

¹⁰ At the time of data collection 77% of staff/ex staff either had a university degree or diploma/college education. Some staff had degrees and other professional qualifications. Twenty three percent had a professional qualification, e.g. in education and health professions.

specialisation, and the skills and experiences required of transition house staff. They also addressed the multiple and increasingly complex needs of battered women and their children; and emphasised the identification of feminist and social service models.

Against this backdrop two pertinent issues arise that require closer scrutiny. The first relates to the transition house's philosophy: the Board of Directors and staff were somewhat equivocal in their acceptance of a specialisation and professional process that sought higher salaries, specialist staff and professional acceptability in relation to their overriding concern with maintaining a fundamental understanding that the transition house should reflect a feminist philosophy. The second issue is more concerned with the practical implications of role specialisation manifested within the transition house as the dual service delivery approach of feminist/social service models became increasingly acceptable to staff and women alike.

Philosophical and Pragmatic Issues of Specialisation/Professional Processes

The Board of Directors and the Executive Director spent several years struggling to obtain recognition for the work undertaken in the transition house. This took the form of negotiating higher salaries and job descriptions that reflected the multifarious and specialist nature of transition house work. Balancing the divergent perspectives was not without problems as board members and staff alike fundamentally believed that the credentials necessary for transition house work were more to do with attitude, a feminist philosophy and life experience than with academic qualifications. Transition house staff credentials were seen to include empathy, co-operative ways of working, to be supportive and provide women with opportunities that enabled them to make their own decisions based on information and choices offered to them:

A grade 12 or equivalent.¹¹ A feminist perspective. A demonstrated empathy toward women and children. A demonstrated ability to work cooperatively. A clear knowledge of community and resources, counselling and peer skills. A belief that women do not lie and that given safety, support, information and resources they can and are the

¹¹ Grade 12 is the equivalent of Form 7 in New Zealand, University Entrance examinations.

directors of their own lives. An ability to support women's choices and allow them their own rate of change (Ex-Staff Member).

Healthy boundaries. A feminist philosophy. Ability to empathise, ability to support and challenge women. How people gain these credentials can be very different. What people's experiences are, how they learn, some are very interactive in their learning and done things in partnerships. We teach them ways more than what they'd ever learn in a lecture. I think we should really have some flexibility in terms of degrees and life experience and on the job work that we all get because it really depends on the person (Staff Member).

Practical skills and experience were thus viewed as the credentials for working in a transition house. However with the introduction of specialist staff that were established to address the changing needs of battered women and children, and which came under the auspices of the provincial Department of Community Services Civil Service Commission's rating system, credentials for employing staff changed. Qualifications and credentials were standardised according to the Civil Service Commission and each new employee was hired on the basis of the new qualification criteria. Existing employees however did not have to conform to the new criteria. Credentials thus became extremely important and related to the position sought. For example, all specialist staff, that is the Executive Director, Outreach Worker and Children's Services Worker had to have a social work or social science degree, a speciality course for the Outreach Worker and the Children's Services Worker and several years related experience. The Transition House Workers required a Grade 12 education, plus an approved speciality course and several years related experience and a degree if possible. These credentials were quite different from those espoused by early movement organisers and caused some ambivalence among staff and board members as over a period of many years they strove to maintain a balance between increased specialisation, professionalism and feminist practice:

I think they continue to increase their professional level education wise and exposure. [The Executive Director] went back and did her degree before that she was extremely competent. It added to the image perhaps and I'm sure she feels enriched by the knowledge she gained. The other staff members, I think there are a lot of people being hired with college education (Ex- Board Member).

I believe there's a role for both, the professional and for the transition house worker. The transition house worker does not have to be over qualified. I mean she can't go from an abusive situation to a

counsellor in a transition house but after she has worked through her issues and has grown from them then she is more capable of associating with the new women that's coming in and knows the professionals that she can refer them to. Without having that transition house worker there, if that transition house worker was the professional then the battered woman is not going to associate with her as well as she does. Whereas the transition house worker knows and has been through it (Board Member).

The contradictions that prevailed were an ongoing concern as staff realised that the transition house had been transformed and was more than providing shelter and safety to women but now included outreach and follow-up services provided by specialised staff. Professionalism and specialisation had become the norm as a result of the transition house's bid for improved salaries for staff and for more specialised staff. As a result the transition house had to match salaries with job descriptions that conformed to the provincial government's Civil Service Commission's accredited classification system and although staff understood the importance of both there remained a sense of disquiet as the definition of their credentials and qualifications changed:

I think we have, what I see as a negative of the professionalisation that we would be excluding some very good women to work in transition houses because for instance they don't have a university degree. It's very hard to even, we say university degree preferred but the other part of that is Grade 12 and of course three to five years experience. Where do you get the experience? I think that life experience is important. I think that women who have lived through this and have done their own work and done some of their own healing, that they have a lot to give. That's where I see the downside of professionalisation. The positive side I see as we should be recognised as professionals. We do an excellent job but I don't like the term professional to exclude women who are doing an excellent job but don't have academic credentials (Staff Member).

Furthermore board members also observed the contradictions that arose as a result of professionalisation within the battered women's movement:

I do not agree with what's being called the professionalisation of transition houses, because the goal for transition houses is to end family violence. When it becomes professionalised you're working to keep the shelter open. Kind of contradiction.

The effort to legitimize the work is balanced by the commitment to feminist philosophy (Ex-Board Members).

As a board member politically, funding requirements and types of education of Transition House Workers not just having to deal with women coming into [transition house]. Now having to deal with inter-agencies, it seems to be broadening somewhat and yes I do think it's a good idea that women who are going to work in a transition house have a pretty large global picture of what's going on (Board Member).

The ambivalence regarding balancing professionalism and a grass roots feminist perspective was further manifest in the passing of the Nova Scotia Social Workers Act, Bill 77 in November 1993 by the Nova Scotia government, which regulated social work practice in the province. This meant that all social workers would have to be registered with the Nova Scotia Association of Social Workers (NSASW) in order to practice. In a notice sent to social workers, the new Social Workers Act (J.A. Smith, 1993) also included a "grandparenting" clause that enabled individuals who practiced social work without social work degrees and "regardless of academic qualifications" (NSASW, no date, p.1) to apply for and if accepted to become registered social workers without having to undertake the Bachelor of Social Work degree (NSASW, no date). This clause was not without its problems as on the one hand transition house staff wanted a credible qualification and believed that the opportunity presented by the NSASW would enable them to practice as licensed registered social workers based on a number of years working in the "field" as transition house workers. On the other hand this meant that staff would become increasingly professionalised as they complied with the code of ethics of the regulatory body, the NSASW; would be accountable to that body, and would be required to maintain a high level of practice standards and conduct befitting a social worker:

Recently the Registry of social workers in Nova Scotia has gone through government legislation to be able to "grandparent" people who are doing social work and a lot of transition house workers applied. ... All Transition House Workers other than Executive Directors were rejected, regardless of education. Regardless of experience. After you're rejected you're allowed to appeal. ... **My feeling is that this work is becoming profession wise, somehow we've been told we're not professional enough and we don't have a specialised skill and knowledge. If we fight that we'll end up becoming professionalised and if we don't fight that we're just going to end up being squashed out [emphasis added]** (Staff Member).

All staff in transition houses across the province except for an Outreach Worker who successfully appealed the decision were rejected. All the Executive Directors were "grandparented" in even though not all had social work degrees. It was considered that the reason for this was:

... if Executive Directors were not accepted then there could no longer be placements of social workers doing their practicum here. They needed to have somebody who was professional and had the criteria to be able to supervise that. So it almost feels like, although it's not government but another institution that is setting up a situation where there will be able to, be jobs for social workers (Staff Member).

The implications of this last statement are that the only staff that met the NSASW standards were the Executive Directors who for reasons of expediency had to be granted social worker status so that they could supervise social work students completing their practicums in transition houses. It was also considered that the Association's rejection of transition house staff was because they did not have what they considered the appropriate specialised skills required, nor did they adhere to its code of ethics:

... that's been their argument that we don't have the specialised skill and basically the code of ethics that we work within to perform (Staff Member).

Although staff understood that if they were given social worker status they would become increasingly professionalised they also realised that only registered social workers would be employed in social work related positions which meant that they might not be recognised for the social work that they accomplished in the transition house:

... if a profession is a certain standard of work, if that's what defines a profession I believe it does, [for social workers] there's a code of ethics and there are standards and the women who work here fulfil all of those standards and that code of ethics. So in my mind they are professionals. In fact I've met people in other agencies who call themselves social workers who don't.

and when asked to clarify the "grandparenting clause":

I was very angry about that because the only people who are "grandparented" in are executive directors and I think that executive directors should have been grandparented in. I think everyone who is in [transition house] is doing social work and that everyone who

works in [transition house] should be grandparented in and I think it was very unfair (Staff Member).

Furthermore staff understood that rejection of social worker status was problematic as in a future situation staff might be replaced by licensed social workers as the criteria regarding qualifications and credentials changed, thus realising that professionalism of transition houses would be complete (Schechter, 1982):

I have a concern when the registered social worker was coming in ... [if you didn't have a degree]but [had] the skills. If the registered social worker came into place then [transition house] would have to hire someone [who was a] registered social worker. That means someone [currently in the designated position but non-degreed may] in two years time ... apply and have the skills. [That person] would be refused because [they] wouldn't have [a] degree but ... can also respect on the other hand people that work very hard to get their degree and make these choices to do that because you also have to have the benefit of putting that effort in to (Staff Member).

The dilemma that staff faced was fraught with difficulties not only in their attempts for it to be acknowledged that they were doing social work, not only in their acceptance as social workers, but also in their acknowledgement that if they were unsuccessful they were susceptible to being replaced. In addition staff also wanted to remain committed to a feminist philosophy of empowerment and support for battered women but were fearful that they might lose this grounding if they became increasingly professionalised. This was clearly the situation in other transition houses in the province when in the early 1990s the Transition House Association of Nova Scotia (THANS) attempted to compile a training needs assessment across all transition houses:

... The training needs assessment for shelters and that was such a controversial issue because it became, focusing on needs of training became a perception that we don't have it all. It became a threatening position because of the push to this professionalisation I feel. ... That by naming what our training needs were or where we had gaps in skills became a threat (Ex-Staff Member).

Specialisation in Practice - A Dual Approach to Service Delivery

The application of a dual service delivery approach that encompassed both feminist and social service models was founded on the increasing focus on role specialisation

and professionalism within the transition house (Currie, 1989; Pence, 1992; Schechter, 1982). The bureaucratic structure that supported a division-of-labour among staff strengthened the philosophy that battered women's problems were indeed complex requiring specialist and therefore expert staff who could address the variety of individual problems which women presented with when they came into the transition house and when they sought services as outreach clients. Addressing women's individual needs was thus critical and tended to influence the delivery of services. Also staff needed to develop their skills and levels of expertise as they identified that their roles had evolved from providing primary transition houses based services to the employment and redeployment of staff in specialist positions:

Outreach work seems different than work in the shelter [which is a] small chunk, lots of turnover, six weeks. [Outreach Worker] ... involved with women for six months on an individual basis and often come into group. So [she is] actually seeing women for a year. ... [As a result she needs] to seek out more continuing education around counselling and [her] role has been in much more long term issues ... [Outreach Worker] sees [her] role as 75 percent around providing counselling services to women and in that there's information, referrals, advocacy, but a lot of that helps [the women] focus on what her positive experiences have been in the past. It will let her get through as well as helping her work out a plan for healing. So [she does] some real healing work. It's pretty much multi-dynamic and [compelling].

[The Children's Services Worker] job has changed ... [She's] focusing on outreach. ... focusing on crisis intervention so [now] seeing [children] three to six months whereas [previously] only had six weeks. It's a whole new world. [Children's Services Worker] likes it but [has] had to learn some new skills and see it from a different light because [previously she] only saw ... children for six weeks. ... you can see how they've progressed or where they've regressed and she] can see that more clearly than within the six weeks they've been [in the house] or a month later if they've returned. So that's new ... and [she's] doing one on one counselling as well and using a lot of different resources that ... are enjoyable to use so it's a difference for her too. It's a different world. Crisis intervention [work] is quick, you do it. There's something new the next day but these things are ongoing (Staff Members).

As previously identified staff believed that tertiary qualifications were not a pre-requisite for transition house work but such qualifications became increasingly critical as all transition houses in the province were an integral part of the movement to

specialise and professionalise and be the primary service delivery agency responding to battered women at a time when occupancy issues and therefore funding accountability were paramount. Thus the staff saw the importance in upgrading, re-skilling and acquiring formal qualifications as their new job descriptions required. Transition house work had changed (see Chapter 2 for details) and staff understood the ramifications of that change as they addressed it through their work with women and children. This was further in evidence when staff were asked about the transition house's ability to meet the needs of battered women. Staff clearly articulated their understanding that transition houses were becoming increasingly responsible for women who usually were assisted by other social service agencies when they displayed multiple problems not normally provided for within the transition house setting. Thus staff were cognisant of their changing roles and their diminished ability to respond effectively to a diverse group of women:

... because of the cutbacks in the social service sector, not just financial funding but all of the social services sector that we're getting alot more multi-problem kind of cases. I see that as increasing and not decreasing and I personally feel that I need to have more and more formalised skills to be able to deal with that. We've had women who are psychiatrised women with psychiatric issues, who have need of our service. We have women who may be going through long-term depression, they're not suicidal and therefore they're not in the mental health services but they really need to have services provided for them. So there's real change I feel for the demand that's put on us in the last couple of years (Staff Member).

Counselling services for women with children based on a client centred framework and feminist principles. Respite from the children, affordable child care with or day care. Support groups for battered women, sexual assault survivors, child abuse, self esteem with consciousness-raising and stress etc. Financial support, educational opportunities. Affordable safe housing. ... Necessary to make a plan with the woman as to what she needs to move forward with her life. This, if possible needs to be done before she leaves transition house to work out the how's to achieve it (Ex-Staff Member).

The pragmatic attitude of staff to their changing roles in which they needed to respond to the diversity of women's needs was also viewed by the clients using the service as beneficial to them. Women using transition house services were also pragmatic as they understood that their lives would not change immediately as they articulated a level of understanding about themselves and their situation. Battered women required

support and assistance but given the opportunity they were able to express their own preferences and were well-informed as to the ways in which they would deal with their individual situations and how other women could be helped and when given the opportunity expressed responses to various questions in thoughtful and perceptive ways (Loseke, 1992; Murray, 1988). For example, when asked what was important about the transition house that would encourage them to recommend it to other women the following response was made:

I certainly would encourage them because it gives you time along with the counselling that you do get to get your head straight first because until you get your head straight you're not thinking straight, you don't eat properly, you're not taking care of yourself, so then you can't look after yourself, you certainly can't look after someone else. You've got to get yourself on a level where you at least start a bit acknowledging "I'm a person and I deserve to have some time to get myself back on track whatever that track is" and once you do that with the help of those ladies, [Transition House Workers] have been phenomenal in helping women do this. I know my own experience, I know I did go back home. I've used what I have learnt and I've gone to different counselling sessions (Ex-Resident).

Furthermore when women were asked about changing existing government social policies they clearly articulated that their needs were not being addressed adequately and identified those needs both within the transition house and in the wider community, and in so doing were able to provide an understanding of their particular predicaments and practical interventions:

There should be peace bonds¹² immediately put on the abuser and dealt with swiftly. There has to be something better in place. Women shouldn't have to live in fear once she leaves the situation. It's bad enough living in a state of fear all the time. That's why you leave.

I think women who've been abused are a special group with special problems and special needs and I would like to see government take the initiative with education of these women and not just academically,

¹² "Under Section 810 of the [Canadian] Criminal Code you may apply for a peace bond if you fear that someone will cause injury to you or your spouse or child, or will damage your property. ... The person who applies for a peace bond is the "informant" and the person against whom the bond is sought is the "defendant". A peace bond is an order made by a judge. It contains terms to ensure the good conduct of the defendant. The peace bond may include terms requiring the defendant not to contact the informant nor to go to the informant's residence or workplace" (Reid, 1993, p.38).

psychologically as well and all these things that go with it. After leaving abusive situations these are things you have to learn all over again and I stress this to women, that therapy is so important. Just to really look into yourself. Government should take more initiative in that way and I say this is so important because children are the most important thing in this world. They are the real costs of battering. Ninety nine percent of the time the women have the children and so what are we leaving these women with. Get out of the situation but then what? If government starts really looking at these little adults growing up in society we have to have healthy strong women looking after them Government should be doing more (Ex-Residents).

It would be nice for services that I would like to see [in the transition house] is to have these different organisations come into the house or have some place where we can all meet and discuss some of the options. Here's what we can do for you and just get a general idea of what's coming up. ... I would like to see them have regular sessions that help us know what to expect (Resident).

Battered women were able to appreciate the dual aspects of the transition house's service delivery approach. They were forthright and acutely aware that they required help from the staff. They were also aware of the transition house's shortcomings both in terms of staff/client relationships and the delivery of services and programmes. The women were also constructive when given opportunities to discuss transition house life and offer alternatives to a variety of concerns that impacted on them. These women were appreciative of the diversification of staff roles as they experienced the benefits of full-time specialist staff such as the Children's Services Worker, the Outreach Worker, and the Transition House Worker who provided in-house programmes and more long- term outreach programmes. Women considered the services helpful in various ways:

Aside from all the legal things that they help us out with they give us a lot of information and tell us about the signs of abuse and the results of being abused for the women and the children. That knowledge [enables us] to accept the fact that it wasn't us, it wasn't our fault. It helps us to adjust, the shock of leaving a situation and having to come here and the shock for the children. They have a great childcare worker. It gives me an idea of what to expect for my children. ... Getting the help and explaining the behaviours of the children, how to help them best, what was the best way to offer them, really help them cope with a difficult situation. ... Makes a big difference.

Very interested in outreach programme. It will take time to get confidence and self esteem back (Residents).

[Transition house] also plays an important role for children. Children that can learn that play can be through the childcare worker, non violent and it's a non violent home. Children can expect a new way of living, which is extremely important in younger children because perhaps all they've ever seen is violence (Ex- Resident).

Conclusion

It is interesting to note that women were supporters of a case management model. However this model was seen to be best served through the outreach model of service delivery as the women who accessed the transition house for residency were deemed not to require similar services. This was obviously not the case as women described their individual concerns and very similar methods to the outreach model to address them. The women using the transition house depended on the staff for safety and shelter, in an environment that maintained a feminist philosophy and where women could be recipients of information, knowledge and understanding of their individual situations. Their expectations as such were really to do with being assisted in the most consistent and effective manner as they wanted staff to manage their "cases" similarly to the outreach clients.

The problems that all transition houses manifest are to do with very practical issues such as living conditions and methods of service delivery but they were also concerned with accepting women as equals in an empowering environment. The transition house focused on empowerment issues but staff also balanced the feminist aspects of service delivery with a social service model as they became increasingly specialised and professionalised. For women this meant that they could receive services that focused on their individual concerns both from within the transition house and as outreach programmes but acknowledgement of them coupled with their experiences and insights was somewhat misplaced as staff were seen to treat women as clients, and therefore different from themselves.

The staff and board members' ability to balance feminism and bureaucracy was continuous and manifest through the work undertaken by staff and the responsibilities of the Board to external bureaucracies such as government. As one board member

stated when asked about the transition house's commitment to ending violence against women compared with the maintenance of a service delivery focus:

It is important to do service delivery but unless our focus in the beginning is going to change, "for violence to end" in order to stop that we must keep working with services that are out there (Board Member).

CHAPTER 9

Managing the Process I -

The Implications of Transformation on the Refuge

Introduction

The refuge evolved in various ways over the period covered by this thesis, and was influenced by several factors including the need for a sustained level of funding. The need to balance sustained funding (in order to maintain service delivery) within a revised organisational structure was an ongoing process. This process however was fraught with difficulties as the refuge changed from its grass roots origins espousing an informal collective framework to an increasingly bureaucratic and hierarchical organisation. As identified in Chapter 7 the refuge's autonomy and independence were significantly compromised as it conformed to the accountability measures instituted by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) and the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR).

The character of the refuge in its early development starkly contrasts with its later growth, and although funding played a significant part in the changes there were other factors that also influenced the refuge. This chapter examines the various features that impacted on the refuge's structure and philosophy. The management and staff relationships that contributed to change in the refuge's structure as it became increasingly hierarchical and authority-based are important. Furthermore an empowerment-based feminist philosophy was influential, coupled with aspects of the social service model of service delivery which implied bureaucratic and hierarchical organisational structures, and individual responses to domestic violence, which together provided a framework from which to provide a specialised individual client-based approach to assisting battered women and their children (Davis, 1988a). This will be further discussed in Chapter 10.

Management Structure - Balancing Bureaucracy and Feminist Philosophy

The refuge's original structure and premise was based on battered women helping battered women. However changes occurred to the refuge with the introduction of a formalised hierarchical structure. Although the legacy derived from the changes to the refuge's structure and philosophy remained and were reinforced by some philosophical differences between the refuge and the NCIWR it also enabled the refuge to address the increasingly complex requirements of government and the NCIWR.

Although the refuge established a hierarchical management structure in the form of the Governing Body ¹ it sought to balance this new structure by maintaining the practical aspects of a collective model (Hoff, 1990; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982) and consequently continued for several years to derive its membership from its pool of direct service volunteers who identified themselves as survivors of domestic violence:

I really became involved when I needed help, this [organisation] was there for me. So then a little bit along the line when things were sorted out for me I was asked to come and do a training course. It was sort of payback time.

I became involved through a phone call after being a battered woman for about [number of] years and then felt the need after that to be able to help others. That's how I became involved (Governing/Ex-Governing Members).

The refuge's primary purpose, its *raison d'être* was to help battered women, using a model of individual women's empowerment, and it valued the commitment of its volunteers to ensure that this occurred. Its focus on maintaining service delivery was understandable considering its philosophy and its historical focus. However in order to explore in broader terms the refuge as a social change agent it is critical to examine the relationship that was formulated between the Governing Body and the staff as this

¹ For the purpose of clarity the Governing Body refers to those members not employed within the refuge as they were interviewed separately.

directly impacted on the refuge and its structure. This evolving relationship applied to all activities within the refuge and managerial environment.

The specific stages of evolution referred to in Chapter 5 on the refuge's history remain valuable for describing the internal changes that occurred, and thus require further consideration as they had significant impact on the structure and philosophy of the refuge (Broom, 1991; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Riger, 1994). Each stage characterises a particular period in the refuge's evolution in which the concept of social change played a secondary role while the refuge struggled to accomplish and come to terms with its changing structure.

When the refuge organisation first established a Governing Body there was a constitutional separation of the existing volunteer base from the overall collective form of organisation. However in terms of the refuge's management structure and dynamics the Governing Body retained the philosophical model of collectivism through equal participation, consultation and decision-making processes:

I think that I ... was there ... because previous to being on [the Governing Body] I had experienced groups that were very hierarchical and I was very excited by finding a real collective, and working with people where my opinion was valued and worthwhile and being listened to and everybody listening to everybody else (Ex-Governing Member).

This collective ideal was promoted and as there were no permanently employed staff and frequently only volunteers to provide services, the Governing Body was more personally involved with a 'hands-on' approach to service delivery as identified in minutes of their meetings:

[Governing members to] take over the coordination of the [weekend on-call service] every second weekend (Governing Body Minutes, August 1988, p.1)

Furthermore when members were asked about government influence on the structure and philosophy of the refuge, they talked of their willingness to work cooperatively with staff to establish the refuge:

... they² told us to go and start looking and we found what we wanted ... and they hadn't even had any money approved for us because we found it [soon after] we went looking. We ... looked at others but [returned to the one we'd originally chosen]. There were [names of staff] and I (Governing Member, Group 1).

Consequently it was a much simpler time for the refuge's Governing Body as it sought to manage both the limited funding and the temporary and intermittently employed staff on short term grants. Thus when ex-governing members were asked about their roles and responsibilities regarding their refuge experiences they said that they required various skills and expertise in terms of the fundamental need to maintain services and ensure that funding was accessed but also appreciated that there were limitations to their own expertise:

I think the financial management was something that was important to me that we keep the money coming in at a level that would fund the services we needed to provide and that as [the Governing Body] one of the most important things we did was monitor the services that we were continually checking "are we providing a good enough service, is there something we need to change?" and that was ongoing.

One needed also to have good skills with dealing with the members underneath as it were. Also in the [refuge] and didn't ever go to [refuge] meetings because they thought they were not for them. One also needed to be able to discuss the possibility of calling in specialists. ... To call in experts. To call in financiers, to call in specialists in the fields where we were deficient not necessarily as [refuge members] but as advisors (Ex-Governing Members).

Governing Body Membership

With the employment of staff the refuge organisation was forced to accommodate a new funding and accountability regime, imposed by the NZCFA and the NCIWR, as it became more involved with employment and personnel issues (D.C. Wilson, 1996). It also adapted and changed the composition of its Governing Body in response to the growing employment of staff and the falling volunteer membership. The refuge's Governing Body established a policy that enabled it to recruit, from the wider community, women who did not have to be battered women survivors nor direct

² This was a reference to Housing New Zealand. This function was transferred to the subsidiary company Community Housing Ltd. in 1995.

service volunteers (Governing Body Minutes, June 1993). This new policy became critical for the refuge as the structural transformation that had occurred impacted on the governing membership's roles and responsibilities to the point that they had to respond to the increasing governance demands placed on them. The refuge thus sought new members who had the professional skills and expertise necessary to manage the refuge and meet its increasing responsibilities. Consequently the refuge was transformed from a small, modest volunteer organisation that was primarily concerned with assisting and supporting battered women into a complex and highly structured organisation that was responsible for greater amounts of funding than previously, the employment of various specialised staff, and the establishment of service delivery standards, and governance issues (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; MacDonald, 1995; Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, Zald & Ash, 1966). When governing members were asked about their roles and responsibilities they clearly saw them as management and employer focused:

Yes we've learned a lot. I mean I've never been an employer in my life but I've learned a lot about that angle too and I think we've made some vast inroads there, new policies we've set (Governing Member, Group 1).

To ensure that the services delivered are of a high standard. To be a good employer.

To look at the financial aspects of the [refuge]. ... To deal with staff issues and to be a support to staff. To keep the refuge functioning (Governing Members, Group 2).

This change in the refuge's structure also impacted on its balance of power as it shifted to the Governing Body which maintained organisational responsibility for the operations and practices of the refuge (Gamson, 1975; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). This power change was personified by the importance that governing members placed on a variety of credentials for effectively managing the refuge including budgeting management and employment knowledge:

The women and children are always the focus but you actually have to make the business decisions.

In the past when we only had very limited number of paid hours. The employment issues weren't as important as they are now. Not less important but there are more of them to deal with (Governing Members, Group 1).

I felt that I did not have any business skills but was told that what was needed were practical people who were prepared to make decisions. Decisions I can make. They may not always be the right decisions, but I do make them. I think that the [Governing Body] needs to have a wide range of skills, someone from a business background, financial, employment. It is a huge task, I did realise what I was taking on when I said yes.

Common sense. ... communication skills and a corporate and business mind, others have bookkeeping, [criminal justice] experience (Governing Members, Group 2).

For the Governing Body then the inclusion of professionals was not necessarily to increase public perception and acceptance but to provide internal expertise to address the ever increasing responsibilities of the refuge (Middleton, 1987). As stated here and in Chapter 7 the focus for the refuge was to maintain services to women and children and its Governing Body was an expression of this because as a management body it sought to sustain these services by being effective in a highly competitive economic environment (Levesque, 1996; Nowland-Foreman, 1996; V. Smith, 1996; Staggenborg, 1989).

The Governing Body's focus on service delivery has to be viewed within a wider political context of the refuge's ideology and its relationship with the NCIWR. For example the refuge expressed some philosophical differences between them and the NCIWR, which remained a constant source of concern throughout the refuge's history:

From attending the AGM³ [staff] report that there are two factions arguing over their version of what should happen in restructuring. [Staff] supported neither, and were appalled at the lack of respect and rudeness these factions displayed. They further report this conference was very unpleasant. No workshops took place and discussion on remits was just tolerable. They ask not to attend another!!!! (Governing Body Minutes, September, 1995, p.2).

These philosophical differences permeated the refuge's structure and operations and continued to influence the management system, the service delivery aspects of refuge

³ The AGM refers to the NCIWR Annual General Meeting in which member refuges attend.

practice and the relationship between staff and the governing members. The Governing Body was able to maintain the balance of power as it influenced decision-making processes regarding the refuge, its staff and relationships between staff and the Governing Body (Higgs & Bloch, 1985; MacDonald, 1995; Morgen, 1994; Staggenborg, 1988). The movement away from collectivism and thus subsequently from commonality of goals, values and perspectives increased the potential for conflict, disempowerment, stress and estrangement, particularly straining staff - Governing Body relationships (Broom, 1991; Davis, 1988b; Reinelt, 1994; Riger, 1994; V. Taylor, 1989). Consequently organisational preservation (Zald & Ash, 1966) characterised by the formalisation and hierarchical construction of the refuge provided what V. Taylor (1989) has stated as "organizational stability, coordination, and technical expertise necessary for movement survival" (p.768). The focus on organisational maintenance personified by consolidation of membership and funding ensured that the refuge's role as an agency for assisting battered women remained viable, but in doing so it precluded opportunities for innovation and exploration of other activities (Staggenborg, 1988, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). This primary focus on service delivery thus negated opportunities for exploring and contextualising wider social change issues regarding the state of women's position within society as they were not viewed as primary goals of the organisation.

The refuge's Governing Body thus found itself paradoxically trying philosophically to distance itself from its national body, the NCIWR whilst receiving a consistent form of funding from them (Curtin & Devere, 1993; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Staggenborg, 1988). The 'hybrid' model viewed as archetypal for the North American shelter movement, characterised by various bureaucratic features combined with elements of a feminist collective model such as mutual decision-making processes and empowerment principles (Hoff, 1990; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982), has a valid application for the refuge in New Zealand especially in terms of relationships among staff and with service users. The refuge's conformity to a hierarchical structure was further characterised in the recruitment criteria of staff and governing members. Although recruitment was prefaced on the acceptance of an underlying feminist philosophy of women's empowerment, it was also based on ensuring that the focus remained on governance issues. This was reinforced when

governing members expressed their understanding of the refuge's philosophy in terms of the development and understanding of the roles and responsibilities of refuge workers (with this question, governing members did not distinguish between paid and unpaid workers). These members articulated their disaffection with a wholly collective process as they believed that there were limits to what could be expected from volunteer refuge workers who ultimately entrusted the Governing Body to represent their interests and manage the refuge:

The running is a big difference because with those collectives they have to have a majority decision so they cannot make a decision without every member being involved and having a majority vote for it.

The truth of the matter here is that you get a clique that comes to the meetings whilst the rest of the members don't and you get a clique running the refuge.

... we've had some meetings where we've wanted all the collective members⁴ along and it's nigh on impossible to get them all there for various reasons. It's very hard to get everybody out in one night.

[Volunteer membership view] ... You know, what sort of time they're prepared to give. It's quite different for each person isn't it? They have different reasons for doing it. And so depending on their lifestyle and everything as to how they view what they do really in the time they're able to give.

They might be happy to man [sic] the phones for say six hours a week. That's all they're prepared to give and that's it as far as your volunteers. They don't want to get into anything else. But that six hours is quite precious for us (Governing Members, Group 1).

The general concerns expressed by these governing members regarding a collective model were also extended to the refuge's balancing of a strategy to end violence against women with maintaining a focus on service delivery. Responses varied but there were governing members who perceived the refuge movement as being too

⁴ The governing members' reference to 'collective members' refers to the volunteer base who along with the governing body and staff make up the refuge's total representation as a member refuge of the NCIWR. The NCIWR refers to the refuge as a collective body upheld by its collective philosophy and endorsed by its code of practice (Governing Body Minutes, June, 1993).

political and expressed their preference for maintaining a focus on helping battered women and their children:

I think that within the refuge movement there's different refuges been set up by different groups of people who have, sort of different basic philosophies of why they got there in the first place. For example with our [refuge] because it was set up by battered women for battered women I think the starting point ... has kept our focus on that. Whereas for some other refuges and this is not all refuges by any means but within some of the other refuges they have got into the whole sort of political stuff, [which] has come first and they have almost used refuge as a way and means of promoting or gaining funding and things for some of their other political stuff (Governing Member, Group 1).

This Governing Body's characterisation of its role and its divergence from a feminist collective model regarding structure and process thus provided a context for seeing social change as being undertaken through 'unobtrusive mobilisation' (Schmitt & Martin, 1999), that is, when organisations focus on changing women's lives through transforming the views and perceptions of existing social systems. The refuge participated in inter-agency committees and conducted many and various educational programmes within the community:

You tackle the politicians, the government. You get the laws changed. It's long, slow and cumbersome (Ex-Governing Member).

Thus the refuge's fundamental belief systems were grounded in a hierarchical structure but were supported by maintaining a liberal feminist perspective for addressing domestic violence issues through existing societal systems and individual change processes for women (Matthews, 1995; Reinelt, 1995). Furthermore the refuge's philosophy also had to be considered in terms of the changing governing membership which was elected on a bi-ennial basis (Gamson, 1975; Zald & Ash, 1966). Although changes in membership occurred, newer members' recruitment to the organisation was not always based on the commonality of members being ex-battered women, what V. Taylor (1983) referred to as "sharing a common culture ... common operations ... by travelling spokespersons from the movement" (p.439) or what McAdam, McCarthy and Zald, (1996) call shared meanings and definitions. Recruitment was based on the refuge's maturation, in which it had undergone significant changes including 'goal transformation', a move to 'organisational maintenance' and a formalised hierarchical

structure (Freeman, 1975, 1979; Gamson, 1975; McAdam et al., 1996; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). These changes thus provided the ideological framework for new members who were required to have specific skills that supported this new direction and who promulgated specific views and belief systems (Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982). Although new members were recruited on the premise of supporting a feminist philosophy it was understood that its characterisation was the empowerment of individual women which was further demonstrated in their description of the role of refuge workers:

I see a refuge worker's role as being one hundred percent supportive to the women and children's decisions whether the worker agrees or not. To offer advise and comfort when needed.

The refuge worker is the backbone of an organisation. Someone who is there for women and children who have been abused. To offer information and support for the women to make choices that are right for her, at the right time (Governing Members, Group 2).

The election of Governing Body members generally drew upon women from the existing volunteer base and women recruited from the professional community. The election of a new Governing Body every two years meant over a period of time that the majority had no previous experience of refuge management and/or of equally sharing Governing Body responsibilities with Governing Body staff members. The lack of experience of refuge organisation was exemplified in various ways, for example governing members new to the complexities of managing not only a refuge but also its staff wanted to meet with staff to understand their roles:

... would like to understand better the roles of staff and will arrange to spend some time at the office (Governing Body Minutes, January, 1998, p.2).

While staff had an indepth cognisance of the refuge's objectives regarding service delivery and social change issues new governing members had no institutional knowledge and thus tended to focus their efforts on maintaining the hierarchical management structure *in situ* and ensuring that staff remained focused on service delivery (Ferguson, 1984; Michels, 1962; Staggenborg, 1988, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). This was further emphasised when new members were interviewed about the organisational structures best suited to meet the needs of battered women:

The women working for a refuge, paid and unpaid firstly need to be empowered and educated. I believe in equality. **However one person or a group of people need to be empowered to make final decisions** [emphasis added].

I think we need [a Governing Body] to deal with finance and funding issues so that staff and volunteers can focus completely on helping women and children [emphasis added] (Governing Members, Group 2).

Although governing members favoured a hierarchical management structure with staff focusing their attentions on ensuring that battered women and their children's needs were met, governing members views were somewhat blurred when it came to refuge philosophy. When asked what other factors influenced the refuge's structure and philosophy members stated that the NCIWR's Code of Ethics (No date) which they espoused and which included supporting women's empowerment and women living violence free lives were critical for their staff. The interpretation of the NCIWR's Code of Ethics (no date) however implies that these principles were only applicable to staff (and by definition direct service volunteers):

It boils back down to the Code of Ethics and those people who already believe that these are the right things, that these are a woman's rights within the community. **You have to believe in those things before you can work in a refuge** [emphasis added]. So literally it all boils down again to the code of ethics and the personal commitment of the individual to those ideals. And if you've got the commitment to the ideals you're the right person for refuge (Governing Member, Group 1).

Furthermore newer governing members although able to separate their governance role from staff responsibilities also perceived that the refuge was organised by women for women:

The main factor that has helped shape refuge is that it is a women's movement, that is run for women by women (Governing Member, Group 2).

Governing members however did not necessarily connect that the women's movement was originally about women supporting women in a collective manner but understood the refuge as being an opportunity for women to receive support, information and advice from staff and volunteers.

The refuge thus could not be characterised as an archetypal collective organisation where:

All members having the right to full and equal participation. ... All major policy issues, such as hiring, firing, salaries, the division of labour, the distribution of surplus, and the shape of the final product or service, are decided by the collective as a whole [emphasis added] (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p.512).

Staff and Governing Body Relationships

The refuge's governing members understood very well that they were part of an evolutionary process and that they were situated on a continuum of learning which fluctuated and changed with each new Governing Body, the expansion of services and the employment of new staff (Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982). Maintaining a balance between the refuge's hierarchical management structure and feminist principles was an ongoing dilemma for governing members. For many years only refuge volunteers were elected to the Governing Body, however this situation changed when established governing members applied and were hired for new staff positions, whilst retaining their membership. Furthermore in keeping with the refuge's amended Governing Body membership policy (see Chapter 7), staff employed for specific positions could also be elected to the Governing Body. Thus staff were able to maintain input into the Governing Body.

Thus the issue of employment was for the Governing Body a critical one, as it was faced with a dilemma regarding membership. Previously it had not been an issue as several staff had been members prior to being employed. Indeed they had held executive positions on the Governing Body. However this changed as members who were not staff noted the potential conflict of interest that might arise when members were also employees (as had previously been pointed out by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA)). In further response to the influence of other factors on the refuge's structure and philosophy the Governing Body outlined the dilemma of such a situation:

It can be quite difficult when you hear of [members] who are actually employees as well.

I'm dead set against it.

It's a conflict of interest really.

So much has crept up on us because initially we had battered women working for battered women. Because these people worked as volunteers we knew them. When we were, from there we progressed not only into the employment side but into the [Governing Body] side and this quietly crept over the years until you get to a situation where you've got an equal amount of employed staff to what you've got of [governing members] who are not employed staff. That's when it sort of came to our attention that this was not a good situation and hopefully we'll do better on that in the future and I would like to see the number of employed staff that can go on the [Governing Body] limited. ... I'm not getting at anybody, our employed staff in particular, but it can be a disadvantage when you're making decisions regarding money and expenditures.

At the end of the day the [Governing Body] ... make decisions that have monetary gains for employees or otherwise and if they're part of that decision making, I'm not saying it's right, wrong or otherwise but if they are part of it they are actually making decisions they have a personal interest in and it's very tricky. And yet we take that, sort of look at it from another angle that's really important, that the [members] don't lose touch with what's actually happening day to day (Governing Members, Group 1).

The issue of a conflict of interest is addressed in Chapter 7 and in this chapter. Suffice to state here that the Governing Body did not have all the policies and procedures in place to address conflict of interest issues when they arose. Previously only volunteers provided services but with the introduction of government and other funding sources, and consequently the increase in paid staff coupled with the increasing requirements of the NZCFA, conflict of interest issues emerged as staff governing member numbers equalled non-staff governing member numbers. As stated in Chapter 7 when the issue was raised by the NZCFA the Governing Body attempted to comply with the NZCFA's requirements by limiting the number of staff on the Governing Body and by establishing an Employment Sub-Committee to address employment and staffing issues. However this did not resolve the situation as staff resigned from the Governing Body. This course of events will be further examined later in this chapter.

Paradoxically these governing members also recognised that not having staff on the Governing Body might be detrimental as they thought that members who had no

experience with refuge work might be estranged from operational aspects of the refuge. They wanted to maintain a balance.

The notion of collectivism is premised on consensual decision-making and full and equitable participation amongst all members of the organisation (Ferguson, 1984; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). However the ideology that governing members came to uphold was pivotal, because the maintenance of a formal management structure as a forum for all decisions impacting on the refuge and the staff became increasingly critical.

The employment of staff did not change the refuge's management process as staff who were governing members also continued to adopt this model (McAdam et al., 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977). However this model gradually eroded the relationship between the Governing Body and the staff as staff realised that the Governing Body did not fully comprehend the enormity of their roles and responsibilities. This was exemplified in one of many staff reports to the Governing Body:

[We do not have] ... a grievance policy for staff except what's in our workers' contract. [Senior staff member has] drafted one and is attached. Please amend as necessary and consider passing it at the [Governing Body] meeting. ... Please keep in mind it needs to be done ... because we don't get the [funding] for the [service provided] plus any other [funding] until [the Community Funding Agency worker] has the information in writing. ... suggested [governing member and senior staff member] do this together as [latter] knows what's required and [governing member] has the dollars in mind. ... Is it the [Governing Body's] intention to give the responsibility of managing the CFA contract to [senior staff member]? or does the [Governing Body] wish to manage it [emphasis added by staff]. As you are all aware the time to do this is substantial and it falls outside the time frames of [her] job requirements, the accountability and time commitment has changed so much from five years ago.

The Case Management project is almost completed. [Senior staff member] would ... suggest to the Employment Sub-Committee that when [other staff member] presents this document they commend her for completing this task at a huge saving to the [Governing Body] (Staff Report, May, 1997, pp.1-2).

Furthermore staff were unable to separate their Governing Body roles from their staff roles and were finding it increasingly difficult to function effectively in both.

Consequently staff found that they were unable to distinguish their roles and responsibilities as they assimilated Governing Body requirements and as their roles blurred found themselves not only with increasing responsibilities but as employees also had to accommodate Governing Body expectations:

... as staff we know what's going on and what's required and what's needed and I think we should have more say in the decisions that are made about the outcomes. There is a conflict ... directly being [Governing Body members] and of being mindful of a budget. There is a direct conflict (Informal Interview with Staff Members, Group 1).

This didn't end there as staff added the drafting of their own job descriptions to their numerous other responsibilities. Normally the development of job descriptions would be a responsibility of an employment sub-committee, with staff consultation and participation, however the Governing Body decided that staff should write their own:

[Governing member] to present a model for staff to respond to. [Governing member] suggests staff to write their own and also one for each other. The other [members] will be able to form a good picture of all job descriptions through this method. Staff agreed to have completed these by the end of the month. The other [members] will have a special meeting to discuss the outcomes, and formulate the final descriptions, conditions etc. (Governing Body Minutes, March, 1994, p.2).

Once drafted and presented to the Governing Body staff requested that the Employment Sub-Committee review the job descriptions within a few weeks as:

This is causing increasing work pressures and difficulties are being experienced. If the Employment Sub-Committee [ESC] is unable to attend to the review, could they please find alternative [members/volunteers] who may be able to assist. [Governing Body member] also suggested staff could do it and present the draft at the next ... meeting. [ESC member] apologised for the delay. [ESC] will attend to the descriptions next week (Governing Body Minutes, June, 1994, p.3).

Other situations also presented themselves as staff were caught up in the implementation of what should have constituted Governing Body responsibilities as their own roles and responsibilities blurred with the incorporation of additional Governing Body responsibilities into their roles. These additional responsibilities would normally be performed by or in conjunction with a Governing Body, such as secretarial duties, responsibility for funding applications, financial reports,

development of personnel policies and procedures, job descriptions and setting Governing Body meeting agendas. Staff however undertook these additional duties for several years until the conflict of interest issue was raised and staff resigned from the Governing Body (Billis, 1996).

Although Governing Body members themselves, staff experienced disempowerment as they constantly sought permission from non-staff members to conduct Governing Body business in addition to maintaining their own staff responsibilities (Billis, 1996; Murray, 1988). Staff were unable to use their discretion regarding day-to-day decisions as they had no individual or collective staff authority to do so. Consequently staff were excluded from the equitable relationship enjoyed by the Governing Body as the latter saw their own primary roles and responsibilities as:

Setting the guidelines, the policies, the finance (Governing Member, Group 1).

Manage the money. Employ paid staff, appraisals. Training, overseeing the organisation (Governing Member, Group 2).

Governing Body minutes, staff reports, team minutes, informal interviews and conversations with staff were replete with examples of their frustration where they had either to negotiate or to seek permission to undertake even the simplest of tasks. Staff were totally dependent on the Governing Body for all decisions. There was however a sense of irony as although there were areas of decision-making that the Governing Body needed to be responsible for, such as employment and personnel issues, and funding staff frequently provided direction regarding presenting initiatives, responses and solutions to these concerns as well as being delegated to deal with them:

The [Governing Body] in terms of their management responsibilities don't actually play an active part in their management decisions. They make the decision but there's not any active involvement [emphasis added].

They actually make the decisions on the information that we give them. ... **They manage us [emphasis added].**

We are part of the decision, usually they follow our initiative. If we say "this is how we see it, this is how we are presenting it to you. The best decision for us would be that we do this, this and this". ... then we all have a vote if you like to decide if it's within our budgetary constraints and that gets passed and **we just do it. ... because we're**

paid staff [emphasis added] (Informal Interview with Staff Members, Group 1).

Although staff accepted these critical responsibilities, paradoxically they still could not make decisions concerning even the most trivial aspects of the refuge such as being able to rearrange their work areas without Governing Body permission. The Governing Body relinquished its responsibilities to staff without relinquishing its authority to manage staff and the refuge. Such actions are more in line with hierarchical structures where a governing body can make decisions and determine the activities of its staff without consultation and participation.

The authority and hierarchical structure that defined the refuge's Governing Body reinforced Rothschild-Whitt's (1979) definition of bureaucratic organisations. The transformation experienced by the refuge reinforced the point that staff although Governing Body members themselves, were subject to asymmetrical power relations. Murray's (1988) concept of the power imbalance manifested between staff and governing members contradicts the notion of "power symmetry ... [which assumes] that each has an equal potential ability to influence the other" (p.83). Furthermore Billis (1996) identified this tension between management and staff as a break in the 'dynamic equilibrium' that can exist within and between systems found within voluntary organisations where usually "... inter-system changes are absorbed without too much pain and have been planned or at least discussed" (p.230). Billis (1996) refers to these organisational structures as five systems consisting of policies and values; management; paid and unpaid workers; funding arenas; and accountability issues.

There is no doubt that when staff were also governing members they participated in decision-making processes at the Governing Body level. However there may be an underlying situation that staff had very few choices but to acquiesce with governing members even if they did not concur with the outcomes. Although the staff's experiences and knowledge base were extensive as they upheld personal expectations for making sound and responsible judgements regarding issues that were in the best interests of the refuge they still had to discuss them and seek approval from the Governing Body who ultimately made the final decisions. Consequently in their

reporting of refuge activities, staff demonstrated a deference to the Governing Body regarding decision-making processes. While staff participated in discussions during meetings, they understood the clear demarcations and the inequality between themselves and non-staff governing members when they presented issues, concerns and solutions which resulted in other members delivering decisions. This is understandable when normally considering staff and management dynamics in hierarchical organisations (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) but staff were viewed as governing members and therefore deemed management too. It is to be expected that they would be able to participate equally to decide outcomes and decide who should take responsibility for activities. However this was not the case because staff were also considered to be employees who were expected to comply with governing members wishes.

The Governing Body's hold over decision-making processes may be viewed as a means of maintaining collective strategies that encourage collectively made decisions by disallowing staff to make independent decisions. However this was distorted as the Governing Body was not maintaining collective processes which supported equal participation and decision-making processes and shared responsibilities.

Governing Body minutes and staff reports were permeated with staff pressing the Governing Body to make decisions often in areas with which they were not familiar. For example no staff member was empowered with responsibility to make decisions nor were staff able to make mutually agreeable decisions about activities that directly influenced their working arrangements, such as attendance at meetings, aspects of the refuge budget that pertained to them, the NCIWR or personnel issues such as annual leave:

Now we have five office staff ... [staff] request guidance on who attends the various meetings the staff are required to attend. It was agreed the staff would attend the meeting that fits the responsibilities of their job area, also being mindful of whatever is appropriate for that day (Governing Body Minutes, September, 1995, p.3)

[Staff] not had time to look at [staff] holiday pay requested 16 May. [Staff] having difficulty [with own time] Do you require [staff] make this a priority? (Staff Report, May, 1997, p.2)

[Regarding attendance at NCIWR regional meeting/annual AGM] ... unless ordered by the [Governing Body] and the conditions of times and payment are agreed to and put in writing a week at least before the date set for the meeting. This is the minimum requirement according to the union (Staff Report, July 1997, p.1).

These actions taken by the Governing Body might concur with a collective ideology but in doing so also limited the staff's ability to work effectively, thus leading to inaction, stress, and short-term reactions to various situations that arose. This level of disempowerment was distressing and disabled the staff from taking initiatives (Freeman, 1975,1979; Higgs & Bloch, 1985).

Governing members held strong views about their concerns with paid employees sitting as members of the refuge's Governing Body, yet staff continued as members although for only a short time. Moreover any changes to this situation (for example it was mooted that only one staff person should be permitted to be a governing member) meant that the Governing Body would have to make a constitutional change to the refuge's founding document which it was not prepared to do at that time (Governing Body Minutes, January 1996). In response to non-staff governing members' concerns, changes were instituted with the resurrection of the Employment Sub-Committee and a policy decision which permitted no more than four staff to be governing members at any one time (Governing Body Minutes, January 1996). The Employment Sub-Committee responded to the NZCFA who had expressed apprehension with staff appearing to be over represented on the Governing Body, thus constituting a potential conflict of interest. As stated in Chapter 7 the NZCFA did not insist that staff members could not be represented on the Governing Body but several staff felt that the situation warranted their resignations as they considered that simultaneously being governing members and staff did represent a conflict of interest for them. This shift in membership focus became permanent as staff were no longer represented as governing members. At the time of staff resignations the Governing Body established a policy in which two staff were designated to attend monthly meetings but in an *ex officio* capacity (Governing Body Minutes, July, 1997).⁵ This

⁵ According to staff heavy workloads precluded one of them from attending meetings. The second staff person was only able to attend six more meetings.

shift in membership focus became permanent as staff were no longer represented as governing members. Consequently future Governing Body's consisted of non-staff members only and was confirmed in Annual General Meeting (AGM) minutes (which identified new members) and from correspondence with staff.

The separation of management from staff was fraught with difficulties as staff came to terms with the knowledge that governing members did not act in a collective manner. When staff and ex-staff were asked what kind of organisational structures met the needs of battered women some identified that non-hierarchical collective and consensus based structures were paramount:

Cooperative non-hierarchical structures (Ex- Staff Member).

Not hierarchical ones. [Governing Body] uses "power and control" just like perpetrators of violence do. There is no "let's get together and talk about it," only do more than what is on your job description. Don't moan about it and just make do. We need human resource managers, not women who see refuge as something to be the boss of - in "control" of.

Collective and consensus decision-making processes (Staff Members, Group 2).

Obviously some staff preferred a different type of organisational structure from within which to work that emphasised collective and consensual methods of structure and practice. The philosophical disjointure between staff and the Governing Body had repercussions for their interpersonal relationships.

Prior to their resignations however, and in response to addressing the concerns experienced with the Governing Body regarding empowerment issues and ever increasing workloads, staff attempted to remedy these problems. They put in place weekly staff meetings to discuss various issues but only with the approval of the Governing Body, prepared staff reports for them and suggested the establishment of two separate but complementary refuge positions that would be responsible for office management and client management. These positions would provide a management focus for the increasing number of employed refuge staff, coordination of all refuge and community based services and the daily operational aspects of the refuge.

Consequently the issue of both positions was raised at Governing Body meetings but only the office manager position was advocated:

[Governing member] believes that with more employees in the office it could be time to have one person with extra responsibility in terms of staff, perhaps some authority, more in terms of staffing issues. Workers' job descriptions would still cover their individual tasks. Major issues would still be dealt with by the [Governing Body]. This would be day-to-day issues only. People will think it over. To be re-discussed at the next meeting (Governing Body Minutes, July, 1996, p.1).

The opportunity for staff to acquire some responsibility for staff issues and be empowered was eventually realised but not until one year after the new position was first raised and not until all the staff governing members had resigned from the Governing Body. This new position although not an office manager position relieved the day-to-day decision making processes and thus diffused some of the tension that staff had experienced:

[Staff supervisor role] ... found this to be working well and decisions that [staff] have the authority to make have meant that the staff can get on with the work more quickly and efficiently, e.g. training course for [staff], purchase of nappies⁶ at sale price, overview of the recent complaint with productive outcomes, time in lieu which there has been one hour for [staff], back up plan to assist staff to do [service delivery activities] (Staff Report, August, 1997, p.1).

The drastic step taken by staff to resign from the Governing Body illustrated their need to step back and concentrate on their staff roles and responsibilities thus enabling the Governing Body to assume other responsibilities. When staff were asked about conflict of interest issues regarding problems with other members the following insightful comments were noted:

Expect [governing members] to have competencies and skills at dealing with the responsibilities that come with the territory of being [governing] members.

Wonder sometimes that this is realistic as all [governing] members come from a volunteer background and appointed as [governing] member and then we expect them to act in a professional manner (Informal Interview with Staff Members, Group 1).

⁶ In North America 'nappies' are known as diapers.

With staff leaving the Governing Body, new and existing governing members were compelled to take more responsibility for various activities, for example, the position of Treasurer became a shared position between two members, and the positions of Chairperson and Minute Secretary previously the responsibility of staff were rotated (Governing Body Minutes, October, 1997).

The new staff supervisory position was critical for staff as it was considered to provide linkages between the Governing Body and staff. However these linkages were short lived as the divorce of staff from the Governing Body and its decision-making processes was manifest in a change in staff supervisor to a person who had not the same longevity with the refuge, experience or understanding of the refuge as the previous staff and thus there was no apparent meaningful contact between the two groups, except at the Annual General Meeting of the refuge. Staff found themselves in a situation where they were completely reliant upon the Governing Body to inform them of any decisions that had been made at the monthly meetings as all their concerns and issues requiring attention were submitted to the Governing Body in the form of staff reports. For the most part staff were not able to communicate directly with the Governing Body.

The situation for staff was one in which they continued to experience disempowerment and lack of control over their day-to-day work practices. Their obvious separation from the Governing Body did not change this. The void that existed between the Governing Body and staff stretched to the point that staff's only means of communication were their reports and pre-arranged individual meetings with the Employment Sub-Committee to address specific issues and concerns. Accordingly the Governing Body identified specific formalities associated with organisations that have become more bureaucratic and hierarchical as they addressed what had previously been routine practices (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Staggenborg, 1988). These formalities had arisen as a result of lack of personal contact between the Governing Body and staff and identified in the format of communication that had become the norm. For example, staff had to submit their reports at least 24 hours in advance of the Governing Body meeting in order for them to be discussed, in addition to other conditions placed upon them:

Staff please include in your reports items for discussion. The Team Meeting minutes are helpful for background only (Governing Body Minutes, March, 1998, p.2).

Could it be discussed at the next team meeting whether staff want reports written and replied back to them from the [Governing Body], if there is nothing specific or confidential to address (Governing Body Minutes, April, 1998, p.2).

Furthermore staff absences from the meetings meant that staff reports were usually deferred so that only funding and employment issues could be discussed. Staff also expressed their concerns about the resolution of various matters raised through their reports:

It would be helpful for team members to have some communication from a [governing member] what the intention is in respect to the absence of [staff member] and the many tasks she did which are not being done currently (Staff Report, May, 1998, p.3).

In various conversations staff identified that Governing Body minutes tended to be brief, and they were anxious to know what decisions had been made by the Governing Body with regard to their requests and concerns. For example, staff explained that they had little input into project funding allocations that they had successfully applied for. They observed that the Governing Body made all the decisions regarding projects generally without staff consultation and therefore were unlikely to consider suggestions made by staff as to how the funding should be spent. In order to increase communication between themselves and the Governing Body, staff discussed the possibility of the staff supervisor meeting with a governing member regularly to represent the interests of staff and discuss personnel, refuge and funding issues (Staff Team Minutes, September, 1998). An opportunity for staff to meet separately was also suggested to address the expansion of refuge services, and the structure and the manner in which staff responded to various needs and concerns (Staff Reports, February, October, 1998).

As a consequence of this staff meeting came an understanding that the refuge's management model was hierarchical, not collective as originally thought. Staff stated that they functioned in a collective manner making decisions by mutual consensus within their own group but they regarded the Governing Body as being overtly

hierarchical and bureaucratic (Murray, 1988; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Although for staff there appeared to be no immediate resolution to this dichotomy they benefitted somewhat in that they " ... were brought closer together because they frequently identified the [Governing Body] as the common enemy ... and ... benefited from the social support they received from one another ... " (Srinivasan & Davis, 1991, p.53). This was clearly indicated throughout their reports, discussions and work practices.

Staff and Governing Body relationships were fraught with difficulties as staff experienced disempowerment and still felt that they lacked control of their work practices, whereas the Governing Body was perplexed at the level and depth of concern expressed by staff. This was clearly identified in a meeting that ensued between the Governing Body and staff to discuss the result of the staff meeting. This meeting was the first major opportunity since the staff resignations for all staff to meet face-to-face with the Governing Body and discuss their concerns, exchange views and focus on resolving various outstanding issues. The exchange that occurred reflected the power differences between the two groups as staff expressed concerns with lack of consultation and decision-making opportunities between them and the Governing Body. Paradoxically the Governing Body considered that a feminist philosophy was critical for staff's relationships with their clients but appeared not to realise that this philosophy was not being applied throughout the organisation (Murray, 1988). This was symbolised in the perception of the kind of organisational structure suited to meet the needs of battered women. Governing members considered that empowerment principles were important for staff in their relationships with battered women but appeared to separate their management functions from the feminist principles pertaining to staff roles and responsibilities:

Flat structures, with staff who do not use power and control over people. (If you had an organisation like this apart from us, let me know) (Governing Member, Group 2).

After this meeting the Governing Body put in place a staff administrator to provide cohesion within the refuge and improve communication and liaison between staff and the Governing Body. In the year following this appointment several staff left the refuge and were replaced. A new slate of governing members became involved and other changes occurred regarding service delivery. According to staff although the

year was stressful they hoped that stability would be gained from the changes that followed.

Conclusion

It is difficult to end this chapter on such a note of expectation but the character of the refuge suggests that it does not stand still but evolves and matures as changes occur. This chapter has explored some of the factors that have influenced the refuge's structure and philosophy. The relationship between the Governing Body and staff is extremely critical as both in their own way responded to the changes that resulted primarily from the accountability measures imposed upon them by the NCIWR and the NZCFA. The movement away from a collectively constructed organisation to a hierarchical organisation was not only for reasons of practicality, but as a result of accountability requirements. The change influenced the type of governing members being recruited, as they were not required to be ex-battered women, and the conflict of interest first suggested by the NZCFA (see Chapter 7) was further manifest in staff not being able to separate their roles as governing members and staff. By resigning staff believed that the Governing Body would be forced to take on more responsibility and alleviate some of the demands placed on staff. The employment of a staff member in an administrative role alleviated some of their tensions and concerns but did not truly enable staff to be independent over their work place practices. Staff felt stranded, and isolated from the discursive practices and decision-making processes that hitherto they had been privy to, albeit from a hierarchical perspective. This situation although not resolved has shown that the Governing Body takes its governance role seriously whilst staff remain dependent on them in such ways that counter the collective philosophy of equal participation and mutual decision-making practices.

CHAPTER 10
Managing the Process II -
The Implications of Service Delivery and Role Specialisation
on the Refuge

Introduction

The New Zealand refuge was influenced by many factors throughout its history including accountability and responsibility measures imposed by the government's Community Funding Agency (CFA) and the refuges' national body of which it was a member, the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR). As stated in earlier chapters other factors that impacted on the refuge's structure and philosophy were influenced by bureaucratic features which transformed the refuge from an open and collective structure to a hierarchical structure of governance (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979).

This chapter examines the methods of service delivery and the establishment of specialist staff roles which were also influenced by these changes in the refuge. This chapter is the second part of transformation implications outlined in Chapter 9 and has been dealt with separately due to the length of the chapter. It would be useful to examine in this chapter aspects of service delivery that captured the essence of refuge life as they identified the dual service delivery model aligned with maintaining feminist principles of empowerment whilst addressing the individual needs of battered women more in keeping with a social service model (Davis, 1988a).

Empowerment and Personal Growth - Staff and Residents Perspectives

Like the Canadian transition house empowerment and independence were critical if battered women were to make personal changes in their lives, and were integral to the dual service delivery model espoused by the refuge. Consequently feminist principles of individual empowerment were for staff critical in their work with battered women and in similar ways to the transition house the refuge supported a dual service delivery model (Davis, 1988a).

The empowerment model espoused by the refuge also influenced the lives of staff as they spoke about their own personal, political and professional growth when helping battered women:

Over the years I've become more assertive. Certainly have a broader outlook on life, less judgemental that I used to be. Better educated in a lot of ways about the law and various systems that we're involved with. That's been ongoing for as long as I've been involved (Staff Member, Group 1).

I believe my professional attitude that is, not to judge people so quickly and harshly. Discovering where I fit into all of this. Not just the victims but with my colleagues as well. Confidence has improved. Body image has improved (Staff Member, Group 2).

Became more cynical about society's view on domestic violence and more outspoken in groups of people who challenged the need for refuge (Ex-Staff Member).

The role of staff and the role of the refuge both appeared interchangeable as the focus remained on empowering women, providing them with a safe environment and opportunities to take control of their lives and making informed decisions:

Sitting down and talking to the woman about what's been happening. How she feels about it. What her expectations are and how she can achieve them. And giving her the information, the correct information to make that happen. For her to make that happen with our support (Staff Member, Group 1).

To offer the clients safe accommodation. While in refuge to support them. To offer clients options that are available to them and support for community clients (Staff Member, Group 2).

When interviewed the women who used refuge services also spoke of the way in which staff had been helpful to them during their stay in the refuge. Women spoke of the support and advocacy roles that staff provided even after women had left the refuge. The practical manner in which staff helped with refuge and after services was viewed as being extremely beneficial to women as they struggled with reorganising their lives:

I found them really, really helpful in the house, everything's sort of provided like your bedding and all that sort of thing and the women I found helpful if I needed to go to court, things like that were excellent. ... And it's an excellent set up for the children.

I think [staff member] is just a mine of information and I think she's very good on those kind of aspects. I think if you have got a problem and you go to her then she'll definitely do something with it. She'll solve it or not. She's tried and done something about it. ... I can't praise them enough on that kind of aspect (Residents).

The services were helpful even to the fact that once I'd left the refuge I was able to ring back on a regular basis. ... found the women very experienced and learned in all capacities of legal matters, financial matters, benefit matters and health matters. Very, very, very skilled. I ... ring up for heaps of support (Ex-Resident).

The practical aspects of refuge life impacted on the sense of well being that women experienced. The refuge provided a safe physical environment which enabled women to rest, revitalise and re-evaluate their individual situations. They benefitted from staff who focused on empowerment issues which enabled women to prepare and plan their futures:

To [go to the refuge] and have nice surroundings, everything was very nice and clean and tidy and private. ... I can recall ... the greatest release for me wasn't the type of home [the refuge was] or how well off it was. It was the fact that I had peace. And for me to [go to the refuge] and know I was safe and away from where I was, money, where I lived, what I had didn't have any bearing at all. ... I was just so mentally, emotionally, physically ... exhausted. So to know I was safe was the best thing for me. ... I found the follow-up of the women [staff and volunteers] ... in so far as counselling, social work, being on call twenty four hours, arranging financial matters for me, getting me onto a benefit. ... supplying clothing, supplying emergency food. Having the telephone in there, having other members to talk to. Women that were in the same situation. ... I didn't need anything and the greatest thing was that I could rest because my mind was just absolute chaos and I had to get the children and myself sorted out. I stayed ... for [several] weeks which was a long time. ... I was guided by the women ... and I was allowed to do it at my own pace. There was no pressure and when I felt the strength and when I gathered up enough money I moved back out renting in the community (Ex-Resident).

Furthermore the practical support provided by staff and the newly found independence that women experienced were also important reasons for women to encourage other women to go to the refuge:

... I didn't think the women's refuge would be able to help me. ... I didn't know what I was doing ... and when I got [to the refuge] the experience was totally different to what I was expecting. It was just,

it wasn't anti-men at all like I was told. They were very helpful, very supportive and they were treating me as me instead of just this slave to do what you've got to do and you're a woman, that's what you're here for. ... I've felt more open with things and been more able to handle my own situation rather than having someone dictate to me how I should be living. ... I'd recommend women to [go to the refuge] and just to get away from their situation and have time out from the pressure of being in a relationship. Just to ... find out what other people have been through and let them know what refuges are about (Ex-Resident).

When women were asked about opportunities to take control of their lives during their stay in the refuge they talked about gaining personal independence, not being controlled by abusive partners, experiencing a non-violent way of life, sharing experiences with other women, and taking advantage of opportunities and ensuring that the individual changes they experienced would validate and empower them to move forward:

... There's nothing left. ... very gradually you become confident because you feel safe. We're so young, we're so inexperienced. We're so immature, we just don't know and this is where you are given the freedom. You are given that independence. But you can always fall back on very, very strong shoulders ... and that's how I found my experience. That's probably why I've grown so much and why I'm so assertive now (Ex-Resident).

... there's been other women in [the refuge] you seem to instantly be close to them because you know exactly what they're going through even if it's a different situation, you can relate to it somewhere. And so you know that that person needs encouraging and you know that if something's not quite up to the expectation you sort of don't expect it from them because you know what they're just going through and coming out of (Resident).

Personal empowerment for women took various forms from understanding and empathising with other women with similar experiences, to being given opportunities to rest and gain control of their lives as they considered their futures as well as being practically assisted to live violence free lives. Women felt stronger and more resilient as a result of being in the refuge. The refuge thus acted as a catalyst for women's personal change as they became increasingly independent, achieving control over their own lives.

Like the transition house the service delivery model advocated for assisting battered women could be identified as a hybrid model (see Chapter 9) as it included aspects of feminist and social service models. Within the auspices of refuge services and programmes staff (and volunteers) also contextualised abuse within a framework that primarily exemplified individual methods of intervention for influencing changes that the women were prepared to make in their own lives (Davis, 1988a; Murray, 1988). When asked about women taking control of their lives during their stay in the refuge staff stated that they assisted women on an individual basis:¹

... all the women are at different stages. We've tried to gather together all the women in the house to talk about a particular issue but it doesn't work because the women aren't ... prepared to participate in a group discussion. That would be further on down the track. Because of their immediate crisis that they're all in. The best outcomes are those that have one to one (Staff Member, Group 1).

This type of framework tends to perceive women as victims who are trapped in the cycle of violence requiring an approach where they are encouraged to be self-reliant regarding initiatives to rebuild their lives (Murray, 1988; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990a). Furthermore the refuge's philosophy could also be characterised by services that empowered and supported women by breaking the cycle of violence:

The overall goal and our philosophy would be to run those services in a way that would impact on those families that would empower mothers to follow up referral agencies that might assist their children and maybe change aggressive behaviours so the children don't then continue the cycle of violence when they become adults. It's really important that the cycle, that we can actually have an impression to break the cycle (Staff Member, Group 1).

Accordingly for staff, their role and the role of the refuge provided opportunities for women to be nurtured, remain safe, be supported, be empowered and take time to

¹ The extant literature indicates that support group programmes are the preferred mode of intervention as they provide a forum for consciousness raising, enable women to share experiences of abuse, reduce the sense of isolation, develop intervention practices such as safety planning, promote education and information awareness and enable women to make informed decisions about future options (Gilson, 1994; Hill, 1984; Ministry of Justice, 1995, 1996; NiCarthy, 1984; Pence, 1987; Sinclair, 1985).

recover from domestic violence. This view coincided with the perceptions of the women who saw the refuge as providing opportunities to heal, rebuild their lives and to make life changes. Staff were concerned with practical changes that were sought through breaking this cycle of domestic violence, identifying options and choices and making use of other agencies to fill in the gaps in their own services. Neither the staff nor the women had any illusions about the role of the refuge as they sought out pragmatic solutions to problems and concerns:

Helping women and children to have a better quality of life through breaking the cycle of domestic violence, showing them that there is a better, safer way through education and counselling them on the way to make court orders work effectively and to be in touch with police where necessary (Ex-Staff Member).

That it's safe, that it's warm, that it's loving. That the women can feel, she's allowed to have time out to make a choice about what she wants for the future. An informed choice. That she's made to feel that she's important and that her children are important (Staff Member, Group 1).

I think it was more of a place of change for me. I knew when I [went to the refuge] that nothing could ever be the same again and I think I was just so cut up about my own experience of what had happened to me that the refuge and all the other, all those within the refuge gave me time to heal inside so that I could not just continue but completely rebuild life (Ex-Resident).

The refuge's philosophy thus reflected a quieter pace, a lack of urgency about reaching goals and objectives, with women being able to take time to sort out their lives and in a similar way to other New Zealand refuges, the refuge advocated an open door policy whereby women were allowed to return to the refuge and were not penalised for staying for lengthy periods.

Women thus took control of their lives and experienced empowerment during their stay in the refuge through support for each other by sharing experiences (Murray, 1988) and in the early years, by staff and ex-governing members acknowledging that their personal experiences of domestic violence were helpful to women and for these governing members part of their roles and responsibilities:

A strong link of identifying with us is that we have had personal experience. We say that and there's an immediate rapport that seems

to be there. Women often heave a sigh of relief and then it all comes out.

And they will quite often say "oh so you do understand, you know what it's like." Quite often when they first come in they seem to feel the need to justify why they're angry, why they're tearful, whatever (Staff Members, Group 1).

... part of the refuge movement is that you take people from their isolation and you put them with a lot of others. You see people's defenses absolutely melt away when you say "yes I've been through it too." I know and they and if you can say that honestly then they recognise it and their defenses come down, you can get quick easy contact then (Ex-Governing Member).

The client-centred approach that refuge staff (and governing members) favoured focused on practical interventions to assist battered women. Although the refuge staff were concerned with women's well-being and their recovery from domestic violence they also referred women to specialist agencies so that women could be practically assisted through the development of new skills in order to change and improve their individual life situations. The development of skills was considered to be useful for the women and included budgeting and parenting skills, in addition to being assisted with financial support and in their dealings with the Family Court:

Family Court for counselling and protection orders.

We use specialist agencies that offer support for young pregnant women. Or women with very young children that need something extra than what we can offer. In terms of parenting skills (Staff Members, Group 1).

Budgeting skills, a good understanding. Lawyers to get things moving. Income support services to arrange finance (Ex-Staff Member).

Here we're going diametrically opposed of course to the feminist philosophy that women are more than homemakers but it's [beneath one's dignity] to be a homemaker, ... to know how to cook and to sew (Governing Member, Group 1).

The implication that women required life skills that prepared them for independent living was significant as women were perceived by staff and governing members alike as victims with no control of their individual situation (Davis, 1988a; Loseke, 1992; Murray, 1988):

They're not allowed to do anything on their own. Their husbands take charge. He does the grocery buying. He does everything. ... They can't budget. They haven't got a clue even on the price of basic foods. They're way out of touch (Governing Member, Group 1).

Whilst this may have been a real cause for concern for some battered women this view point assumed that due to the extent of domestic violence that women experienced they would be without such skills and therefore unable to make decisions such as leaving abusive partners and seeking shelter at the refuge. The responses from women belied this perspective as they recounted how they came to be in the refuge:

First break away from ... husband. Married for [several years]. ... had nowhere else to go and two children so [went to the refuge].

Second [separation] ... and the police [took me to the refuge] and had him under arrest. So just came with what we stood up in.

The emotional, mental, verbal abuse was just getting totally out of hand ... so I knew I had to get out. So that's how I [went] to the refuge (Residents/Ex-Residents).

The model thus espoused by staff (and governing members) reflected what Davis (1988a) in her review of shelter models understood as being a social service model:

The social casework ideology ... prevails and shapes beliefs about causes of the problem. Whereas social and economic conditions are perceived as background factors that contribute to women's victimization, the discourse tends to concentrate on the individual woman, and her deficiencies and needs. ... **Creating change in women's and children's lives is believed to be the necessary first priority. This means focusing on protection, networking, counseling, support, and advocacy in the court or welfare agency [emphasis added] (p.410).**

Staff thus facilitated the education and support of women about domestic violence and its impact on them and their children witnessing abuse in order for them to be empowered to make changes in their lives. It appeared that staff were less likely to consider a feminist analysis that was more concerned with the wider social, political and economic implications regarding women's position in society.

Policies and Procedures - Influencing Life in the Refuge

According to Rothschild-Whitt (1979) the development of policies and procedures tended to reflect hierarchical and bureaucratic organisations and consequently the maintenance of structural control (Davis, 1988a). As identified in Chapter 7 the refuge established various policies that impacted on the refuge's structure, organisation and clientele as it conformed to the requirements of government funders. Staff and governing members responded in a reactive way to meeting various accountability measures that government funders imposed. Various policies were developed regarding service delivery requirements included refuge residency, safety, admission procedures and client planning. Other policies impacted on employment and personnel issues, management and financial management. For example the first New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) grant received exemplified the refuge's need to comply with such policies:

CFA require alteration and introduction of written procedures in many areas of our work. These are to be completed by next week (Governing Body Minutes, June, 1994, p.5).

The policies and procedures that impacted directly on the women in the refuge were germane to health and safety issues, admission criteria, client plans, and refuge responsibilities. As stated policy development tended to be a reactive process as situations arose within the refuge to which staff responded by maintaining responsibility for policy development and its subsequent implementation.

However the refuge's ability to maintain particular rules that women were expected to adhere to was somewhat difficult to implement. For example, maintaining the rule of confidentiality was problematic as staff were only available during the day and volunteers only available to ensure that women accessed the refuge if they required it at night and at weekends. There were no staff or volunteers available in the refuge after hours or on weekends and consequently women spent many hours alone. The Information Booklet (1997) given to women on arrival at the refuge stressed the importance of safety and confidentiality but staff (and volunteers) could not implement either effectively when women were left unattended at night and on weekends. As a

counter measure the Information Booklet stated that penalties would be imposed if confidentiality was breached:

In fairness to other residents we will not be able to have you back. The freedom this secrecy gives you will enable you and your children to sleep safe at night (1997).

Like most refuges for battered women the refuge attempted to maintain the confidentiality and the safety of the residence. The women were asked not to give out the refuge's address nor to bring visitors to the refuge. However these rules were sometimes breached by women. For example staff reported incidents such as women bringing their husbands into the refuge to help them pack before they left and the disclosure of the location of the refuge to others. The women using the refuge were also allocated house and bedroom keys as the security of the refuge remained their responsibility both during the day and at night. This was also problematic for security and safety reasons as some women spent only short periods of time in the refuge arriving and leaving without seeing staff and leaving with the keys and no follow-up address to be contacted. The refuge's philosophy of enabling women to maintain responsibility for their stay in the refuge and the ideology of self-help and self-sufficiency although theoretically empowering for women was somewhat problematic as women left alone for long periods of time could flout the rules. Other problems arose such as women not having sufficient information about how to deal with emergency situations:

... [there's] this confidentiality thing where you're not allowed to say where you are or anything like that. But [there was] an incident ... [where the women thought a resident's partner had entered the refuge grounds]. ... So [the women] rang the police and they wanted to know where [the refuge was] and [the women] said "we can't tell you" and then [the police] said "could you give us your phone number". [The women said] "we don't know it". ... [Women] tried to explain that [they] were in a refuge and that [they] were scared for [their lives] but [they] weren't allowed to give the address (Ex-Resident).

Governing members also identified that short stays in the refuge and the limited hours available to staff presented a philosophical dilemma as on the one hand staff had no control over women's behaviour during their stay in the refuge and on the other hand the philosophy of self-help and self-reliance for women remained uppermost in refuge practice:

If we know a woman has left her children in the care of others in the refuge and just gone off, spent a night with her boyfriend or whatever it is she chooses to do, we speak to them about it. It's not something we condone but we don't always even know it's happening, because it's usually done after [work] hours. They'll make arrangements they're going out [at] night and maybe they don't get back until breakfast time. It's very difficult, we can't keep, we can't babysit them exactly. But they do tend sometimes, they will put it on others in the house to do these things and they get sucked in shall we say to do something they wouldn't have approved of either if they'd known. That's happened (Governing Member, Group 1).

Although being left alone in the refuge was problematic this group of governing members understood that it was not their role to insist that women remained confined within the refuge and that the refuge philosophy and practice was to enable women to be responsible and control their life situations:

At the end of the day we can only try and do the best that we are able for each woman who comes into the house and at the end of the day some of them we're able to do lots of things to help them. ... For others they actually use the refuge, they use the refuge and that's the way it actually is. You can't always get it right and the woman that you do admit knows you don't and we do the best for those that we really can do things for (Governing Member, Group 1).

As the refuge's Information Booklet (1997) indicated there were few rules to be upheld other than those regarding safety and confidentiality. However although women indicated that the refuge was a safe place for them, some women were unhappy with the lack of contact from refuge personnel ² as commented on when they were asked about the refuge's philosophy:

... at first it was like, "how do they know what's going on." In a way I was like being a spy, ... this one woman that was totally not being a good mum. I don't know what a proper mum is ... she was totally ... self-absorbed and you know I felt I had to say something because you know those poor children, and it was like this could go on all the time and no one would know about it if I hadn't just plucked up the courage and said "look you've got to do something about it" (Resident).

² At the time of the interviews the refuge did not have a staff member who worked solely with women in the refuge. A person was employed at a later point.

Furthermore when women were asked to comment on the impact of changes they would like to see occur within the refuge, safety remained an issue of concern and indicated that this situation would be alleviated by refuge workers on staff 24 hours a day:

I've often thought they should have someone actually living in. I must admit sometimes even though this is a safe house sometimes you're not even really safe in a safe house. ... I'm a mother myself and I'm just so much more aware and you just don't know who you're getting in. ... it's almost like you're putting a knock on the safe house business, you know the fact that you're running away from your partner, but are you actually safe within the safe house ... because you really don't know who you're living with (Resident).

Safety issues were identified by women who had also stayed in other refuges as they expressed experiences of living with women with medical and drug problems. Thus for some women using the refuge the philosophy of self-reliance and independence precipitated problems that they had no control over and for some women jeopardised their stay in the refuge. Furthermore using the refuge placed these women in an unenviable position as they monitored other women's activities whilst feeling the need for increased personal security and support. These women in their own way experienced disempowerment as the nature of the refuge's structure and operations tended towards a *laissez-faire* attitude where in supporting the notion of self-help, staff and governing members believed that women should make decisions without being influenced by them. This model was somewhat paradoxical as women characterised things differently as they spoke to the question about being able to take control of their lives:

I think in that area nothing has changed from when I came in. ... nobody has helped me change anything ... things in the hoppers but as far as making choices and decisions ... I've had to do all that on my own (Resident).

I think from the moment you come into the refuge they give you the control. They're there to help you if you need them but they still leave it to you to make your choices and your decisions (Ex-Resident).

The maintenance of such conflicting ideologies strengthened the modelling of services that focused on independence and self-sufficiency as refuge practices for women and

yet revealed the inadequacy of rules regarding safety and confidentiality as staff were unable to effectively promote their implementation.

Other rules implemented included women maintaining responsibility for general housekeeping activities which were shared among residents. Normally a senior staff member ensured that women did household chores, including laundry and cleaning their bedrooms before they left the refuge. Women also lived independently and bought and prepared their own meals. Drawing up a detailed list of refuge household requirements not only provided a structure for women who in all probability had never shared a house before with other women but also complied with health and safety maintenance issues. However detailing all aspects of housework and appliance usage suggested a level of regulation and control that influenced the way in which women should manage their time in the refuge. The manner in which refuge housekeeping was attended to reflected somewhat institutional aspects of residential life that regulated women's behaviour regarding even the most simple of tasks as outlined in a three page notice about housekeeping requirements:

Don't leave wet, soiled clothing or linen etc lying on the floor, in the dryer, in the tub, washing machine or on the floor in the bathrooms. There will be someone else wanting to use the facilities after you. ... Understandably sharing a house can be difficult, we encourage you to DISCUSS SHARING the task with each other.

Responses from women who had used the refuge however reflected their ability to work together:

[There was] never to be any yelling or screaming or smacking of children. Everybody was equal. What one didn't have or didn't get in a food basket from the Salvation Army or didn't have money in the bank to buy food we shared because we shared the same philosophy or the philosophy of the refuge. The fact was that we were all in the same boat. ... we unified as one people because we had those same complaints ... There was never any friction, there was never any argument. A lot of us made friends and continued the friendships with women long after leaving the refuge. ... You are part of the family while you live here with all the other women (Ex-Resident).

The issue of disempowerment and lack of control over their living arrangements in the refuge was keenly felt by some women who when asked what the refuge experience was like for them equated aspects of refuge life with their own personal situations in

which the subjugation they had experienced was somewhat replicated in the refuge as women spoke of feeling too frightened to approach staff for even the basic necessities of life:

... since I've been here other women have come in with absolutely nothing and they've been given nothing. ... not toothpaste or toothbrushes. ... no one's enquired to find out whether she's actually got those kind of items. And the food has been kind of a little bit sparse and I think, ... I mean that's one of the reasons why we're in an abusive relationship is because we've been subservient to our partners and you know we've been frightened to say anything as though, you know that comes across because our self-esteem is so low that we feel frightened to ask for things (Resident).

The lack of a staff member to assist residents placed enormous pressure on the remaining staff who could not adequately accomplish such responsibilities which included attending to the personal and dietary/housekeeping needs of women new to the refuge. Although women were aware of this situation they still expressed concerns that the remaining staff were not equipped specifically to deal with their basic needs. Women residents were frustrated about the level of service they received when asked about the refuge's philosophy regarding its service delivery practice:

When I first came here it bothered me immensely but now I understand totally. ... they are just so bogged under and they just haven't got the house person in ... so I really understand. [Staff member] has been absolutely wonderful in the sense that she's come in and tried to see we're provided for. ... So it's kind of very difficult because they're all kind of, you get bits and pieces of each of them and they're trying so hard to kind of give that support that they can't consistently, because they, it's just not their role. ... they've got too many other things to do. And that is maybe that's it at the moment that has been stressed to me from the very beginning, you know, how sorry they are, ... that if [supervisor] was here, ... then you know you wouldn't have to do that. This wouldn't have happened. You wouldn't have had to ask for that, you know just all those kind of bits and pieces so I really can't give you what their philosophy is really (Resident).

Women had no apparent concerns about household tasks and responsibilities and understood that the refuge's structure enabled them to take care of themselves and their children. However for some women this degree of flexibility of refuge life was problematic as they identified concerns regarding security and safety issues and the inability of staff to provide consistent and quality services.

The refuge's structure and philosophy thus had an impact on women using it. The underlying assumption that women were to be self-reliant and self-sufficient was problematic for those women who felt estranged from the refuge setting and whose purpose in being there varied. For example some women wanted to maintain some distance from abusive partners, others wanted assistance with viewing options that included possible reconciliation with partners whilst others wanted practical support with housing and legal needs. Thus the objectives set out by the refuge may not have always coincided with what women wanted or needed (Murray, 1988) as they struggled to make decisions in an environment that was not ideal:

... at no stage when I was [in the refuge] ... was there any kind of encouragement to try and sort it out. I don't think anyone in particular said that it was a man hating place but I just got the feeling that "now I want to make contact with him and try and sort it out" ... because maybe if I did have contact with him there was a chance that I'd leave (Ex-Resident).

Moreover opportunities to disagree or be dissatisfied with philosophical and organisational aspects and services were limited as staff focused on maintaining basic services to the point that women did not want to appear ungrateful or unhappy with their situation. Thus some women experienced an incompatibility with the refuge's philosophy and a dissatisfaction as they found themselves in situations where they were reliant on refuge staff for help and assistance. Paradoxically this level of reliance conflicted with the refuge's structure and philosophy of self-care and independence. Women found themselves reliant on staff and unable to control their personal situations as they felt obliged to the refuge staff for their continued stay and support. This was articulated by women when asked about changes or improvements they would make to the refuge given the chance:

To me they're aware of all the problems ... that are occurring at the moment ... but I don't feel like I've got the right to actually say it when they know that there are problems going on. ... Maybe the only thing that I would say is some of the roster people³ are maybe a little bit abrupt and I think maybe they should fine tune their, everybody that's been here they've had a problem with somebody on the roster and I think that's a real shame (Resident).

³ "Roster people" refers to the volunteers who provide crisis intervention and access to refuge accommodation after work hours, at night and on the weekends.

Women's dependence on staff was more appropriately aligned to the social service model (Davis, 1988a). Although this model conveyed an element of inevitability, that is women depicted as victims requiring services that matched their individual needs, the women who were interviewed understood their situations and were not deterred from conveying their experiences when given the opportunity to do so. When asked to identify the impact of or improvements on the refuge they not only spoke of service limitations but suggested ways to remedy the situation:

Would have liked ... to have had a little bit more information about lawyers' fees and information about generally dealing with a lawyer. ... I never realised a lot of things. I never realised that [if home owner] that [this meant there would be] ... a big lawyer's bill afterwards (Ex-Resident).

... there should be a phone call at night just to make sure [women are alright]. ... someone coming in at weekends because ... weekends with women are very bad. Very bad because there's no one [available] and ... there's nothing to do. ... there should be somebody coming in over the weekend [to see whether women] need to talk, "how you're feeling, are you swaying towards going back?" that type of thing (Resident).

As recipients of services, individuals are somewhat disempowered. They may be asked to evaluate programmes but may not participate in the evaluation of the structural and operational aspects of the service agency they are involved with. Women using refuge services also experienced a similar situation but when interviewed could clearly identify problems and ways in which the refuge could be improved:

... more games, more toys, something for the kids. I think it's the children ... the women come in even though the children are going through a really bad stage ... they need something ... the children are being disruptive. ... and I think it's got to be centred more round the children. I think it's a shame there isn't another area for women to escape to. There's just one lounge. I hate this [no separate room for women to smoke] and the play room for children. ... there should be another ... area for women to go to if they're really upset (Resident).

Divergence - Staff and Residents Perspectives

As explored earlier in the chapter the purpose of the refuge was to support battered women in the decisions they made by exploring options, promoting self-determination and individual personal changes. However the inconsistent nature of services posed

problems for the women and staff alike. Staff articulated difficulties regarding their ability to provide meaningful and consistent services to women but were unable in the short-term to resolve these concerns. The dilemma surrounding insufficient funding to assist battered women coupled with the belief that refuge work should be paid work were ongoing issues for the refuge as the Governing Body and staff struggled with maintaining essential services under a funding regime that could not sustain realistic levels of service provision. This was exemplified in the initial interviews with staff, from staff reports and Governing Body minutes which reflected staff's recurrent distress at attempting to meet client needs when staff and volunteer hours were limited and funding did not generally permit employment of relief and after hours staff. This was evident in responses from staff regarding the organisational structures best suited to meet the needs of battered women:

All refuges throughout New Zealand work in different ways. They still only have an allocation of so much funding but some endeavour to get more volunteers to provide the service. ... in the house I think we've got a reasonable balance from what I see. Some provide more funding to do accountability things and more administration. Some have involved more volunteers to do hands on work but there's pluses and minuses. For example if you don't have enough hours for somebody doing the house supervisor's position the clients often feel more isolated, if there's not somebody there. They want them to be there (Staff Member, Group 1).

When these staff were asked about the influence of factors other than funding on the refuge they also indicated that they struggled to meet the needs of women with scarce resources and consequently accrued many unpaid hours:

... we're getting an increase in client load, ... client demand increases. I feel that in those situations our service, standards could be compromised. We have a full house with lots of children, if we have lots of women on our community register we do our very best to meet as many needs as possible. I think that sometimes compromises our quality (Staff Member, Group 1).

Over the last month the staff have accrued a large amount of time in lieu because we do not have a policy that addresses replacing staff on leave. Time in lieu is difficult to take and always impacts on another whilst that staff member again is not here to tend to client needs. ... Please would you [that is the Governing Body] consider addressing this problem (Staff Report, October, 1997, p.2).

Although undoubtedly resources were scarce, staff were also acutely aware that in order to effectively meet the needs of women they not only required time to evaluate their work but also to ensure that a process was in place to enable the systematic planning of the programmes of those that were available, so that meeting women's needs could be achieved more consistently:

I'd actually like to have time to catch my breath because all our tasks are done in priority order and often we don't actually have the time to really sit down and analyse a really good system that may be more efficient. That may be more effective than what we're currently doing (Staff Member, Group 1).

Historically refuges and shelters had a tradition of including direct input from battered women into refuge operations as they shared the responsibilities for all aspects of the refuge's organisation, (Binney, Harkell & Nixon, 1988; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). This eventually changed as shelters and refuges became more hierarchical and professionalised. The criteria for involvement in shelters tended to be defined by a process whereby women had to have previously dealt with abuse in their lives before they could be accepted as volunteers. This had become the norm in the refuge where at the time of the interviews volunteers who were formerly battered women had addressed the issue of domestic violence before being accepted as volunteers. According to staff the survivors who were volunteers were not derived from women who had used the refuge but were women who had moved into the community. Consequently the refuge's policy validated the experiences of battered women as volunteers in a post-abusive situation after a period of counselling and/or therapy. Thus staff worked without the direct input from battered women being sheltered as they struggled to address their increasing needs. This was further compromised, as staff identified in their Annual Report (1996) the increase in client loads and the diversity of problems women were exposed to placed inordinate pressure on the staff's ability to maintain base levels of service that included dealing with multiple problems such as women with physical disabilities, mental illness and language difficulties.

The refuge's view of the role that battered women should play in policy development reflected somewhat the historical and dependent relationship the refuge had with the NCIWR. For some governing members it was critical that the refuge relied upon the NCIWR for representing the views of the refuges. This was accomplished through the

Core Group which consisted of representatives from member refuges to filter through the experiences of battered women:

I guess really the individual refuges I think have to use the National Office as their most political, whatever. That refuges push the things they want changed through them and use them to actually at a national level try to make changes on behalf of battered women. As individual refuges we can maybe do little things but in terms of anything nationally you need that national body and then that does actually come from the women who are battered because they are the ones that are in the refuges (Governing Member, Group 1).

Although the refuge represented the interests of battered women at the national level locally the refuge precluded direct client input into policy and programme development. Consequently this meant that the Governing Body and staff did not actively consider the experiences of women using the services who as previously identified provided various insights and constructive responses to addressing needs (Currie, 1989). For example this could have been achieved by including on the refuge's departure form questions that would provide women with the opportunity to evaluate the refuge's structure, operations and services, thus enabling women not only to include their comments but also to discuss them with the staff. The form only asked whether or not the refuge had been able to help meet women's needs and their future plans.

Furthermore, at the time of the interviews with women who had been residents of the refuge, consistent programmes for children, counselling and life skills were not available. Both former and current residents were acutely aware of and able to articulate their concerns about the limitations of services but they also presented a perspective that was pragmatic in that they understood that the refuge served a limited purpose, that of safety and shelter provision. Nevertheless the women wanted the refuge to provide improved and consistent services for themselves and their children both within and external to the refuge. The difference of perspectives between what staff were trying to accomplish with women and what women were expressing as addressing their needs was fundamental. As previously identified staff tended to focus on practical changes for women instigated through providing shelter, nurturing and individual empowerment:

A safe non-violent, short-term home for women and children escaping abuse. **The ambulance at the bottom of society's cliff** [emphasis added] (Ex-Staff Member).

To ensure safety of women and children in the first instance and then to empower those women through information, advocacy and advice to allow them the strength to make the best choices for themselves. This may be the first time these women have been allowed to make a choice (Staff Member, Group 2).

When asked about implementing changes in the refuge women stated that they required more understanding of domestic violence in terms of their own personal situations:

... I always had this idea that children should have a mother and a father to be brought up properly. And that is still my philosophy but the way it's happened I know it's not right but that is what I ultimately want. ... that's what I'd like but I wasn't given any of that type of advice or encouragement here which is what I'd like to have heard (Ex- Resident).

... I think sometimes the children are forgotten about. It's like women's refuge and all the catering needs for women is all set up ... but those children they were in as much of the abuse as we were and I feel like they're put aside and when you've just come out of there you just haven't got the energy and the mental stability to look after your own children. ... [Children] need services ... and that's just someone to come in and observe that "you're right, your children are [in need of services]" and maybe finding something out there for me to go to like a [professional children's services] or something that's going to help me for when I leave here (Resident).

Although the refuge provided shelter, food and clothing, women experienced frustration and consternation that staff were not providing them with counselling, opportunities to talk about the abuse in a supportive way, nor providing information that would enable them to make meaningful decisions and avail themselves of staff or volunteers when they needed them:

I rang my [lawyer] many times but I found that I tended to do it because I was [confused] and because you sit there alone and they've gone home or there's someone else at refuge, or you happen to hit holidays. ... so you think oh my gosh I'm just sitting here, nothing's happening so ring up that lawyer (Ex-Resident).

... but things like self defence classes and free clinics and ... building up your self- esteem. If there's any kind of courses that women want

to go on. Just a list of information about how to, you know local bus time-tables ... phone numbers ... even though you can go to the [staff] but sometimes you just want to kind of not disturb them and just have a board of all this kind of information (Resident).

Opportunities for the refuge to be pro-active about programme planning were not an option as staff and the Governing Body could only react to the increasing needs of women seeking services. With the later development of services and programmes women and children were able to participate in various programmes that the refuge provided. Some of these services were funded regularly but depended on meeting the accountability and outcome measures of funders, whilst others were accessed on a short-term basis only for specific projects. Throughout the refuge's history crisis counselling and short-term intervention for women whether they were residents or non-residents was consistently provided. The refuge also sought additional funding from the NZCFA and other funding sources for training volunteers to continue to provide services at night and on weekends, and to augment existing services provided by staff.

In the late 1990s funding was made available for additional support services and skill development programmes to be provided to women, and for the provision of outreach services to women who had not used the refuge but who were known to have been victims of domestic violence. Programmes for children were established for those staying in the refuge on specific days during the week. Funding however was only made available for a part-time position so no programmes were available for school-aged children after school, nor in the evenings or on weekends when they were more likely to have free time. The same situation applied to other staff working directly with battered women, they were only funded to work part-time, thus limiting the number of and the availability of programmes for women. Although these services were critical, problems occurred with their establishment as the funding budgets requested did not match budgets received. Thus the refuge's staff were in the position of maintaining a degree of service delivery that the budgets and human resources could not sustain. The following responses from staff reflected the lack of opportunities to focus on pre-planning and evaluation processes which may have gone some way to addressing existing problems:

By much better management of resources, funding and listening to; in consultation with all staff and volunteers who deliver the services.

[Specific support services and skill development programmes] should be separated from day to day duties with the women. Children should be looked after by [specific staff] while mum is in a special session for [specific services and programmes]. The money is sought from funding organisations but not used separately. The [staff's] hours are increased but there are still no separate sessions. It's just a big blur (Staff Members, Group 2).

Consequently with the evolving nature of staff roles and responsibilities and the subsequent new services staff were increasingly overworked and caught up in the insecurity of funding, not knowing from one year to the next whether funding would be available for any one particular service. Job descriptions of all staff positions provided an overview of positions and focused on task completion. However staff could not effectively accomplish all that was expected of them. Added to this staff were also expected to fill in for absentee staff and/or provide assistance to staff when circumstances dictated. The following report clearly indicated the lack of adequate staffing in the refuge:

[Staff member] had a very busy period since [her] last report. [She has] been busy dealing with the needs of the residential clients [who were not her responsibility]. [When staff unavailable she also] had to deal with the community calls [staff member] appreciated that also employed to do other duties as directed by the [Governing Body] but when those duties take precedence and all of [staff member's] time over the job [she's] employed to do [she] find[s] the situation extremely frustrating (Staff Report, March, 1998, pp.1-2)

This kind of reporting to the Governing Body was not uncommon in the refuge as staff struggled to maintain services to battered women and their children. It is not surprising to find that staff expressed frustration at their inability to meet women's needs adequately. Neither is it surprising that women did not receive the services they deserved. The combination of new services funded through local NZCFA contracts and the NCIWR responsibilities regarding accountability requirements were problematic and really reflected the exploitation of refuge workers who had to do full-time jobs on part-time wages and hours. Accordingly this inevitably leads to conflicts and stressful situations as staff continue to work under extreme conditions.

Specialisation and Professionalism

The refuge movement has been characterised as a volunteer movement with the majority of services being carried out by unpaid workers (NCIWR, 1998). This is still the current situation. However the movement has also allowed for paid staff to be employed albeit in small numbers working part-time hours. Only in recent years has it been mooted that paid workers may replace volunteers as volunteer recruitment becomes increasingly difficult to achieve; and as refuges face difficulties in retaining existing volunteers and thus run the risk of high volunteer turnover. Moreover the number of battered women requiring refuges and their services has also increased and needs have become more complex. The employment of after-hours paid workers has also been viewed as critical for addressing the increasing number of women who contact refuges for community-based services and who do not restrict their contact to day time-hours (NCIWR, 1996b; Snively, 1996).

The refuge also recruited volunteers to provide essential services but over the years increasingly employed paid staff to provide services. In the latter years there was an increase in staff to provide a more comprehensive range of services but the refuge still relied on volunteers after hours and on weekends.

The refuge adhered to the NCIWR collective contract (NCIWR, 1993) which designated job titles, a very modest position scope (no more than four lines) and incremental salary scales. Thus the refuge's primary staff were designated specific positions that were funded by the NCIWR. For example the designated supervisor positions were specific individual task-oriented positions, including house management and volunteer training. A coordinator position was responsible for the overall management and administration of the refuge. Other positions were funded by other funding sources as needs arose, for example, children's advocate and administrative assistant. As noted in Chapter 7 these position scopes were vague and salaries varied reflecting work experience, credentials and skills required. These designated positions reflected roles for specific tasks and responsibilities. Over time the job descriptions were adapted and changed as the increase in services and time required to accomplish them changed. The development of job descriptions remained

the responsibility of the refuge's staff and from the very beginning reflected the specialist roles and responsibilities of each staff member:

The [number of] years that I've worked here we've done the job descriptions. We've decided what the needs are of the service we provide. We are the ones that have prioritised if you like or ideally written the services that we provide to meet the needs of various staff that operate around the different levels. Around the different areas. We've done that, the staff have done that (Staff Member, Group 1).

The refuge thus was established on the premise that staff held specialist roles and responsibilities and could expect to receive variations in salary as well as specific annual increments. However the disparity between what had been established and the perceptions and philosophy of the Governing Body and staff requires closer examination as the philosophical differences between and within these groups not only impacted on how services were delivered by staff as defined by the duality of service delivery (that of feminist and social service/case modelling) but also reflected the dilemma of a movement that was moving toward a level of professionalism that insisted upon the establishment of refuge standards and away from the original grass roots collective ideal.

Philosophical and Pragmatic Issues of Specialisation/Professional Processes

The framing of a dual service delivery approach that encompassed both feminist and social service models was an aspect of the staff's understanding of credentials required to be a refuge worker. Responses were similar between the Governing Body and staff who had been employed at the time of the refuge's establishment, stating that credentials required were more idealistic than practical in that what was required included empathy, understanding, compassion, tolerance, being non-judgemental and listening skills:

... you need to be able to identify with that person. It's impossible to explain to someone who hasn't lived in one of those relationships what it takes to get out and that's what people who say "why didn't she leave" don't understand. They've never been in that woman's shoes. They can't understand what it takes to get out and why it's so hard for women to leave (Ex-Governing Member).

Wide and varied. Good listening skills I would say is the top most and understanding. Accepting of different people's life styles (Staff Member, Group 1).

In later years however, as the refuge expanded its services and programmes new staff employed had different expectations, just as new governing members had. They indicated that credentials needed were both theoretical and practical, and included professionalism, training in domestic violence issues, relevant professional qualifications and skills in domestic violence work and criminal justice issues:

Keep to boundaries when working with clients. To always be professional. To be able to advocate for the clients.

Preferably but not essential experience in this field or have been or know someone who has been a victim (Staff Members, Group 2).

Job descriptions were a constant bone of contention for staff who could not accomplish what was expected of them in the hours that were allocated to them. Consequently with the expansion of services and programmes staff requested that the Governing Body provide them with an opportunity to evaluate refuge services and structures in order to review and match services with their job descriptions. As a result of this process staff drafted new job descriptions which not only included a comprehensive review of their roles and responsibilities but also an acknowledgement that their positions required specific credentials based on qualifications, training and experience. For example, degrees and diplomas in social work, counselling and teaching/early childhood education were viewed as critical for the positions as well as ongoing training, skill development and experience. ⁴

The differences between the Governing Body and staff reflected the transition from what was originally a small volunteer organisation based on dedication and altruism, where battered women worked together, to the increasingly formalised structured and hierarchical refuge where staff and governing members maintained specific and distinct roles and responsibilities. This ambivalence as seen in the competencies required to be a staff member also reflected the change in requirements as the ideology of refuge

⁴ As far as the author is aware the new job descriptions have not been ratified by the Governing Body and therefore have not replaced existing job descriptions.

work was gradually moving in a new direction away from personal volunteer commitment to the point where women required payment for the work that they did (Davis, 1988a; Snively, 1996). The issues of realistic numbers and consistency of staffing who were paid for the work that they did were noted as problematic when staff and governing members were asked how the refuge could meet battered women's needs:

It could be done if we had funding to provide at least Monday to Friday full-time wages to perform the functions of, to meet the needs of our clients (Staff Member, Group 1).

By employing full-time workers, especially at the weekends. There's no one here, often women are just [left in the refuge] and not talked to when this is what she needs, someone to finally listen to her (Staff Member, Group 2).

Everything that they do should be funded. That's what I would like to see. Women going without in order to be martyrs to achieve something else.

I mean there is a definite place for volunteers but I do think that there needs to be more money. ... That there are paid people, we all have to live and we all need money to bring up our children and pay our bills (Ex-Governing Members).

The Governing Body was responsible for the refuge's economic viability as staff negotiated payments for additional hours worked:

For this month to date [senior staff member] has spent an additional twenty six hours doing extra work duties, as requested by the Employment Sub-Committee (ESC). [Staff] keeping a record. [Senior staff member] advised [ESC members] of extra hours ... would wish to claim two and one half hours doing [funding] documents, and five hours doing [administrative duties]. [Senior staff member] ... aware that the Employment Sub-Committee will advise their decision of how these hours can be credited to [staff] [emphasis added by staff]. ... [Senior staff member] must have an answer to this problem as ... cannot keep working extra hours voluntarily, they are being a heavy burden which [staff] can no longer maintain (Staff Report, May, 1997, p.2).

The increasing work loads maintained primarily by part-time staff was further emphasised as staff also had to volunteer their time to the refuge's after hours/weekend rosters, but underlying this was the requirement that staff be

compensated for the additional work that arose as part of their paid positions. The attitudes expressed by staff and governing members reflected the dilemma concerning paid versus unpaid workers that had been addressed two decades earlier in North America and in Australia (Ahrens, 1980; Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Hoff, 1990; L. MacLeod, 1987; McFerren, 1990; Schechter, 1982). As previously noted in New Zealand volunteers remained the backbone of all refuges (NCIWR, 1998) but the employment of paid staff had changed the complexion and characterisation of the refuge as it became more reliant on paid staff to provide and sustain the infrastructure of refuge practices (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). This model was more in keeping with the North American model (Schechter, 1982):

[Senior staff member] advised we are encountering serious problems in filling roster during the evenings and weekends. The staff are continuing to fill the vacancies voluntarily. This results in being continuously on-call and not having any weekend days off (Governing Body Minutes, November, 1993, p.2).

[Governing member] believes that with more employees ... it could be time to have one person with extra responsibility in terms of staff, perhaps some authority more in terms of staffing issues. Workers' job descriptions would still cover their individual tasks. Major issues would still be dealt with by the [Governing Body]. This would be day-to-day issues only (Governing Body Minutes, September, 1995, p. 3).

The establishment of paid employees with new expectations based upon contractual obligations and more pragmatically wanting to be recognised as professionals, and therefore paid for all the work that they did was to become the norm in the refuge:

For all the work that we do that we be paid for because then it ensures accountability. It ensures that we maintain the service that is needed. It ensures that everybody is trained in a particular way to do the right stuff (Informal Interview with Staff Members, Group 1).

Against this background two issues arise that require closer examination. The first relates to the understanding of the concept of professionalism regarding refuge workers, in terms of both persona and credentials which impacted on the manner in which services were delivered and in terms of the relationship between the refuge and external agencies. The second point was the dilemma of paid versus unpaid workers as part of a process of transformation in which staff, not volunteers were increasingly responsible for refuge work practices.

For the refuge professionalism held various meanings and was applied to both staff and volunteers. Professionalism included the maintenance of training and standards pertaining to service delivery and the seeking out of qualified and skills-based personnel. Historically the refuge employed staff to provide specialist services but did not necessarily equate this with the need for formalised education and the acquisition of credentials. Thus the refuge had viewed professionalism in terms of attitude, skill development and the maintenance of service standards. Throughout its evolution the refuge's Governing Body and staff had to address the dilemma of applying both aspects of professionalism to refuge practices:

... trying to strike a sort of balance between professionalism and the understanding, caring of the women, that personal touch and getting the right balance. I know somebody with degrees in psychology may not have the personal touch to deal with women but then on the other hand you also need people with perception and training. So it's a balancing act I think. And we're learning about that as we go along too (Governing Member, Group 1).

Professionalism means showing skills of a trained person. Doing specific work for payment, not as a pastime. All of our volunteers are skilled and are very well trained. They are doing specific work not as a pastime but because they are passionate about helping women who have been victims of domestic violence. I have no problem with refuges becoming more professional as an organisation. Why shouldn't we be paid to do this important work? (Governing Member, Group 2).

... people who decide to work for refuge will have to learn to stick to the commitment they make to refuge rather than feeling like they are a volunteer and therefore able to do what they want not necessarily what is needed for the refuge as a whole (Ex-Staff Member).

For the staff professionalism meant that they should be recognised and valued for the work that they did. To be a professional meant that workers would be paid for their work with battered women. When the staff were initially interviewed and asked about professionalism they indicated that invariably refuges in New Zealand relied heavily upon paid and unpaid workers who had gained skills from working in refuges and continued to further those skills both through the individual refuges' training programmes and through participation in the NCIWR's training programmes, which in the late 1990s began to focus on improving and standardising refuge practices (NCIWR, 1996b, 1998, 1999). The particular concentration on skill development

gained through refuge experience was viewed as problematic for this group of staff as this learning and education process was not formally acknowledged, for example, there were no formal qualifications required nor resulted from their work practices. Thus what was required was more than volunteer experience as it was frequently perceived as women's voluntary work which historically had not been seen to necessitate accountability as volunteers provided their services freely (Leat, 1996; Pearce, 1982). Staff indicated in the following discussion that professionalism was important for the refuge:

I think it's a positive step. I think for a long time we've been seen as a 'bunch of women doing things for nothing.' And I don't think there's been any acknowledgement because the majority of people in the organisation are not paid. We haven't been given the acknowledgement.

And many of us aren't qualified. We don't have a university degree that qualifies us for working in the area.

The majority of our volunteers and paid workers use their life skills that they have learnt in our particular group, in the work that we do.

So consequently there isn't a monetary value put on that. And I think because of that there isn't the recognition. ... I think there is a difference between a professional attitude and a professional. I've had it used as a put down and I've heard it used as a put down "oh but you're not a professional, are you?" (Staff Members, Group 1).

Although staff understood that they deserved to be paid for the work they accomplished not until the late 1990s did staff articulate that professionalism included the need for nationally recognised qualifications and credentials associated with the social, legal and education professions. Such professions maintained various specialised professional bodies, for example, the New Zealand Psychological Society, and the New Zealand Association of Social Workers of which individuals could be members, and thus comply with their codes of ethics and practices in order to maintain their credentials, participate in professional development, and be accountable to their professional body and peers.

The refuge's history was as a provider of emergency services. However this perception tended to be maintained as the refuge evolved. Consequently the refuge had perceived professionals as having specific qualifications and being part of external

social and legal services. Thus professionals were not an intrinsic part of refuge services but referred to through external agencies when women required further assistance and support that they could not provide:

We do call on these services when we have the cases that we can see need the specialised services. We do endeavour to direct all professional, any professional help needed (Ex-Governing Member).

Furthermore employing professionals with specific qualifications would have increased the salary budget as the refuge's staff believed that employing professionals would cost more money to pay salaries equitable to qualifications:

I think a lot of the people that have those qualifications possibly put a higher monetary value on their abilities and so therefore expect a higher level of pay (Staff Member, Group 1) .

In New Zealand the specialisation of services is widespread as each agency and professional has to compete with each other for government funding (V. Smith, 1996). Funding, as indicated in Chapter 7 is based on units of service, it is not block funding, and consequently the agency/individual who can provide given services for the least amount of funding is more likely to be funded! Thus the refuge movement in New Zealand is in prime position to provide services to battered women and children because the majority (75%) of their workers are unpaid (NCIWR, 1998). However the NCIWR in conjunction with the Snively Report (Snively, 1996) appears to be working to change this.

As previously stated refuge volunteers provided much needed services to battered women during the periods of time that staff were off duty. Overall this system did not change throughout the refuge's evolution. However an increase in staff with additional roles and responsibilities did occur. This gradual move toward the employment of staff impacted on volunteer recruitment and sustainment and the roles and responsibilities of volunteers (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Schechter, 1982; Snively, 1996; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990).

The refuge like other NCIWR- affiliated refuges did conform to the NCIWR's Codes of Ethics and Practices (NCIWR, no date). The NZCFA for purposes of accountability had requested a volunteer contract form from the refuge. According

to Pearce (1993) volunteers "cannot be relied upon to perform or to attend as consistently as employees" (p.111) as they remain unpaid, and are consequently not bound by an employment contract. In essence they are free to come and go as they please (Leat, 1996; Pearce, 1993). This level of independence has further repercussions for the manner in which activities are accomplished as volunteers may agree with the organisation's values but may not agree with how they are implemented (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Pearce, 1993; V. Smith, 1996) or be available as and when required. Different perspectives held by the Governing Body, staff and volunteers may according to Kramer (1987) cause "role strain and conflict" (p.244) between the two groups as they experience differences in functions, positions within the organisation, influence and "... ultimately, power" (p.244):

I'm sure that I'm not the only person that has left the refuge because of the statistics that we have to supply the government to get the money ... I mean I just can't be bothered to do it and that's the main reason I left (Ex-Governing Member).

We don't have funding to provide professional services, so who's going to do it? Then it gets back to volunteer based and a volunteer will only do what they want to do. They have all the training ... but they're only going to volunteer for the time and the quality that they desire that they want to commit to. You can't make a volunteer except you can say "if you don't do it this way I'm sorry but you're not able to be part of our organisation" (Staff Member, Group 1).

The nature of volunteer management is problematic. According to staff the refuge experienced a high volunteer turnover as women for various reasons left the refuge, some seeking paid employment, others to further their education, or because the hours and type of work they were asked to do was too demanding. Furthermore the volunteers that remained were overworked and frequently unavailable for regular and additional shifts due to childcare and transportation concerns and for some their regular employment responsibilities took precedence. This led to some discontinuity of services as extra time, funding and training was required to replace volunteers (Snively, 1996):

Many collective members have left or are considering moving on. There is an increasing difficulty in obtaining new recruits (Governing Body Minutes, May, 1993, p.3).

Staff also indicated that volunteers who were survivors of domestic violence were somewhat transitory:

... they come to us and do our training. They become a volunteer and do that for a couple of years, then they become empowered to do further training and often they would go to polytechnic or university after making a choice about what they might wish to choose to do and actually that's quite common (Informal Interview with Staff Members, Group 1).

Although volunteers were critical for the maintenance of services to battered women there was never enough to provide even basic services as the staff struggled with maintaining volunteer rosters. As an inducement to volunteers and as an accountability measure the refuge's Governing Body reimbursed volunteer expenses for telephone, transport costs and mileage for callouts. However in order to receive these reimbursements volunteers were to fulfil various accountability obligations:

The specific instructions eg. change over calls, finding own replacements when unavailable, advising [refuge] of all inward and outward calls etc. To be compiled by the ... staff and strictly adhered to by the woman on roster before reimbursement is made (Governing Body Minutes, November, 1993, p.2).

The reimbursement of volunteer expenses was a constant cause of concern for the refuge as it had to apply for specific funding annually in order to refund volunteers. It was perceived that funding reimbursements would enable the refuge to recruit and maintain its volunteers. Volunteer reimbursement fluctuated however, and at one point was discontinued as there was no dedicated funding available. Consequently other ways to address the volunteer shortage and yet maintain services were agreed upon including assistance from other refuges. Funding was eventually restored but this did not alleviate the need for more volunteers for the telephone and weekend rosters.

Furthermore the lack of sufficient volunteers meant that the refuge had to provide training programmes twice a year and thus depleted the refuge's existing resources as time, human resources and funding were spent with existing staff recruiting and training new volunteers, providing supervision, coordinating their ongoing schedules and accountability requirements. Consequently this also led to a diminishing of existing services to meet the needs of battered women as staff increasingly were

occupied with addressing volunteer needs and concerns that expanded staff's working hours (Snively, 1996):

Another training course is needed as soon as practical after this one. [Staff] have several names who can only do evening training as they work. The emphasis would be on those available for weeked roster. [Staff] done ... utmost to fulfil this task to date. [Staff] do not expect to have to do the empty slots ... when [they are] not able to fill the rosters (Staff Report, April, 1998, p.1).

Thus the advantages of employing professional staff may be substantial as these individuals are already specialised and knowledgeable, are less likely to be replaced as they are paid employees and are accountable to their own professional body with all its provisos (Leat, 1996).

The transitory nature of volunteering, the unpaid work that was expected of volunteers, the constant need for training and the need to ensure that volunteers remained accountable were of considerable concern to the Governing Body and staff. Roles and responsibilities of volunteers were specific as they provided crisis intervention services to battered women when staff were unavailable. Furthermore they were also expected to maintain a variety of statistics regarding their contacts with clients in order to meet the accountability measures designed by the NCIWR and the NZCFA. However a further complication was the impact of paid staff on volunteerism in the refuge. Not only were there designated staff to coordinate all aspects of volunteering but staff in general had replaced what had been designated volunteer responsibilities. For example, staff filled in roster duties when volunteers were unavailable and became increasingly responsible for other duties usually completed by volunteers including follow- up services:

Community clients occasionally have a crisis. This is not allowed for under crisis situations. Two ex-clients have recently been in this situation. **More community clients are asking for face to face support, this is increasingly difficult [for staff] to arrange due to lack of time and shortage of experienced volunteers** [Emphasis added by staff] (Staff Report, April, 1998, p.1).

Both staff and governing members agreed that volunteers tended to feel that they did not have the skills or experiences that staff had and therefore that they were not equipped to deal with women's concerns. Furthermore it was also suggested that

volunteers may have felt that they were a 'stop gap' for staff as they were not paid for the work they did. When governing members were asked about the organisational structures best suited to meet the needs of battered women they were very much aware of the gaps between the roles and responsibilities of paid staff and the expectations of unpaid workers:

... problems when you have more paid staff, sort of the paid staff thinking "well we shouldn't ask people to do it for nothing, we're getting paid to do it" and on the other hand some volunteers thinking "well they're getting paid to do it." That balancing act when you have volunteers and paid workers. As we've had more paid workers we've tended to have less of the extra jobs done by volunteers. I'm not talking about the telephone roster, that's always been totally voluntary.

Because there's the expectation that there are sufficient paid workers to do it the volunteers don't tend to do it as much as, well there was a time when it was all done by volunteers because there was no choice.

I don't think the volunteers feel as involved as what we did when there was no staff because we had to do it more or less (Governing Members, Group 1).

Specialisation in Practice - A Dual Approach to Service Delivery

The refuge began with a small number of staff to provide emergency services to battered women. However these and subsequent staff provided more than refuge and safety for women and their children. The application of a dual service delivery approach that embraced feminist principles and social service/case managed models was strengthened with the refuge's increasing focus on providing more specific services of a specialised and professionalised nature. Thus the division-of-labour among staff supported the perspective that women's problems were increasingly complex and required specialised staff with the expertise to address their concerns. When staff were asked about policies and practices that would be helpful to battered women they expressed them in terms of identifying women's complex situations and their role in helping them:

I have felt for years that it's ludicrous that we don't get any funding via the mental health, because how many of our women have to have ongoing counselling for quite a long time because of the lack of mental health. It's ludicrous but we don't get that. Because when we start working with a woman and her mental well being improves her

physical well being improves as well. So in actual fact we're to my way of thinking we're subsidising the health system because of the money we're saving them long term (Staff Members, Group 1).

Addressing women's and children's individual needs became more consistent and normative as staff established additional services and programmes. The need for staff with particular credentials, skills and experiences led the refuge to employ and redeploy staff in specialist positions in order to facilitate these new programmes:

As a result of the initial contact being made to a [specific service client] [staff] is currently negotiating with Community Funding Agency to extend our services to include counselling and [skill development] programmes to these women. We are very excited about extending the services as it will allow us to include a children's component whilst providing the counselling and [skill development] to the mothers, a much needed additional funding component to our services particularly in the residential area.

[Facility for children's services] ... [staff] ... working with children. At this stage it is used on Monday's ... for children in residence, mothers can have some child free time for appointments or rest. With the large increase in child residents an urgent need for children's facilities has become obvious (Annual Report, October, 1997, pp.2-3).

The introduction of new services and programmes was also in line with new government initiatives especially the Department for Courts which had with the introduction of the Domestic Violence Act 1995 made funding available for the development of women's and children's support and education programmes to address domestic violence. These programmes were to be established through existing social agencies and individual providers. These programmes enabled women with Protection Orders and their children to participate in programmes without having to pay for them. Although the refuge had not applied for funding to provide these particular women's and children's programmes the NCIWR in response to this new initiative was also in the process of developing a national programme for refuge child advocates so that they could provide specific in-house programmes for children who had witnessed domestic violence (Staff Report, August, 1997). Thus the refuge like its counterparts was in the process of becoming a leading service as it responded to the new climate of acknowledging and addressing the needs of victims of domestic violence through establishing new services and programmes. The refuge was in the process of change

as it became more specialised in meeting the demands of battered women and their children.

This process of change for the refuge also impacted on service delivery systems with staff and volunteers conforming to bureaucratic strictures imposed by the NZCFA and the NCIWR which demanded that women be case-managed. In support of this process the refuge used a women's contact form that had been devised by the NCIWR to capture various statistics and information about women and included an individual assessment section. On completion of this women reviewed their client plan with the particular staff member responsible for their well-being. These women would then agree to participate in programmes. In the client plans women identified goals to be achieved, who would help achieve them and a time frame for meeting goals. The refuge also had a child contact form that include an assessment section for the mother to complete with the staff member responsible for the children and a section for children's participation in programmes. These client plans were compulsory for all women using refuge in-house services and outreach services as they were a component of the NCIWR/NZCFA accountability measures where funding programmes could be directly applied to outputs.

Consequently if a staff member was absent clients were not likely to receive the same level of service:

When staff are on leave no other worker has at present time to fulfil the missing job function unless it's an emergency. ... [staff] know that our service ceases to function with quality for that period. [staff] concerned this results in unsafe work practices (Staff Report, October, 1997, p.2).

[Staff] are ... on annual leave ... [but other staff] expressed concern about the expectation of ongoing community client support to the ex-residents. ... faced with a dilemma that in reality we are not in a position to offer this service as the service is minimal and does not match with the client expectation. We currently cannot meet these client needs and we are looking at other options for referrals (Staff Report, April 1998, p.1).

The women using refuge services supported the use of specialised staff as they insisted that the refuge required specific staff to assist them directly with their diverse needs and concerns:

[In locating housing] found it really hard because of what you just come out of and your mind's just so everywhere. You just can't think straight about anything. I find ... in the refuge it would be good to have a 'house mum' ... sort of get along side of you. I'm really really struggling ... for me to get out and find a house it's been all just too much for my head. Although I need my house because of my children but trying to find a house, where do I look and what do I do? No one's sort of come to me and offered a hand to help me try and find a house (Resident).

Women also understood that the refuge needed to be recognised by government for the important work that it accomplished but at the time they were interviewed also understood that the refuge lacked some specific services such as those for children and were acutely aware that new policies and practices required included programmes to raise self-esteem and develop life skills:

It's sort of really hard to answer because I feel that the workers are providing as much as they can with the limits the government puts on. It's sort of really hard. I blame the government for alot ... they don't see the necessity of a place like this and I really don't think in this one here there is a lot to change because I've found them ... fantastic. The home's fantastic. The only thing that I would like to see if it could all be possible financially ... from the government. ... For instance ... some other refuges do have it ... a special school ... [where a teacher] comes in and they do colouring and paintings and things like that with the children and it takes their mind off what they've just left, plus it's keeping them busy. ... I found that one thing if it would be possible that would help.

I think for women that actually come to a refuge I think it should be compulsory that they have a self-esteem course, and a course on how to set up home on your own, to go it alone basically. I do believe that because I think it's, that's one of the reasons why women go back, is that their self-esteem is so down they don't know how to cope on their own. They're financially dependent on their partner and that is a very big issue. The financial side of things, especially when you've got children (Residents).

The women using the refuge clearly realised the benefit of the refuge even with its pitfalls. They understood that the staff and volunteers were there to assist and support them in a manner that was empowering. However women also realised that they

required more than being able to make choices about their futures as they indicated that services and programmes were critical for their future recovery. As one woman noted when asked about making changes in the refuge that its primary focus was to keep women safe and think about their future free of abuse:

We fought so hard to get where we are today in our society from the first vote here to finally getting the refuges and finally getting some funding from government. Refuge in itself is exactly what it means. It is a refuge from the abuse of our partners and husbands. For our safety. We [went to the refuge] to get away from them. Not to reconcile. So what have we got a refuge for if they're going to start counselling or reconciling? [They] might as well just become a marriage guidance centre. ... [they are there] as a refuge. From that it is not to go back with our husbands, it is [there] to help us get away from our husbands ... (Ex-Resident).

Conclusion

This chapter has explored factors that impacted on the service delivery aspects of the refuge. It has charted the manner in which both the staff and the women requiring shelter were empowered by their experiences. However the implementation of a dual approach to service delivery blurred somewhat the model of empowerment as women were expected to make individual changes in their lives through various practical means.

The implementation of rules was problematic as women expressed concern over the lack of safety as a result of being left alone for the majority of the time they spent in the refuge. The dependence that women felt on staff for information, support and programmes paradoxically contrasted with the principles of self-determination and autonomy. This dependence was also manifest in the refuge's inability to ensure that women remained safe as some women flouted the rules and brought partners in or gave out information about the location of the refuge. The Governing Body maintained that women were expected to be responsible and in control of their lives.

Issues pertaining to paid staff and professionalism and specialisation also had implications as staff credentials changed as they embraced a wider definition of professionalism, took on more volunteer activities and expressed preferences for

payment for their work. The high turnover of volunteers also impacted on the manner in which services were provided as staff struggled to ensure that they were maintained. The need for specialist staff was also critical as staff noted the increasingly complex situations that women presented with. The establishment of new services and programmes in response to meeting women's needs required staff with specific credentials but also placed extra stresses on staff as they juggled to provide them on limited budgets. Staff also case-managed their clients in line with government accountability requirements as they counted outputs and outcomes. Unfortunately when staff were not available women did not receive the level of services they may have been expecting.

Staff were thus caught up in a situation that remained problematic as they attempted to provide a range of services and programmes with very little funding. In order to ensure refuge viability the Governing Body and staff had to not only consider maintenance issues but also had to ensure that the financial and human resources were constant as they struggled with the increasing demands placed upon them.

CHAPTER 11

The Impact of Preservation and Organisational Change

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with understanding the various external constraints and internal dynamics that compelled the battered women's movement in specific directions and which have impacted in both positive and negative ways upon the structural and operational aspects of its organisations (P.Y. Martin, 1990; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). Particular attention has been paid to two shelter organisations which were established with a feminist perspective that influenced the manner in which they were structured and organised. Examining the changes to these organisations provides a further understanding of the evolution and maintenance issues regarding the battered women's movement more generally and specifically provides additional understanding of the two individual shelters that are the focus of this study, the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge.

Like many feminist organisations the establishment of shelters and refuges during the 1970s was based on simple structures (Freeman, 1975; Staggenborg, 1989). Volunteers provided services in shelters and refuges that were often sub-standard or unsuitable with very little financial support (Binney, Harkell & Nixon, 1988; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Pizzey, 1974). As an offshoot of the women's liberation movement (WLM), the battered women's movement was maintained within a broad based feminist framework that included both liberal and radical feminist perspectives as they initially developed collective and subsequently hierarchical structures (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Davis, 1988a, 1988b; Johnson, 1981; Ferraro, 1983; L. MacLeod, 1987; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982) and were involved with many initiatives to assist battered women and their children (Schechter, 1982). Shelters and refuges were established throughout the western world with a dual purpose to provide safety and shelter and to end violence against women (Beaudry, 1985; Cammock, 1994; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Hoff, 1990; L. MacLeod, 1987; Saville, 1982; Schechter, 1982). In the early days of the battered women's movement battered women who used shelters and refuges participated in decision-making processes, and mutual support and

empowerment were key features (Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). Gradually the battered women's movement changed as it went through a process of cooptation as it embarked upon locating and maintaining funding levels that could provide consistent and credible services to battered women and their children, within a framework that was coordinated and constrained by the state (Ahrens, 1980; Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR), 1992b; Potuchek, 1986; Schechter, 1982; Walker, 1990b). The movement established hierarchical structures, bureaucratic tendencies, such as authority driven structures, formal rules, a division-of-labour and role specialisation, and reformulated its organisational goals, more in keeping with organisational maintenance (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; Potuchek, 1986; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982; Zald & Ash, 1966). Volunteers were replaced with paid workers (particularly in America, Canada and Australia), bureaucratic and hierarchical organisational structures and operations became increasingly the norm and workers became specialised and professionalised (Potuchek, 1986; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982).

By the 1990s the battered women's movement was becoming part of the social service delivery network accepted by government and agencies alike delivering a range of services and programmes to battered women and their children. The refuge movements in Great Britain, Australia and New Zealand however, generally retained the collective organisational model. Only Great Britain and New Zealand maintain a significant volunteer base but women's empowerment remained key traits for all (Ball, 1994; Lupton, 1994; NCIWR, 1999; PriceWaterHouseCoopers (PWC), 2000; Saville, 1982). Although government funding for refuge services was in place, it was particularly fragmented in Great Britain and New Zealand, and still remains at minimal levels in both countries (Ball, 1994; Snively, 1996). This is problematic as women's needs tend to be multifarious, in a time when there are few permanent staff and the use of volunteers as service providers has diminished (Ball, 1994; Lupton, 1994; NCIWR, 1998, Snively, 1996).

This thesis has examined the tensions and the textured ways that the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge dealt with the cooptation issues that had impacted on their feminist-inspired organisations. Throughout the previous chapters

concerned with the research findings particular attention has been given to examining the external and internal factors that have been instrumental in changing the transition house and refuge. In this chapter key findings that bear significance not only for the changes that occurred but for the present situation in which the transition house and refuge are located will be explored and elaborated upon.

It is without doubt that both the transition house and the refuge experienced changes, and reached a level of organisational maintenance that influenced how they accomplished various activities. As the social movement and feminist movement literature makes clear the battered women's movement did not elude change (Beaudry, 1985; Broom, 1991; Currie, 1989; Dahlerup, 1986; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Freeman, 1975; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Riger, 1994; Ruzek, 1978; Schechter, 1982; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). It is however the nature and extent of the change that is worthy of examination, the impact and the effect upon both organisations. Maintenance and survival for the transition house and refuge became distinct goals that emerged so that battered women and their children's needs could be addressed consistently and systematically. The original purpose of shelters and refuges was to provide practical assistance and ideological protest in order to end the need for shelters and refuges but the latter has not occurred. Shelters and refuges are currently needed just as much as when they were first established and now provide much more than the basic shelter and safety options. Furthermore shelters and refuges have reached a level of bureaucracy and professionalism as a result of accountability requirements imposed by government who funds them that not only enables them to be maintained and able therefore to provide continued services to their client groups but has impacted on how they govern and manage themselves. Both the transition house and the refuge in this study became increasingly accountable to funders, and other stakeholders, they acquired specialised staff, and hierarchical systems that were effective in governance and control. Bureaucracy was imposed but also somewhat self-imposed as the transition house and refuge dealt with their funding bodies, and other external agencies that were themselves bureaucratic and hierarchical (D. Robinson, 1993a).

The nature and extent of change has been significant but experienced differently for the transition house and the refuge. On the surface they looked alike and had much in common but within their organisational structures there were some significant differences. However survival and sustainability were key to both the transition house and the refuge.

The manner in which the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge dealt with organisational change in order to maintain and preserve their organisations has been documented in this thesis. The ability of the transition house and the refuge to be maintained meant that they were able to remain open and viable. However changes to their structure and organisation were considerable. Both the transition house and the refuge experienced stress, conflicting feelings and experiences as they worked through various obstacles and challenges. The findings of the research study suggest that organisational change was probably unavoidable as the economic environment that both the transition house and the refuge chose to be in expected accountability. This subsequently led to a loss of autonomy and independence as these organisations were determined by their funding base. Without systematic and consistent funding the transition house and refuge would have had problems with survival in their current state.

Feminist social movement organisations offer organisational and practical models for promoting and actioning women's resistance to male domination (P. Y. Martin, 1990; Mies, 1983; Staggenborg, 1989). The forms that these models take are however diverse, based on circumstances of the organisational structure and the predilections of membership. Social movement organisations within the WLM have undergone various changes as a result of internal and external influences, and some have moved into organisational preservation mode characterised by membership and funding consolidation, goal transformation and centralisation of power systems that impact on their viability, structure and goal attainment (Riger, 1994; Ruzek, 1978; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966).

The Canadian Experience

The roots of the Canadian transition house were influenced by a feminist philosophy but the transition house organisation was undeniably established in the change phase of the battered women's movement. The move to institutionalise and the cooptation of shelters (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; Potuchek, 1986; Ruzek, 1978; Schechter, 1982; Schmitt & Martin, 1999) have not however deterred activists from focussing on issues other than maintenance and sustainability even though these have been key to their shelters' survival. The transition house was no exception to this.

The identification of maintenance and sustainability as high priorities enabled the transition house's governance and managerial structure to establish and maintain a relationship with the state in order to continue to address the issue of domestic violence. The approach taken by the transition house's Board of Directors and the Executive Director helps to explain their ambiguous but necessary relationship with the state. The research findings indicated that the Board, Executive Director and staff understood that they were required to meet various regulations defined by government but were also in a position to use change to their benefit. It is significant to note that these women (and some men) were caught up in the consequences of organisational change but were not so immersed that they could not conduct activities that benefitted women and children. Nor were they so preoccupied that they could not have an impact on the communities and government in which they operated. Thus the transition house had acquired a level of organisational and funding stability that enabled the Board and staff to focus on providing consistent and meaningful services and programmes to battered women, negotiating with government for a wide range of resources and mobilising external resources including community-based associations and networks. The implications that arise from these actions suggest that the explicit purpose of the transition house was organisational maintenance, that is the sustainability of the house but framed within a feminist overview that was characterised by the Board and staff's willingness to provide feminist based services,

to apply a feminist perspective when interacting with government and in their actions within the wider community.

The duality of transition house existence was not as contradictory as might be expected. The adoption of organisational preservation (Zald & Ash, 1966) provided the necessary infrastructure and external resources to institute and action other activities. In theoretical terms however opportunities to enact change may be problematic as the organisation moves in the direction of protectionism and conservatism (Ruzek, 1978). But the transition house's ability to assimilate, protect and develop a wide range of resources - and this included human, financial and practical resources - suggests a high degree of involvement, understanding and commitment by the Board, Executive Director and staff to the organisation and to each other. It is this level of understanding that is critical as it was an enabling criteria for considering and actioning feminist inspired activities such as supporting empowerment principles with women, with each other and in promoting a feminist agenda when dealing with government and agencies (Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995)

The transition house's ability to uphold and promote social change activities originated with a cohesive and well informed Board of Directors consisting of individuals who had an understanding of the issues facing the transition house, knowledge regarding domestic violence, a feminist perspective, a willingness to participate in an orientation process and who maintained responsibility for various board committees and their activities. The skills required and the ability to be responsible for governance issues thus had far-reaching consequences as the Board provided organisational stability. Although the transition house was not unique in terms of its Board of Directors being well-informed and responsible staff and ex-staff did report that not all transition house boards were as knowledgeable and skilled:

... would like to know why a transition house can receive funding for an executive director position and the board not hire an executive director. I think that some executive directors have been dismissed wrongfully. ... Sometimes boards have to be made to be held accountable for their lack of knowing what to do.

... when you're talking about raising salaries of transition house workers we had some boards in this province who actually said "we think they're paid enough" and, or the province gave them a certain amount of money for salary for their [executive] director but because their director didn't have a Master of Social Work [degree] they didn't give that person the whole amount. ... that speaks to the philosophy of business, not the philosophy of a feminist response to battered women (Staff/Ex-Staff Members).

The Board was aided and guided by a diligent and committed Executive Director who was also a feminist:

We do more than offer women physical safety. We provide advocacy for her rights in the legal and social service systems. We attempt to make her aware of her options and we support her in following through on her decisions. We reflect an attempt to increase the real choices for women who have been battered in the face of a whole society which is structured to limit the choices of women (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1987, p.1).

It is also after the elimination of men's violence, and the social and institutional change needed to move toward a partnership society has taken place, that women and children will be safe within their families (Transition House Annual Report, June, 1993, p.3).

The Executive Director fostered organisational stability and was responsible for mobilising and managing a range of resources including funding. Social movements and their organisations have depended on strong leadership figures for the mobilisation of resources and organisational stability (Aveni, 1978; Gamson, 1975; Staggenborg, 1988). The transition house's Executive Director provided this leadership and facilitated organisational stability in part because of her position as a member of the board and therefore able to participate equally with other members and also to her own longevity with the organisation. She was a founding board member prior to her employment as the Executive Director. Her ability to share information, provide direction across a range of issues and represent the Board both with staff and externally with government bodies, agencies and the like also reinforced organisational maintenance. Although the transition house was not a collectively defined organisation it shared responsibility and decision-making within its Board of Directors, its Board Committees where the Executive Director and staff were represented and in staff meetings (Schechter, 1982).

The organisational framework that the Board of Directors and the Executive Director acted within also enabled them to be proactive in ensuring that changes that occurred and which impacted upon the transition house were negotiated. Both the Executive Director, staff and the Board of Directors were well aware of their individually distinct and combined roles and responsibilities regarding overall accountability, employment issues, policy development, various resources and external linkages (M. Harris, 1996; Middleton, 1987). The relationship that was established enabled Board and staff to work collaboratively on various issues, to maintain clarity regarding planning processes, to identify future requirements coherently, and to work systematically toward ensuring that they were put in place through a negotiation process. For example the visioning days that staff and Board participated in enabled them to be proactive and responsive to new and innovative ways of providing services and programmes. These carefully planned strategies meant that the organisation was consistent, focused, had a coherent agenda and a willingness to work in partnership with each other in order to have their needs met. It was this partnership that enabled the transition house to devise an agenda that they could take to government and enabled them to negotiate with government from a position of strength and thus to fulfil a range of service delivery and human resource requirements. This partnership did not detract from the governance aspects of the transition house. It was not a matter of knowing one's place in the hierarchical system but the ability to value and respect each other. The opportunities to communicate and collaborate were not only available to staff through involvement in Board Committees but also in the role and responsibilities of the Executive Director who liaised between the Board and staff, and who transparently sought staff involvement in a wide a range of issues and decision-making processes.

The changes to feminist social movement organisations are not necessarily detrimental if the participants maintain control over their internal circumstances and channel their feminist philosophy in ways that acknowledge and promote partnerships in the best interests of each other and the transition house. This prevailed in the transition house in various ways and over different issues (Leat, 1996; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Staggenborg, 1988).

The refuge also focused on organisational maintenance and preservation but unlike its Canadian counterpart it was not initially affected by the cooptation of the battered women's movement. The refuge's roots were firmly embedded in a women's empowerment model and this has not changed within the refuge. The refuge organisation was more consistent with the North American model of shelter cooptation and change, as it acquiesced to the funding support mechanisms of the state (Currie, 1989; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; NCIWR, 1992b; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990). The manner in which the refuge was established is critical as it could not have formed and been maintained without the support of funding from the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) and the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA). Like the transition house the refuge conformed to various government guidelines, in order to receive its funding (NCIWR, 1992b). However unlike the transition house the refuge was not in a position to exploit transformation and change to full benefit. Of course they received funding that enabled them to continue to provide services but the funding was so inadequate and the level of accountability and responsibility so great that the refuge's focus was on organisational maintenance - maintaining resources in order to be sustained. The mobilisation of financial resources however did not resolve the need for more permanent and adequate levels of funding.

It is significant that the refuge focused on mobilising resources over and above many other activities as the goals of the refuge were focused on maintenance. This redirection of goals had consequences for expansion and future planning strategies. The focus on maintaining stability although guided by the change to and the formalisation of the Governing Body structure, had been primarily fostered through the refuge's informal staff leadership. The nature of collective organisations relies upon mutual collaboration and consensus with shared leadership (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979). However informal leaders tend to surface and fill the void that arises from lack of formal structures and processes (Freeman, 1975). The refuge's preference for not designating a leadership position was based on its concept of the collective model but in spite of this staff acted as informal leaders and were instrumental in successfully

mobilising financial and human resources and establishing and facilitating external networks and support systems (Aveni, 1978; Freeman, 1975; Staggenborg, 1988). The transformation of the refuge and the move toward bureaucracy were forceful mechanisms as they provided an infrastructure that enabled the refuge effectively to address the accountability measures imposed externally, and to maintain a sustainability from which they may otherwise have been precluded (Gamson, 1975; Kramer, 1987; Staggenborg, 1989). The eventual employment of a formal staff leader was necessary for and directly resulted from the need to ensure the continued effective and successful management of an expanding and increasingly hierarchical organisation which had successfully revised its governance structure, its decision-making processes and specific staff and Governing Body roles and responsibilities (Gamson, 1975; Riger, 1994; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966).

In focussing on a strategy for sustainability there were repercussions for the refuge that resulted from the change to the organisational structure and membership. Social movement organisations may be placed under inordinate pressure to be sustained but with critical consequences. The nature and focus of any social movement organisation may change irrevocably as it moves in the direction of organisational preservation. The 'trade-off' for alternative styled organisations in favour of increased sustainability often means that there are consequences for acting in what appears to be the best interests of the organisation. This was born out in the research findings as in its efforts to maintain organisational stability the refuge came under pressure in other ways. These included irrevocable change to Governing Body membership, as a result of an expanded and diversified membership followed by staff revoking their status as Governing Body members, and the subsequent discontinuation of informal staff leadership. This was devastating as historically the refuge's Governing Body had relied heavily upon collaboration with staff for refuge direction and focus. The relationship between staff and the Governing Body was thus transformed as levels of contact and communication between them were greatly diminished. The change to the refuge's organisational structure and operations thus was contentious as previously longstanding and influential members were replaced by new members unfamiliar with the refuge and with their own clear views and ideas (Ahrens, 1980; Riger, 1994; Staggenborg, 1988). On a more personal note the loss of friendship networks and the

historical connections and struggles that staff and governing members had experienced together were profound as new Governing Body members (and new staff) had no experience of these dynamics, and no shared culture or values (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996; V. Taylor, 1983). New members thus became involved not necessarily knowing the history, no institutional knowledge of the refuge nor of the conflicts and tensions that had been experienced between staff and Governing Body members. These new members not only inherited these internal conflicts but also the organisational practices that supported the refuge's hierarchical and bureaucratic structure. This reinforced the further consolidation of changes to the refuge's organisational structure as the Governing Body continued to maintain this perspective (Riger, 1994).

The challenge for alternative and feminist-inspired organisations has been to balance transformation and cooptation within non-hierarchical, non-bureaucratic structures (Riger, 1994; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982). The character of the refuge's structure impeded this as the Governing Body increasingly supported a philosophy that was contrary to staff's experiences and expectations. The consolidation of specific membership, and the imposition of control mechanisms forced by the change in staff status (reduced to employees only) which limited opportunities for participation in discursive practices, provided the refuge with the consistency required for organisational preservation (Oberschall, 1973; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). Indeed the structural and organisational similarities with more traditional hierarchical organisations enabled the refuge to be better sustained (Kramer, 1987). Having said this the refuge's Governing Body unlike its staff did not have the same breadth of understanding or experience of feminist philosophy and practice which staff practiced every day of their working lives and thus were not privy to the experiences of staff.

Organisational change in the refuge thus had wider implications. The research confirmed that opportunities for revising partnerships and establishing collaborative efforts were constrained by the changed relationship between staff and the Governing Body and verified the misunderstanding of the nature of change within the refuge and its impact on the staff who were responsible for its maintenance. What could have

been beneficial to all those involved acted as a divisive force as the Governing Body in particular had no frame of reference for acknowledging staff's substantial experiences nor their established work practices . This has significant theoretical implications as the refuge could maintain its external edifice and consequently its ability to sustain itself, but in its efforts for sustainability it neglected to address ideological conflicts between staff and the Governing Body that arose from different values and priorities. Feminist organisations like other organisations are subject to change (Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Staggenborg, 1989) and as feminist-inspired organisations, so are refuges (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; MacDonald, 1995; Schechter, 1982; Tice, 1990). Much has been documented about conflict in feminist organisations but the reality is that women do not always conform to expectations prompted by the concept of feminism. It is the situation that change in the governing membership impacts on and may dilute a feminist agenda as new members recruited externally with no prior knowledge and/or personal experience of domestic violence may bring to bear their influence derived from different views and perspectives (Ahrens, 1980; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Staggenborg, 1989). It is also the situation that when organisations have changed new members may conform to the current organisational structure and practices. The conflict clearly experienced between the Governing Body and the staff exposed the difficulty in understanding and practicing a feminist-inspired philosophy (particularly shared decision-making processes, information sharing, and a non-professional volunteer base) within the structural transformation that had occurred. The Governing Body's differing perspectives were most certainly at odds with staff experiences and expectations.

It is critical to understand that change can be challenging when the organisation is not robust enough to maintain its original premise, nor be adaptive and responsive to new initiatives. It is also complicated by ideological conflicts which arise when particular perspectives hold sway. Often people will leave when there are philosophical differences which result in conflicts remaining unresolved (Ahrens, 1980; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982). This also occurred in the refuge when several permanent staff resigned. This is not new to social movement organisations (Zald & Ash, 1966). But what is critical is that such feminist-inspired organisations which have promoted openness, collaboration and equality can be placed under such pressure, that they are

not robust enough to withstand the increasing susceptibility to the systems that are found within more traditional organisations (Kramer, 1987; Riger, 1994). What is equally important is that they have no adequate means to address the problems that arise as a result of structural change, internal conflict and philosophical differences.

Although the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge were accountable to government for their funding which as a consequence constrained their independence, some ideological autonomy remained. The issue of retaining a feminist perspective remained critical as it enabled them to continue to work toward social change.

Negotiation and Social Change

The Canadian Experience

At first glance it appeared that the transition house was totally consumed with being accountable to government as it constantly had to conform to and accommodate accountability measures. However despite this preoccupation with funding the transition house was able to promote and action a feminist agenda. This agenda took various forms including direct negotiation with government for services and programmes and staff.

The transition house's ability to negotiate with the state was critical. The direct relationship with the state through the government's two committees, the Provincial Committee on Family Violence (PCFV) and the Transition House Committee (THC) has been discussed at length in the chapters on the research findings within this thesis. The transition house's relationship with the government's PCFV was longstanding and was the forum for discussing issues concerning family violence, identifying services required, policy development and making recommendations. The input from the transition house thus was not insubstantial and throughout the tenure of the PCFV/THC transition house representatives were involved in initiating and responding to the various activities that resulted.

The two issues that the transition house was directly involved in with the PCFV and the THC that require closer attention are the revision of job descriptions and salary levels and the response to low residential occupancy rates and increases in outreach services. It is without doubt that the government could shape and influence the services and programmes provided by the transition house. The threat that funding could be reduced if occupancy levels continued to decline meant that the transition house had to come up with new ideas to address this problem. It is interesting to note that the government was not adverse to new proposals for funding new services but that they placed limits on what they would fund. The findings of the research indicated that the staff understood the need to be sustained but also understood the expedient manner in which they continued to ensure that the transition house remained viable. This is the crux: that although at times the transition house found itself in situations that appeared to be uncontrollable - occupancy levels declining and fears of funding reduction - the house's Board and staff were able to respond and devise ways to counter these events. Moreover their ability to be innovative and control what could potentially be detrimental to them played to their strengths as they negotiated new ideas and resolutions with the government department that funded them. The research findings indicated that the Board and staff were clearly responsive and proactive in their willingness to maintain control over activities and actions.

Conversely it must be said that the transition house's dependence on funding (and this funding was substantial), meant that they were heavily reliant on government to be sustained. It can be argued that without such funding the transition house would not have been placed in the position of having to determine methods of response including the funding initiatives it had to undertake in order to be sustained, nor had to spend time resolving the problems that beset them, as they would have continued to work within an independent volunteer collective model (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Lupton, 1994). Funding thus could be viewed as diminishing independence and autonomy as the transition house was concerned with meeting the needs of battered women within a particular framework (Potuchek, 1986).

However the Board and staff were pragmatic realists as they sought to balance organisational accountability measures with responsive strategies that would benefit

the transition house and clients. The consolidation processes within social movement organisations including feminist-based organisations have tended to limit what they can achieve as they channel their focus into specific but limited goals (Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). The transition house's Board and staff resolved these issues by not only devising a long-term strategy, that of a new model of service delivery, but in the short-term responded to the immediate needs of battered women by redefining staff roles within its current structure in order to respond to the increase in need for outreach services and alleviate declining residential services. The implications of these actions are that the staff in particular were very much aware of what the repercussions would be if they did not respond to these issues. In being proactive the transition house could lay down the parameters for action as they devised new models and reconstructed existing systems. These new initiatives were framed within their philosophical belief systems, and their ability to construct meaning from their interactions with each other culminated in various strategies that consequently added weight to their ability to influence and negotiate with government (Mansbridge, 1995).

In social movement organisations the support from external networks and associations has been regarded as a substantial mobilising force for sustainability as they provide support for the validity, influence and authority of the organisation, in addition to providing human and financial resources (Aveni, 1978; Kramer, 1987; Potuchek, 1986). The transition house understood the importance of ensuring that it worked closely with its external networks and associations. Consequently opportunities to influence mainstream organisations were not lost as the transition house was not only able to facilitate the furtherance of a feminist philosophy but also challenged traditional perceptions held by mainstream organisations because of its own involvement with them (Mansbridge, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). This 'politics of engagement' (Reinelt, 1995) was taken a step further with the participation of representatives from various external network systems on the transition house's Board of Directors (Kramer, 1987). This not only aided the mainstreaming of domestic violence issues as agency professionals became directly involved, but as a consequence was an empowering experience as views and

perceptions of these professionals changed as a result of their direct involvement in the transition house organisation.

Furthermore the provincial Transition House Association of Nova Scotia (THANS) was instrumental in working with the transition house in establishing specialised services, new job descriptions and substantial increases in staff salaries. As indicated in the research findings, staff and Board spent several years advocating increases in staff salaries and for specialised services. The ability to work closely with government attested to the transition house's consistency and organisational strength. Indeed there was a trade-off, job descriptions that were accredited and conformed to government expectations became the norm. The implications of such actions meant that the transition house had to employ staff with particular credentials and qualifications, whereas previously it had not had to do so, and the move to professionalise staff had repercussions for transition house work in general. Both staff and the Board believed that licensed qualified social workers would eventually replace grassroots workers (Schechter, 1982). However staff did receive increased salaries that more appropriately reflected their roles and responsibilities, and specialised roles that provided more comprehensive services for women and children became a reality. What was not compromised was the feminist perspective that guided the transition house's framework. It was understood that job descriptions would prescriptively identify all aspects of the position. But they also endorsed a feminist perspective regarding the theoretical implications of domestic violence, its wider social, economic and political implications and in more practical terms described the need for and the nature of feminist counselling and related practices. The government did not intrude directly into the areas of feminist counselling as it had a longstanding positive relationship with transition houses in the province through the PCFV and the THC and believed in working in partnership to address the issues of domestic violence. As stated in Chapter 6 individual government representatives were supportive of the transition house and could advocate and mediate on behalf of the house. Also the government was only concerned with accountability and responsibility for funding not how the staff and Board ideologically provided services to battered women. This is very much like the New Zealand refuge in which the NZCFA was only concerned with outputs and outcomes, not how they were reached. This enabled the transition house

to retain a level of autonomy regarding its feminist philosophy within the job descriptions' roles and responsibilities.

The Board and staff upheld a feminist philosophy that did not diminish, but was continuously reflected through the manner in which they conducted business with the government and community based services. The perspective that the house presented demonstrated its ability to understand and action its feminist identity (Mansbridge, 1995). According to the research findings the entrenchment of a feminist identity was not just a theoretical proposition but embodied in various documents produced by the transition house which subscribed to a feminist perspective and analysis of women's subjugation. Furthermore feminism was also translated into the articulation of the transition house's needs, and the identification of concerns and strategies that the Board and the Executive Director could present to government. This could not have been achieved without the strong and consistent feminist leadership of the Executive Director, and the underlying feminist perspective that the Board supported. This feminist perspective enabled them to articulate their concerns to government as a result of working through feminist-framed issues with each other and staff and externally as member representatives of the THANS. Such 'discursive politics' (meaning the application of discursive practices and written materials that are directed toward social change), embodied the transition house's feminist identity (Katzenstein, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). In theoretical terms then, the transition house was able to engage actively with the government. This feminist identity endorsed their continued accountability to the WLM (Dahlerup, 1986; Mansbridge, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; V. Taylor, 1983) as staff and Board presented a feminist analysis and the practical and active means to address women's empowerment and social change issues.

The New Zealand Experience

The New Zealand refuge could be seen in stark contract to its Canadian counterpart. Although it was also concerned with sustaining its organisation and compliance with its funders in order to do so, the refuge differed from the transition house in various ways. Primarily it did not have direct negotiating control over its main funding source

but had to comply with the accountability measures imposed on it by the NCIWR and ultimately by government. Furthermore its secondary funding source, the NZCFA also imposed significant policy and procedural measures. Although the refuge could not negotiate directly with the government for its funding it was able to exert control over some of the strategies with which it was involved. The research findings indicate that the refuge was guided by its two main funding sources, the NCIWR and the NZCFA, which enabled the refuge to establish and maintain many of its activities. In similar ways to the Canadian transition house the NCIWR represented the refuge as the organisation that negotiated directly with government. This had historical precedence as the 1981 National Government would not negotiate with individual refuges for funding but only through their national body, the NCIWR (Good, 1985). Furthermore the New Zealand refuge focused on providing services to battered women and children and the responsibilities usually undertaken by the Canadian transition house, including education, advocacy, training and policy issues, were largely divested to the NCIWR. Consequently the refuge could in principle remain focussed on its service delivery.

The refuge had developed two distinct relationships as indicated in the research findings. The first the internal relationship with its Governing Body and its structure and operations and an external relationship with the NCIWR (and the refuge movement in New Zealand). The external relationship with the NCIWR was concerned not only with providing the refuge with an infrastructure for ensuring that funding contracts and training needs were met, but also with promoting a feminist agenda through collective action (NCIWR, 1999). The NCIWR was also responsible for representing the refuge(s) across a wide range of issues including lobbying government for policy change; negotiating with government for increased funding; establishing policy research initiatives; developing national networks and associations; employment issues and the like (NCIWR, 1999).

It is these aspects of the refuge's relationship with the NCIWR that illustrate the responsiveness of the battered women's movement in New Zealand and the refuge in this study to social change issues and the maintenance of a feminist agenda. The refuge benefitted from a national office that provided a range of resources. These

resources also included research studies and subsequent reports undertaken at the behest of the NCIWR (Review Team, 1986; PWC, 2000; Snively, 1996; Synergy Applied Research, 1983).

It is these research studies that provided the NCIWR with the knowledge and detailed information required for negotiating with government for increased funding as the refuge movement had expanded its services without increasing funding to meet new needs (NCIWR, 1996b; PriceWaterhouseCoopers (PWC), 2000; Snively, 1996). The research sponsored by the NCIWR included the need to assess the real costs of providing services to women and children (Snively, 1996) and more currently research was undertaken to evaluate the effectiveness of providing a comprehensive range of services that matched women's and children's individual needs based upon realistic levels of funding (PWC, 2000). These two research projects dovetailed into the NCIWR's overall strategy for improving service standards throughout its member refuges. This strategy known as the quality assurance project, evolved from the government's requirements for increased accountability (known as the *KOPPS/HROS* documents), (see Chapter 7) and was subsequently incorporated into the NCIWR's range of activities (Lynch, 1998). This initiative ensured that all member refuges established and maintained excellent and consistent practice standards. Together these studies and the standardisation of refuge practice reflected the NCIWR's responsibility for ensuring that refuges continued to be accountable and effective, responding to the ever-increasing and varied needs of women and children. These initiatives thus provided the NCIWR with strong grounds for negotiating with government for a funding increase that more accurately reflected refuge 'outputs' (services and programmes) and 'outcomes' (women and children safe and free, no longer victims of domestic violence) (PWC, 2000; Snively, 1996).

Although the NCIWR was concerned with maintaining a competitive edge as it competed with other social service agencies, when negotiating with the government for funding (Malcolm, Rivers & Smyth, 1993; Nowland- Foreman, 1995, 1996; PWC, 2000; Woods, 1996) it continued to work in partnership with the refuge and the refuge movement to ensure that services and programmes reflected collective structures and practices. The research findings indicate that the refuge was heavily

involved in developing the *Standards of Practice* manual required by the NCIWR (Lynch, 1998). The NCIWR document reflected a feminist philosophy and collective practices. This document was a collaborative effort with various refuge representatives including a staff member from the refuge in the study maintaining mutual responsibility for its drafting. Furthermore the *KOPPS* document required by the NZCFA also reflected the refuge's Governing Body's responsibilities for various activities including management, financial, human resources, services and the like. Furthermore opportunities for the refuge to be directly involved in developing such documents enabled it to maintain some control over and make consistent its policies and procedures in line with the NZCFA's requirements. In so doing the refuge was in a position to be pro-active to government in defining and devising its organisational structure and practice.

However the 'trade-off' of being at the forefront in developing refuge systems and practices was the heavy toll it took on the refuge's staff in particular. The research findings indicate that staff spent much of their time caught up with complying with the various accountability measures imposed by government funders. Furthermore the drafting of written documentation in the form of the NCIWR's *Standards of Practice* manual and the NZCFA's *Standards for Approval* (Lynch, 1998) document also involved many staff hours that had not been allocated previously. Neither organisation reimbursed staff salaries so that the refuge could draft these documents. This degree of compliance with bureaucratic practices also illustrated the move away from the refuge's (and the refuge movement's) collectively-driven organisations (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) as the refuge conformed to the stringent requirements of its two main funding bodies.

Having said this the refuge at least from the perspective of staff was involved in 'discursive politics' as it produced materials within a feminist framework and participated with other refuges in meetings where various refuge issues were discussed, fine tuning their commitment to collective organisations (Katzenstein, 1995; Reinelt, 1995). The refuge's staff shared responsibility for attending regional meetings and the Annual General Meeting of the NCIWR and acted within the framework of collective ideals of consensus decision-making and collaboration. As

a member of the NCIWR the refuge was responsible for maintaining its commitment to collectivism formulated through a collaborative process and consensus approach. The refuge was able to connect with the government and advocate a feminist perspective through its staff when they participated in refuge movement regional meetings. These meetings were forums for empowering the regional representatives who were also the Core Group, the NCIWR's management committee, to represent their interests with government when they applied for funding and in policy development issues. The feminist philosophy that was reflected in the refuge's relationship with the NCIWR informed and supported the refuge's commitment to the WLM as staff especially retained a feminist response within their organisation, within their team, through operational systems and consequently with women and children (Mansbridge, 1995; P. Y. Martin, 1990; V. Taylor, 1983).

The research undertaken highlights the tension between the staff's perspective on organisational structure and operations and the Governing Body's understanding of them as a member of the NCIWR. It is evident that the staff were involved with two distinct operating systems that were in conflict with each other. The findings indicate that staff worked together in a collaborative manner and participated in mutual decision-making processes. However staff saw the Governing Body as an autonomous body that did not share the same values and perspectives and discussed and made decisions independently without staff involvement. This tension between staff and the Governing Body is quite critical as it illustrated the consequences that resulted from the transition of the refuge from a collective to a hierarchical organisation. The move to an authority-based structure was at odds with the refuge's wider responsibility to enact the NCIWR's collectivism. Having said this the refuge's staff were able to retain a feminist agenda through their continued interactions with the NCIWR. The ensuing loss of staff however also had the ability to erode a feminist perspective as new Governing Body members and new staff brought to the organisation different perspectives that may not have conformed with what had gone before (Ahrens, 1980; Pence, 1992; Schechter, 1982). This erosion of a feminist perspective typified the organisational preservation model that is directed toward goal transformation, maintenance and hierarchical formations (Zald & Ash, 1966).

Feminist Consciousness and Personal Change

The Canadian Experience

The Canadian transition house's adherence to a feminist agenda and social change was also demonstrated through its service delivery systems. There is no doubt that the transition house upheld a feminist philosophy for supporting battered women. This was evidenced in the recruitment of staff and Board members, in its internal structure and operations and further demonstrated in its external interactions with agencies and the state.

The research findings indicate that the concepts of personal empowerment and self-determination were critical for staff in their responsibilities to battered women and general responses from battered women bore this out. However two issues remained critical for the transition house as they had a varying impact on its ability to maintain a feminist philosophy within its service delivery systems. The first issue was the differing perspectives between clients and staff regarding the impact of the delivery of services and the second issue was the tension between the models of services provided.

Changes to and the subsequent maintenance of social movement organisations indicate that organisations move into a static mode, become less militant and increasingly concerned with sustainment (Staggenborg, 1988; Zald & Ash, 1966). Feminist-inspired organisations have however supported a wider perception of change as they embrace an inclusive definition of feminism promoted through developing and maintaining a wide range of external linkages and internal discourse in order to ensure that social change occurs (Dahlerup, 1986; Mansbridge, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Reinelt, 1995; Riger, 1994). This definition of feminist inclusivity was evidenced in the transition house but remained largely within the interchange between staff and Board members. The research findings bore out that women benefitted from being sheltered as they spoke of change in their consciousness and status as they felt empowered to take control (Mies, 1983). Women also indicated that acting on the decision to go to the transition house was life-changing. They were very clear about

the benefits that were derived from their time in the transition house even when they returned to partners. For these women a raised consciousness, an understanding of the dynamics of domestic violence, and opportunities to take control and make informed decisions were key to making real and long-lasting changes in their lives. This level of feminist consciousness-raising was a defining moment for many women as they felt stronger and empowered to live violence-free lives (Mies, 1983). Staff however did not appear to appreciate the overall impact that being in a transition house had on women nor understand their own professional influence on women. The divergent views held by staff were examples of this incongruity as some expressed scepticism that very little could be accomplished in a short time when women frequently returned to an abusive partner. Other staff were more pragmatic as they considered that planning for women's safety would help those women returning to their partners. It was apparent that staff were primarily concerned with ensuring that battered women were provided with the knowledge and empowerment principles to stave off further abusive episodes and in so doing take personal control.

The transition house's feminist philosophy thus was more to do with ensuring that when women left they would no longer be subject to abuse. Whilst this has remained an ideal of the battered women's movement the internal structure and operations of the transition house precluded opportunities for women to collaborate and participate in the ongoing discourse that staff and Board members experienced. Women spoke of their experiences, observations and solutions that would more ably benefit them during their shelter stay but appeared not to have been actively consulted about the more general structural and organisational aspects of the transition house, although they were consulted about staff support and the most helpful programmes they had received. Even if they were consulted it is unlikely that these sheltered women would have spoken out against the transition house as they would not have wanted to appear ungrateful or dissatisfied with services and programmes (Loseke, 1992; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991; Sullivan, 1982). Women spoke out during the research process understanding that they would remain anonymous and consequently spoke freely about their experiences, both positive and negative.

The consequences of organisational preservation for the transition house meant that internally systems were somewhat restrained as they conformed to the regulatory and accountability restrictions imposed by government (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). The concept of a collective structure where all members participated across a wide range of organisational issues (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) was not viable and although former battered women could eventually become board members they remained a minority group, with a short-lived tenure. Thus at the grass roots level generally these women's voices remained unheard. In the past collective structures were considered too hard to maintain (Currie, 1989; P. Morgan, 1981; Schreader, 1990; Sullivan, 1982) and this somewhat justified the acceptance of traditional structures that the government endorsed (Department of Social Services, 1984). The consequences of transformation for the transition house meant that it was not in a position to anticipate the involvement of battered women in discursive practices and decision-making processes at the grass roots level. This might be considered an ideal situation but may not be practical as battered women present with many problems. However the findings indicated that both residents and ex-residents had definite and considered ideas about and responses to their shelter experiences.

The service delivery models that the transition house used were also influenced by the manner in which its feminist philosophy was observed. The dual service delivery approach framed within a feminist perspective was guided by the development and specialisation of services and programmes to meet the changing needs of women and children and influenced by the changes to staff roles and responsibilities and salary levels. The pressure to remain a sustainable organisation meant that the Board and the staff had to confront low occupancy rates and the subsequent need for increased outreach services. The research findings indicated that staff and Board members were cognisant of the economic viability issues. The idealism of collective-based structures was not an option as the transition house not only complied with government expectations but was forced to be overtly proactive in developing practical service responses that would act to preserve the organisation.

There is no doubt that the Board members and staff understood the inherent contradiction regarding their commitment to a feminist philosophy and the need for

pragmatic responses to changing economic conditions. A case in point was the dual service delivery approach that was established within the transition house's operations and encompassed both feminist and social service models. The research findings are consistent with the model of development of social movement organisations that initially they establish goals that are innovative and radically life-changing but eventually these are superseded by goals that promote maintenance and stability as the main foci in order for the organisation to be sustained (Zald & Ash, 1966). This was born out in the manner in which services were delivered, as prior to the expansion of services and specialised staff the transition house endorsed and acted within a feminist philosophical approach. This was reinforced through the general qualities required of staff and the primary focus on providing shelter and safety to battered women and their children. The gradual changes that occurred within the transition house (and the battered women's movement generally) facilitated the establishment of a dual approach to service delivery as the transition house sought to meet the needs of its expanding outreach focused clientele and its staff who had specific qualifications and credentials. This approach meant that specialist staff had specific case loads of clients for whom they were individually responsible, unlike the general transition house staff who were responsible for all women being sheltered. This case management approach was endorsed by staff and women alike and was adapted for use with the outreach and children's programmes.

The transition house staff thus worked with both models as part of their service delivery and whilst they maintained an individual empowerment and self-deterministic model within their programmes they also adopted an individual client-focused perspective. The adoption of this model meant that women and children tended to have relationships with individual staff and not always with women in the transition house or other staff, unless they specifically participated in a group programme (Davis, 1988a; Mies, 1983; Murray, 1988). The transition house thus had moved beyond the concept of sheltering women who shared mutual experiences and who spent time supporting each other to a situation where the house was also the conduit for a variety of individual counselling services and group programmes to women and children not being sheltered. The importance of sustainability was paramount as the transition house increasingly had to be adaptive to an ever-changing funding

environment. Consequently the changes in the transition house's motivating strategies reinforced the tension between its feminist-inspired organisational framework and the need to continue to be legitimate and sustainable with government and other mainstream organisations (Potuchek, 1986) and this is born out in the research findings in which staff and Board spoke of the contradiction between funding and their feminist background.

The distinct relationship that developed between battered women and staff was not intentional but was born out of the transition house's relationship with the government where service delivery predominated and where political struggle took a back seat to ensuring that the house remained viable. The repercussions though were considerable as battered women's expressions could only be voiced through the staff who were employed to help them, not through their own willingness to be part of the battered women's movement (Stern & Leppard, 1995). This positioning of battered women as victims and clients requiring help separated them from other women and consequently lessened opportunities for the mutual understanding and sharing of women's experiences, and inhibited the mutual benefits of emancipation and activities that would forge social change (Cook & Fonow, 1986; Mies, 1983; Stern & Leppard, 1995). This transformation in the transition house is testimony to the shift in focus for the battered women's movement in general - in its primary goals - consciously adapted or otherwise - and symbolised by the divorce of the very pressing practical aspects of addressing women's needs and concerns from the more overt theoretical challenging of women's subjugation, and understanding of women's place, in society.

The New Zealand Experience

The New Zealand refuge also supported a feminist philosophy within its service delivery systems. Like the Canadian transition house the refuge initially also recruited its governing members (and volunteers) with a feminist understanding. These governing members were also survivors of domestic violence. Although this eventually changed, a feminist ideology was still critical as the approach to service delivery maintained empowerment and self-determination as key to supporting battered women. The refuge was subject to the vagaries of government funding in

similar ways to, and thus replicated, the Canadian transition house's experience and systems. A dual service delivery approach was established in which staff case-managed their clientele and women were not able to participate and collaborate with staff regarding the structure and organisational aspects of the refuge.

However there were situations in the refuge that diverged from the Canadian experience that warrant further exploration as they influenced and impacted on the refuge's ability to enact social change. The act of transformation for the refuge meant an increasing reliance on staff, not volunteers, to provide a range of comprehensive services but paradoxically the inadequate levels of funding and the resulting shortage of staff made it impossible for women to have a meaningful amount of contact with staff, and therefore limited women's access to services and empowering experiences. This incongruity was intensified with the retention of the collective model where the refuge was a symbol for sheltering women who were expected to be self-reliant and independent as they sought ways to overcome domestic violence.

In the very early feminist collectives funding was not a major concern as volunteers provided women with the sheltered spaces that they needed (Pizzey, 1974). Not until the intervention of government did the battered women's movement become part of the network of social services and with this the gradual transformation from collective to hierarchical and bureaucratic social movement organisations occurred. This happened in New Zealand as well as in Canada. It is true that the New Zealand refuge movement was somewhat shielded from the overt aspects of accountability and responsibility as the NCIWR brokered funding on its members' behalf and continued to endorse collectively-focused refuges. But it is also true that individual member refuges were subject to the requirements of the NCIWR and to the NZCFA if they were to maintain funding for operations and services from national and local contracts (NCIWR, 1992b). The research findings do not speak for the whole of the refuge movement in New Zealand, but what they do demonstrate is that the refuge being researched was dominated and at times overwhelmed by the level of accountability to its two main funding bodies. The strategy to maintain organisational preservation meant that the refuge compromised its underlying feminist ideals of battered women

mutually helping and supporting battered women as it concentrated its efforts on accomplishing day-to-day activities.

In the transformation from a collective to a formalised and hierarchical organisation the refuge's infrastructure had not effectively kept pace with external expectations. The original structure had worked well when there was a heavy reliance on volunteers for the emergency sheltering and the basic services that the organisation provided. It was a simpler time! The transformation process however engendered opportunities for the refuge to expand its services and consolidate its organisational structure but the expansion presented various problems that impacted on staff and battered women. The research findings indicate that although the refuge was a place of safety and shelter and therefore met its basic mandate it was inadequate in providing consistent and effective services.

The focus on meeting day-to-day needs had far-reaching implications for the refuge. Women who had used the refuge felt disconnected from staff. Like the women in the Canadian transition house, battered women were able to articulate their concerns about services, and their preferences, and identified solutions but these women were also excluded from a collaborative and participatory process. More germane for these women however was the lack of contact and continuity with staff and subsequent services. The research findings indicate that battered women understood that staff were overworked and therefore unable to provide services consistently. This was exacerbated by the depletion, at times, of staff for various health, and personal reasons. This was the situation during the research period, and was intensified as no replacement/relief staff were available to fill the gaps. Furthermore the expansion in staff numbers and their increasingly specific responsibilities also reduced the roles and responsibilities of volunteers who remained on-call after hours. Volunteers could not replace staff to provide specific services as they were not trained or experienced in these roles. Consequently women who used the refuge were concerned that the support systems were inadequate and often non-existent. The feminist perception that women were to be empowered was belied by the actual nature of the refuge. In their individual encounters with staff women were helped and supported, but these women

identified that generally they received very little help to address the more practical aspects of their lives.

The impact for a small group of part-time staff who worked long hours on part-time salaries was that they worked within a situation that was fraught with difficulties. Accepting government funding meant a loss of autonomy and independence as the refuge complied with the accountability requirements that funding necessitated. The trade-off for the Governing Body meant that they were able to maintain the organisation, the refuge, but at such a cost that opportunities to consider long-term planning and evaluation of services was impossible. It cannot be stated too strongly that the refuge was caught up in circumstances that it could not easily circumvent. It needed to be sustained and thus had to apply for funding for additional services and programmes in order to ensure that existing staff could extend their hours in order to accommodate these new services whilst also continuing to be responsible for their primary roles. In applying for new services the refuge also had to comply with government requirements even when government funders only provided partial funding for these programmes. The analogy of the refuge and other groups " ... twisting themselves into pretzels" (Sullivan , 1982, p.43) still resonates nearly two decades later as the refuge was caught up in meeting external requirements in order to be sustained.

The feminist collective perspective that women must be self-reliant and able to help themselves was a directive within the refuge but was also problematic for the women being sheltered as these women were left alone for long periods of time especially at night and week-ends. This model of sheltering fits with the early collective model still espoused in Great Britain and New Zealand (Ball, 1994; NCIWR, 1998). During their stay women were expected to act upon the information that they had been given by staff and work toward independence, leaving the refuge empowered and strengthened. The research findings however suggest otherwise as women spoke of the lack of information and knowledge about what to expect from refuge living but also with regard to the practical assistance required to live violence-free lives. At the time of the initial fieldwork there was no one person responsible for supporting women being sheltered and consequently these issues were exacerbated, but even for ex-residents

similar problems surfaced. This had a detrimental effect on women who did not feel able to speak to staff about their concerns. Like the women in the transition house the majority spoke freely during the interview process about their experiences of living in the refuge and some voiced their concerns about the impact of the lack of consistent contact with staff. There were various instances when women not only felt responsible for themselves but for other women and their children too. This might have been an empowering experience under other circumstances, but in reality some women felt that this responsibility was too great to bear as they continued to address their own problems. Furthermore the lack of contact with staff (and volunteers) once staff had completed their work day was difficult for the women, who expressed a desire for ongoing support and contact and for staff or volunteers to ensure that they remained safe especially at night. The refuge movement has always relied on battered women mutually sharing their experiences and supporting each other during their stay in a refuge or shelter. This is especially significant when there are no staff or volunteers working at night and at weekends. However the reduction in women using refuges for sheltering purposes (NCIWR, 1998) has meant that women are often left alone with children (my one night's stay in the refuge, as part of my first visit to discuss my research, bears this out). Women in the refuge recounted experiences where they felt afraid, unsafe, isolated and unable to contend with other women's complex and varied problems and did not know how to or if they could contact staff and volunteers to assist them and provide the necessary support that they and other women required. These may be reasons for going back to familiar surroundings and consequently abusive partners!

Conclusion

It is obvious that the transformation from collectively-driven organisations to hierarchical and bureaucratic organisations is not a simple one. The process of change may indeed be beneficial to organisations if the organisational structure is solid yet flexible. The input of the participants is critical and although hierarchical models may appear to be adverse to partnerships and collaboration (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979) they do not have to be so. There is room for partnerships and collaboration. However it can also be said that feminist organisations may experience a variety of challenges as

they realise the conflicting consequences that may arise when making the transition from collective structures to hierarchical organisations. Furthermore resistance to such change may be a considered and preferred position as feminist organisations balance accountability measures with retaining a collective model (Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982). The importance of retaining a feminist ideology was critical for the transition house as it strove to accommodate both the government and its clientele. This was also important for the refuge's work with battered women and in its relationship with the NCIWR. The continuation of its feminist practice was critical for the transition house's relationship with government as it was able to negotiate positively and subsequently to influence new staff positions and salary increases that matched the increasingly specialist nature of shelter work. However the transition house was also forced to conform to the structural regulations and accountability measures government insisted upon for all transition houses in the province.

Both the transition house and the refuge maintained organisational stability primarily as a result of staff leadership, both formal and informal, which enabled them to work effectively to maintain their organisations. The role and responsibilities afforded to the Executive Director from the transition house and senior staff within the refuge enabled both to mobilise a range of resources that provided organisational stability. For the transition house the challenge was more to do with its Executive Director, staff and the Board's ability to work in partnership as they initiated opportunities for the development of planned strategies in order to be proactive and responsive. This enabled the Board, Executive Director and staff to be in a position of strength as they negotiated with their primary funding source to meet a wide range of needs. The refuge addressed issues arising from its transformation from a collective organisation to one which was more hierarchical and was caught up with sustainability issues that impacted on the relationship between its Governing Body and staff. This relationship resulted from the inordinate change within the refuge's structure and reflected the conflict that arose with the divergent perspectives of its Governing Body and staff that resulted from the dilution of a feminist inspired philosophy. The informal nature of its internal structure jarred with the increasing formalisation that was occurring. The redefining of the Governing Body and its inability to understand its role impacted on

the staff's relationship with the Governing Body and ultimately impacted on their working environment.

The maintenance of a feminist framework enabled the transition house to retain feminist goals that were reflected in opportunities for participation in discursive practices and mutual decision-making processes at Board and staff levels, but in similar ways to the refuge this was not translated through its work with battered women using the transition house. The transformation from a collective organisation to a hierarchical organisation was not an easy process for the refuge. It is obvious that the refuge wanted to retain aspects of the collective model but was unable to do this effectively. This was born out in the Governing Body/staff relationship and aspects of its service delivery where the refuge was not able to transfer the conceptual understanding and the practical aspects of its relationship fostered with the NCIWR, that of mutual participation and collaboration, to these two areas. The development of an increasingly complex infrastructure conflicted with the staff and governing members continued application of the ideals of a collective model, that of women's independence and self-help. This structure was no longer viable as women were given to expect more specialised, consistent and comprehensive services as a result of the refuge's expansion and consolidation as a significant service provider. Furthermore the inclusion of battered women's direct involvement in discussion concerning transition house /refuge living practices and service modelling might bring some new insights into their operations and systems and alleviate the pressures on staff in particular as women work together to resolve various issues:

It is critically important for the battered women's movement to listen to the voices of women who have used transition houses, and find ways to respect their knowledge and validate and make use of their expertise. Battered women see the limits of transition houses, experience first-hand the gaps and biases in systems. The movement needs this expertise to provide effective services, and to fight for an end to violence. Women leaving abuse need a second step to heal and become empowered: this can take place when victimization is transformed into social action (Stern & Leppard, 1995, pp.147-148).

CHAPTER 12

Conclusion

Introduction

This thesis reports a study of two particular organisations within the battered women's movement in order to further understanding of the significance of funding, accountability and organisational change for feminist-inspired organisations. The two shelters in the thesis, the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge, were influenced by both external and internal factors that impacted upon their organisational structures and practice, and they also paralleled what had occurred within the battered women's movement more generally as it adapted and changed according to political, social and economic circumstances. The changes that occurred within the two shelters, considered as representatives of the battered women's movement, have implications for the women's liberation movement (WLM) and its social movement organisations as they evolve and transform from radically-informed feminist collective structures to more traditional hierarchical structures (Ferree & Martin, 1995; Staggenborg, 1989).

This thesis supports research findings within the women's liberation movement (WLM) and more generally, social movement research: that social movement organisations are established as a result of discontent, and a shared view that transformation is required in the predominant social structure of society (McAdam, McCarthy & Zald, 1996; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; V. Taylor, 1983). Social movements can be characterised as being inspirational (Hatch, 1977, cited in Pahl, 1979), supporting a shared ideology and a mobilising strategy that brings like-minded individuals together, including grass-roots organisations with mutual goals, and with the intention of implementing them through a social movement organisation, and maintaining the necessary friendship networks required to support and mobilise a variety of resources (Aveni, 1978; Oberschall, 1973; P.Y. Martin, 1990, 1999; McCarthy & Zald, 1977; Riger, 1994). This was in evidence in both shelters, in the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge, which were established by individuals with a common purpose, survivors of domestic violence and women

involved in the WLM, who were able to mobilise a variety of external resources to support the establishment of the transition house and the refuge.

The research findings in this thesis underline the inclusivity of a broad based WLM based on a feminist ideology that is not singular but pluralistic, as feminism embraces a diverse membership and broad organisational criteria that enables a comprehensive definition of feminism to be included in addressing women's unequal position in society (Ferree & Martin, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Novitz, 1982; Staggenborg, 1989; Taylor, 1983). Consequently this thesis is founded on the perspective that women's organisations are not static but open to evolution and change, and it provides opportunities to understand the dynamics of feminist-inspired organisations within the battered women's movement (Dahlerup, 1986; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Morgen, 1994; Riger, 1994). It is the degree and impact of change that is critical and informs the manifest aspects of shelter structure and organisation.

This broad conception of feminism is particularly significant for the battered women's movement as it has been shown not to be monolithic but diverse, adaptable, changeable and resilient (Currie, 1989; Davis, 1988a; Ferraro, 1983; Johnson, 1981; Schechter, 1982). The establishment of the battered women's movement was initially determined by feminist collective structures but the movement compromised its principles as it adapted to hierarchical structures, albeit under protest (Ahrens, 1980). To simplify the battered women's movement in this way however under-represents what it has achieved in the past three decades. It is these achievements that the thesis acknowledges, that although the battered women's movement has been coopted and therefore changed its fundamental feminist-framed understanding that a collective structure facilitates, it has retained a broader understanding of feminism within the core of its organisations. This is particularly discernible in the Canadian transition house. For the New Zealand refuge however it is the complexity of cooptation that is critical, the manner in which refuge members addressed transformation has exposed the lack of resilience, and the limited capacity to withstand external expectations, with consequent internal tensions and conflicts.

The premise that social movements and their organisations are open to adaptation and change as they establish a permanent funding base and become more integrated into the social structure (Gilman, 1988; Schechter, 1982; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966) is fundamental for the battered women's movement (Currie, 1989; Dobash & Dobash, 1992; Tice, 1990). The transformation that occurred in shelters, and is described and analysed in this thesis for the transition house and refuge, can be directly attributed to the requirements that government imposed upon their structural and organisational arrangements as a condition of receiving funding:

... [the] minimal level of funding; the dependence on state funds, which subjects the programs to outside control and demands for documentation; and the need to design fundraising events that reach a broad constituency shape the political mission, politics of the board, philosophical approach to the community, and feminist politics (Tice, 1990, p.93)

This notion of transformation however appears to be too deterministic as shelter organisations complied with stringent requirements imposed by government funding departments but the battered women's movement also made choices when accepting funding. Shelters established in the post-collective era, that is after the 1980s (L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982) in America and Canada, understood that their continued existence was premised on systematic and permanent sources of funding in an organisational environment that was hierarchical and bureaucratic. In Canada many years of hand to mouth existence and striving to maintain collective structures became too difficult to sustain (Currie, 1989). Hierarchies provided a structure that made shelter management more manageable. Stability and sustainability outweighed a particular philosophy. In New Zealand at about the same time funding was also made available to refuges through their national organisation the National Collective of Independent Women's Refuges (NCIWR) again for similar reasons, and as a result the structure and organisation of the national body were reshaped (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; NCIWR, 1992b). The stability that funding provided also meant that shelters were acknowledged and subsequently integrated into the social service network thus enabling them to continue the critical work that they had initiated as well as providing the impetus for other non-feminist agencies to establish shelters (Ferraro, 1981; Johnson, 1981; L. MacLeod, 1987; Schechter, 1982).

The prevailing perception that the battered women's movement has been completely coopted with its feminist organisations being transformed into bureaucracies can be countered by the realisation that the movement has not been prevented from promoting a feminist social change agenda. The distinction has been that the social change agenda was modified accordingly as it was throughout the WLM. Chapter 1 explains this process in more detail (Gelb, 1995; Ryan, 1992; Taylor & Whittier, 1993; Whittier, 1995). It is true that the momentum salient in the battered women's movement's creation was eventually replaced by maintenance and consolidation as it moved from idealism and action into sustainability as a result of organisational reliance on external resources and internal change (Broom, 1991; Currie, 1989; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; McDonald, 1989; Riger, 1994; Ruzek, 1978), achieved by redefining goals to fit with its reconstructed status. This ensured that they were achievable and fitted with government expectations (Staggenborg, 1989), but the movement did not totally give up a feminist philosophy (P.Y. Martin, 1990; Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982).

It is also central to the thesis that although the deterministic attitude of government and its funding regime can be disabling as shelters strive to adhere to the exacting requirements of accountability, flexibility and independence can still be maintained. It is clear that sustaining a feminist philosophy can inspire shelter members to retain their independence through adapting their internal structures to accommodate both collective and hierarchical structures (Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982). Shelters (and women's movement organisations) which are unable to be adaptive are more likely to experience internal conflicts which inhibit organisational effectiveness (Ahrens, 1980; Freeman, 1975; Staggenborg, 1989). This was true for both the Canadian transition house and the New Zealand refuge. In the transition house adaptability was framed in various aspects of its internal organisation including adherence to a feminist membership. This was achieved in spite of the deterministic nature of the structural and organisational guidelines promoted by the Nova Scotia provincial government for establishing shelters (Department of Social Services, 1984).

The New Zealand refuge, which came late to cooptation, did not have such guidelines *in situ* when it was established but gradually incorporated operational and structural

requirements imposed by the New Zealand Community Funding Agency (NZCFA) and the NCIWR. Consequently the refuge's governing members and staff were unable to adjust to the severity of changes that occurred and this resulted in internal conflict between staff and governing members (Ahrens, 1980; Freeman, 1975; Schechter, 1982). Internal conflict was not all due to government imposing accountability requirements within a new structure, as the refuge benefitted from the stability that even inadequate funding provided, but resulted from the manner in which the Governing Body dealt with transformation as it relinquished its grass roots structure. It can be seen that the refuge went through the transformation process (and as the researcher I also witnessed this when I visited the refuge and spoke with staff and reviewed their documents) without the necessary systems in place at the time to address effectively the internal ramifications aligned to change or the ability to establish processes that maintained their collective structure.

The convergence of social movement theory in terms of adaptation and change and feminist theory that promotes a broader conception of the women's liberation movement is pertinent for the battered women's movement as both provide an understanding of what has occurred in the past three decades within the battered women's movement. The evolution of shelters has followed the example of other feminist social movement organisations, as they developed, adapted and changed (Broom, 1991; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Riger, 1994; Zald & Ash, 1966), but within the WLM change has also been beneficial as women's organisations view change as having different manifestations which do not detract from pursuing a feminist agenda (Ferree & Martin, 1995; P.Y. Martin, 1990; Staggenborg, 1995). The strengthening and diversification of the WLM enables feminists to be part of mainstream organisations and yet remain visionary as they promote a feminist perspective not only with each other but also within the places and with the individuals and groups with whom they interact (Mansbridge, 1995). Furthermore the movement facilitates both directly and indirectly a broad-based inclusive feminism that impacts across a range of institutions and organisations, what Staggenborg refers to as "social movement communities" (1995, p. 148). This is critical as it shows that the movement remains open to change and to negotiation. The move to inclusivity is a radical transformation at both the individual and the organisational level (Mansbridge, 1995;

Novitz, 1982; V. Taylor, 1983) as feminists apply their ideology and influence the organisations in which they participate. Thus the robustness of the WLM is maintained in its impact on society.

This was clearly evidenced in the Canadian transition house where transformation provided a stable and secure framework that enabled the house to use the infrastructure and available resources to action other activities. The stability that block funding from government to individual transition houses provided, coupled with the feminist perspective upheld by board members and staff, permitted them to promote an agenda for social change. This was given a broad interpretation and actioned both externally and internally, as staff and board members were involved externally in community-based education and information programmes about domestic violence and internally in continuing to invest in and remain committed to social change through sub-committee involvement supported by government in its guidelines (Department of Social Services, 1984). Board members and the Executive Director also maintained responsibility for ensuring that they retained a profile with government departments at the provincial and municipal levels, as they continued to place these issues on the agenda of government through committee involvement in a deliberative and critical manner in order to maximise the chance that discussion and action would be derived from such participation.

The introduction of contract funding (fee for service) in the New Zealand refuge (and for all refuges, and social and welfare services) acted to inhibit the promotion of a locally-based social change agenda as "... the day-to-day burden of hard work in direct services and administration decreases the likelihood of participation in genuine political reform" (Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990, p.117). The contract funding system prohibits individual refuges from setting agendas that promote social change activities as they strive to maintain services based upon what government is willing to fund (Higgins, 1997b; J. Martin, 1995; Nowland-Foreman, 1996; D. Robinson, 1993b; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990; Woods, 1996). Furthermore, the provision of funding to refuges through the NCIWR to which previous and current governments subscribe (Good, 1985; Review Team, 1986) prevents individual refuges not only from making direct requests for funding that they require but also prevents them from lobbying and

promoting their actual needs and concerns directly to government as it is held that the NCIWR will coordinate such tactics from a national perspective. Consequently refugees are not provided with funding to enable them to participate in such important work (Higgins, 1997b; NCIWR, 1992b; Nowland Foreman, 1996; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). This is also an intended consequence of dependence on a contract funding regime that removes the participation and citizenship components from social agencies (Boston, 1999; Higgins, 1997b; D. Robinson, 1993c). This disenfranchisement ensures that individual responsibility and self-reliance become key issues for social and welfare services. Refugees like other social sector organisations are unable to focus on ensuring that individuals who require social services benefit from participation and integration and self-determination as they can only focus on addressing individual problems (Higgins, 1997b; Nowland-Foreman, 1996).

Social movement theory states that the transformation of social movements ensures their success and stability as they increase and consolidate their social and economic viability and as a result move into organisational preservation mode (Zald & Ash, 1966). Zald and Ash (1966) suggest various internal and external factors, which have been outlined in Chapter 1, as contributing to transformation. These include the redefinition of goals and leadership change producing a more conservative organisation; a focus on sustainment of resources including financial and human, and establishing hierarchical structures that confer power on a minority group. External factors include the development of associations and networks, factions and splits and an increase in radical ideas within organisations which then lead to membership change and organisational breakdown (McAdam et al., 1996; Staggenborg, 1989; Zald & Ash, 1966). These factors contribute to organisational homogeneity and conservatism as organisational preservation becomes of paramount importance.

It is argued in this thesis that in their transformation from collectives to hierarchies, shelters also had similar experiences (Ahrens, 1980; Currie, 1989; Schechter, 1982) but it is also proposed that those shelters established in the post-collective era experienced fewer problems with change as they understood that their organisations could comply with existing structural and organisational arrangements. This certainly was the Canadian transition house experience. These shelters were not the radically-

inspired feminist organisations that had been the hallmark of the early battered women's movement but were organisations that were willing to accommodate external and internal expectations in order to receive funding (Currie, 1989; L. MacLeod, 1987).

This thesis has identified that hierarchical organisations can balance bureaucracy with a feminist perspective. Although the Canadian transition house was established as a non-collective organisation it sustained a feminist perspective within its structure which was established by its original members. Sustainability is dependent upon a membership which continues to agree on the internal structure and is consolidated through the retention of members and organisational goals which concur with the defined structure. This applies whether the organisation is hierarchical or collective as both structures depend on "... commitment to decisions and their implementation" (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979, p.520). The balancing of aspects of two varying structures enabled the transition house to sustain a feminist philosophy as a result of its adaptability, and it continued to promulgate it in various ways including written form, discussion and practice. The commitment of long-standing members is critical and was reinforced in the transition house as the Executive Director was an original member and board members were often re-elected and consequently continued to ensure that the organisation was sustained. The Canadian transition house is an example of an organisation that balances aspects of two very different structures through its feminist beliefs, through developing skills that fit with the philosophy of the organisation and through the members determination to work in partnerships with each other and with mainstream organisations (Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995; Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schmitt & Martin, 1999). These organisations have an opportunity to provide leadership as they reflect the optimum in service delivery, that of women empowering women in a mutually supportive environment.

In the New Zealand refuge the structure and organisation became more hierarchical, and more ideologically conservative, as new members brought non-refuge experiences and perceptions to bear on the refuge and as they inherited and endorsed more traditional organisational structures and practices. Paradoxically this led the refuge to increased internal instability. Social movements and their organisations are

premised on shared culture and values, friendship networks and connections. When this changes as a result of transformation as it did in the refuge it loosened the feminist-inspired and shared framework that had been longstanding as new members and staff were in ideological disagreement about the new internal arrangements, and could not be reconciled. These actions led to the exclusion of staff from mutual collaborative efforts and partnerships with the Governing Body. This was very much like the earlier shelters where splits and ideological differences were pervasive and led ultimately to feminists leaving the movement (Ahrens, 1980). This also occurred in the refuge. In their work practices staff endeavoured to continue to promote a feminist philosophy within their own team framework, in their interactions with the NCIWR, and endorsed empowerment principles in their work with women. However this was not enough to circumvent the Governing Body's move to increase governance and managerial control, which ultimately precluded staff involvement. This gradual transformation, without the necessary infrastructure and belief systems to maintain a modified collective organisation (Schechter, 1982), is likely to cause disruption, conflict and ultimately organisational breakdown. This is what was occurring in the refuge as its governing members and staff could not effectively address the internal turmoil and conflicts that they were experiencing.¹

This thesis has also considered that, although women's movement organisations have adapted and changed, they remain optimistic as opportunities to be influential and activated continue to exist. This is certainly the situation for shelter organisations and women's organisations which are likely to be hierarchical but which are also able to sustain feminist principles that focus on social change. This is not necessarily conflicting or ambiguous but depends upon the commitment of organisational members to ensure that their processes and procedures, whilst conforming to hierarchical forms, also reflect alternative-styled structures and operations that enable them to promote feminist processes (Rothschild-Whitt, 1979; Schechter, 1982).

¹ This datum/assertion is based on personal observation, written documentation and discussions since the start of the research process with refuge staff.

This is critical for social movement organisations that are transformed. The ability to balance organisational transformation and cooptation with maintaining a feminist profile is based upon the commitment of members to ensure that they engage in meaningful discourse and activities - praxis - that challenge prevailing attitudes and expectations. Investment in an organisation's future is also critical and can be achieved through ensuring that new members are instructed in and participate in the structural and operational aspects of organisations in order to acquire practical ownership and be knowledgeable of its history and its experiences - its institutional memory. This is significant for understanding the importance of, and actively preserving, a feminist philosophy in order to counter the restrictive practices that are aligned with cooptation (Mansbridge, 1995).

Furthermore although the WLM was premised on collective structures it has not ignored or sought to deny women's organisations that have developed hierarchical structures. It has been accommodating as significant feminist involvement in mainstream organisations yields significant influence that enables the WLM to continue to change society (Mansbridge, 1995; Reinelt, 1995).

Issues for the Battered Women's Movement

Access to internal decision-making and collaboration was a hallmark of the women's liberation and battered women's movements. An outcome of cooptation within both movements, however, has been that some groups are excluded from participation in the structural and operational arrangements of organisational life. This has occurred within the battered women's movement as opportunities for participation by service users in decision-making processes about their responses and solutions to shelter services has diminished. What has been lost are the direct experiences and the understanding of shelter life from the perspective of women, and consequently the opportunities to improve services through participatory and self-help models (Murray, 1988; Srinivasan & Davis, 1991). Promoting women's involvement in decision-making processes about the structural and organisational aspects of their sheltering experience is a productive process and augments the feminist empowerment model both shelters supported (Srinivasan & Davis, 1991). Such interaction strengthens

internal structures as it provides opportunities for collaboration and participation across a wide range of issues that impact on the movement. This holds particular resonance for the refuge as it promotes a model for both staff and governing members to realise as it frames understanding of the process of collaboration, cooperation and accountability to the women they seek to support.

The conceptualisation in New Zealand that the refuge movement is an exclusively collectively organised movement (Pilot & Balzar, 1990) requires reconsideration as the relationships it holds with government and with refuges reflect a different perspective. The refuge movement is in reality caught between two organisational structures, that of collectivity as characterised by the NCIWR's relationship with its member refuges, and a hierarchical structure as espoused within the NCIWR's own internal structure (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; NCIWR, 1999). This has repercussions not only for the refuge being studied but also for other refuges whose internal structures have also had to change in order to accommodate government's and the NCIWR's new and revised standards and planning strategies (NCIWR, 1999). This was explicated by the NCIWR's Core Group co-chairpersons who stated that they had "adopted a new model of governance and management ... [in order to] engender a culture of checks and balances, of transparency and accountability, and, above all, ensure we had the capacity to measure performance" (Nyman & Allison, 1999, p.3). Consequently the ideological shift within the refuge movement from collective to hierarchical and bureaucratic structures has occurred. These structures depend heavily on funding to maintain infrastructure, human resources, service delivery development and implementation. Although the NCIWR is accountable to the Core Group, it is still charged with ensuring that member refuges adhere to its revised governance and management model (Raukawa-Tait, 1999).

The outcome of such a dramatic ideological shift is the immense responsibility and constraints imposed on the NCIWR and individual refuges who in supporting the new model of governance and management remain subject to compliance with the requirements that come with bureaucratic and hierarchical structures in order to ensure continued government funding (NCIWR, 1992b). This new structural

configuration that fosters compliance from the refuge movement is fundamentally contrary to the collective model that feminist refuges originally upheld.

The adherence to government requirements reinforced through hierarchical structures remains problematic not only in terms of accountability expectations fulfilled by the NCIWR and refuges but in the internal relationship between the NCIWR, the Core Group (the Management Committee) and refuges. The changes within the NCIWR reinforce the hierarchical basis of representation for all refuges as only eight elected refuge members from 48 member refuge groups make up the Core Group (only one in six refuges has representation on the Core Group). This means that refuge empowerment is eroded as the NCIWR nationally-based staff are charged with the day-to-day responsibilities for the refuge movement (NCIWR, 1996b, 1999). Thus the majority of refuges only have a truly reflective voice once a year at the Annual General Meeting. Although for the remainder of the time refuge representatives meet on a regional basis to address issues and concerns, this can also present problems as refuges may hold differing views which may not be resolved easily (Church & Church, 1985; Rankine, 1985). An example is a NCIWR Special General Meeting held in 1995² which addressed issues that were affecting the movement, and highlighted the differing views expressed by refuges as they discussed the future of the movement and the need to develop a strategic plan (NCIWR, 1996b). It has been noted in Chapters 7 and 9 that the refuge in the study did not always agree with the philosophy of or the activities held by the NCIWR and other refuges.

Although the movement is not about to terminate its relationship with government, and reject funding, and consequently return to its voluntary and collective roots, retaining a more comprehensive group of refuge representatives as the Core Group and/or devolving more responsibilities to the four refuge regions in the form of regional offices/managers, as suggested at the NCIWR's Special General Meeting in 1995, may help to counter the various aspects of transformation that seem inevitable, as these initiatives would enable a continued grounding in a feminist philosophy that

² This meeting was attended by the author to access participation from a refuge for the study.

retains very basic principles of empowerment and internal collaboration and consensus systems.

Although a detailed study of the refuge movement is not the purpose of this thesis it can be concluded and is born out in the refuge in the study, that the cooptation that the NCIWR has experienced will have an impact on individual refuges who have also been affected by cooptation. Refuges deal with the exacting requirements that accountability assumes, and they employ staff with specialist skills (the Child Advocate is a case in point), and sustain a management structure to ensure structural and organisational maintenance of their refuges. Consequently this ideological transformation has repercussions for individual refuges as they attempt to maintain their collective organisations, even though their role model the NCIWR has been coopted, and whilst they also adjust to the realisation that they too have been coopted. Cooptation results in additional constraints and stresses as refuges not only conform to accountability requirements but also to the various requirements of the NCIWR referred to in previous chapters. Although this thesis has only examined one particular New Zealand refuge it has shown that cooptation had a considerable impact on the refuge's structure and practice. It may reasonably be concluded that similar experiences are being encountered in other refuges. The NCIWR may benefit from reviewing the effectiveness of this framework as the expectations placed on individual refuges counter their independence and opportunities for autonomy and innovation as they struggle to maintain basic services and accountability requirements. Such restrictions impair opportunities for promoting locally-based social change activities (Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990).

A further outcome of transformation is the reduction in a grass roots base as volunteer membership is replaced by a professional membership and specialised staff. This occurred in both shelters although in the Canadian transition house ex-residents and staff were included on the Board of Directors, albeit as minority groups. But the transition house was concerned to ensure that these women were represented. In the refuge volunteers and staff were eventually replaced by professional members on the refuge's Governing Body. Consequently volunteers and staff had little input into the refuge's structure and organisational arrangements as a result of the refuge's move to

a more hierarchical structure. Hierarchical structures do not include the viability of grass roots volunteers as they are at odds with the bureaucratic (hierarchical and specialised) aspects of organisational formulation. They require utmost attention to accountability and an ability to conform to extreme standardisation of internal systems that volunteers have no real part of (Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). This was observed in the refuge with volunteers resisting compliance with accountability requirements, with continuing difficulties surrounding training and sustainment of volunteers, and with the gradual exclusion of volunteers from participation on the Governing Body (Koopman-Boyden, 1992; V. Smith, 1996). These issues found with a volunteer work force had for the most part been eliminated in the Canadian transition house and within the movement more generally for similar reasons (Beaudry, 1985; L. MacLeod, 1987). Unlike existing models in Canada, the New Zealand refuge movement's paid staff comprise of only one third of the total workforce although the NCIWR would like to change this situation (NCIWR, 1996a, 1999; Snively, 1996). This remains problematic for the refuge movement as volunteers realise that their roles are changing, that their value is diminishing, used only to subsidise services and not able to participate to any significant degree, in the intrinsic aspects of the organisations in which they are involved (Billis, 1996). It is therefore not surprising that volunteer numbers are diminishing and not being replaced, and ultimately being replaced by paid staff as services become increasingly specialised (Beaudry, 1985; Currie, 1989; Koopman-Boyden, 1992; Schechter, 1982; Snively, 1996; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990).

Issues for Governments

The contracting system espoused by the New Zealand government is by definition problematic as it only permits fragmented services as social and welfare agencies are only partially funded to deal with individual and specific problems. It does not promote a holistic approach to defining and responding to needs and concerns but it does assume that agencies will continue to manage a wide range of needs without adequate government support and will be accountable for all services provided irrespective of whether funding is available (Higgins, 1997b; V. Smith, 1996). This is born out in the current inadequate funding levels and lack of skilled and qualified

social workers further exemplified within the government's Child, Youth and Family Services (CYFS). (Stirling, 2001; P. Taylor, 2001). As a consequence this results in the down-grading of problems within families and with individuals.

Opportunities to study the Canadian and Australian battered women's movements may provide some insights into shelter and refuge organisations as they support more modified hierarchical/collective structures and yet employ strategies that are more in keeping with bureaucratic structures (Riger, 1994; Schechter, 1982). A particular strategy has been the reduction in the exploitation of shelter workers as the movement has moved away from volunteers to employing paid staff to provide services. This has led to the acceptance and legitimacy of shelter work as paid staff add value to what has traditionally been viewed as women's voluntary work (Beaudry, 1985; Gilman, 1988; Hopkins & McGregor, 1991; L. MacLeod, 1987). There are no national coalitions in either movement and in Canada transition houses have retained some individual autonomy regarding budget submissions to government. In Australia the movement understood that establishing a national organisation would mean that they would lose their autonomy and their collectivism forcing them "... into the type of peak organisation much loved by bureaucracies craving a formal and stable group for consultations" (McFerren, 1990, p.194; Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990). Furthermore the federal and provincial/state governments in both countries have taken responsibility for funding shelters. The ability of these provincial governments to liaise with shelters is made easier because they have their own state/provincial parliaments with responsibility for social services and welfare sectors. Consequently it is easier for women's organisations and others to advocate directly on their organisations behalf with government ministers and departments³ and the lobbying and advocacy that shelters have been involved in have enabled them to have direct access to government.

In New Zealand there are few opportunities for refuges to interact directly with government as the NCIWR negotiates funding for refuges and maintains responsibility

³ As the Executive Director of a Canadian agency that provided services to battered women and children I was able to meet with provincial ministers to discuss budget proposals and allocations on an annual basis and to discuss various issues directly with ministers as they arose.

for lobbying and advocacy work with government (Good, 1985; NCIWR, 1992b). This has meant that access to government can only be achieved through the NCIWR (NCIWR, 1999). This system acts to prevent individual organisations such as refuges from being proactive and assertive. Government departments, their ministers and representatives are less likely to interact with individual refuges which as a consequence prevents the latter participating in an extended dialogue with government. This has an impact on the refuge movement's ability to access adequate funding levels as they are unable to maintain an ideological connection with government, nor can they take for granted its continued commitment to the refuge movement when it does not engage in dialogue or worse still makes changes to the funding criteria without community consultation (B. Robinson, 1998). Higgins (1997a) states that "There is no room for dialogue ... if policy makers hold a position that no one will have been made worse off by the reforms" (p.11). Consequently governments can dictate who and what should be funded based not on the mandates or recommendations of social and welfare organisations (Levesque, 1996) but on their own perceived policy priorities (Trebilcock, 1995). This results in social and welfare services assisting only the most vulnerable people in society, those who tend to exist outside the mainstream (Higgins, 1997a). The cooptation practices that have enveloped many organisations means that "... governments are able to give selective support to agencies which conform with government policies and which represent politically acceptable social causes" (Vellekoop-Baldock, 1990, p.117). Consequently the inadequacy of this system reflects the glaring inequalities that beset the people seeking services and the enforced inadequacy of social service and welfare agencies in their attempts to meet unsustainable needs.

What has also been identified in this thesis and is consistent with current trends is that although women still require sheltering there is an even greater need for follow-up and outreach services (Gilson, 1994; PriceWaterHouseCoopers (PWC), 2000). The movement away from crisis intervention provided by well-meaning and committed volunteers has been overtaken by a more specialised workforce in both Canada and New Zealand but at a different pace. In Canada the transition house has had the opportunity to devise new models, including ensuring that specialist staff adequately provide outreach and advocacy services. It also designed a new model in response to

the decline in women requiring sheltering preempting the possibility of reduced funding by suggesting satellite outreach centres in various communities replacing the need for as many shelters whilst still providing a centralised shelter if women required it. In New Zealand this has not occurred. Refuges have not been able to keep pace with the number of women requiring services, sheltering or otherwise (PWC, 2000; Snively, 1996). Simply put they cannot. Having researched one refuge in New Zealand it should be noted that, internal conflicts aside, staff were overwhelmed with their responsibilities, so that innovation and planning were not realistic goals. On a daily basis it was difficult for staff to prioritise tasks as all were equally important. The overwhelming nature of providing services with inadequate contract funding that not only relies on volunteers to provide critical and consistent services but insists that volunteers are used to subsidise services and also remain accountable, is more widespread than the refuge movement and reflects the radical restructuring of social and welfare services leading government to maintain control over who, what and how services are provided (Boston, 1999; Levesque, 1996; B. Robinson, 1998). This has meant that social and welfare services can only meet very specific needs of those who seek them thus "... the state redirects the resources of the community sector away from the very work that is required to counter the excluding effects of its welfare reforms" (Higgins, 1997a, p.10).

This thesis also notes the significance of the relationship that the Canadian transition house and other transition houses have maintained with government. Although in New Zealand terms the Canadian transition house was funded substantially, the level and extent of services that it provided warranted specialised staff working full-time, 24 hours a day. The transition house was constantly negotiating and focusing on increasing its funding base. However it could not have accomplished its many achievements without opportunities to interact directly with the government department from which it received the majority of its funding. The establishment of the Provincial Committee on Family Violence and the subsequent Transition House Committee provided a forum for transition house staff and board members to address domestic violence issues directly with ministers and their representatives. This forum has been critical for the transition house movement in Nova Scotia and has been a catalyst for enabling transition houses to maintain stability and be sustained as they

continue to provide services and programmes, advocate for improved budgets, ensure that staff receive salaries commensurate with their roles and responsibilities and enable opportunities to establish critical new services. This forum also showed the government's ongoing commitment to address domestic violence within the province and its continued willingness to work in partnership with a range of government departments, organisations and agencies to provide solutions.⁴

This is not happening in New Zealand currently. There appears to be no direct forum for the refuge movement to interact directly, for example, with the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) or the NZCFA in addressing family violence issues in similar ways to Nova Scotia. The NCIWR is represented on "government advisory boards concerned with the Domestic Violence Act 1995" (NCIWR, 1999, p.8) and liaises with the DSW's Policy Research Unit but the refuge movement's ability to lobby and advocate their concerns is channelled through the NCIWR and its Chief Executive Officer not individual refuges. The NCIWR ensures that it meets its contractual obligations with the Child, Youth and Family Service but there is no government department - although a working party between government and the voluntary sector has been established (Baxter, 2000) - that facilitates liaison between the refuge movement and government departments in order to address directly the issues that individual refuges face daily. Opportunities for refuges to liaise directly with government officials including the Minister and deputies appear to be unavailable and consequently opportunities for lobbying and advocacy to bring to the attention of government the pertinent issues specifically facing individual refuges are reduced. Some of these issues include the grossly inadequate levels of funding, the diminution of volunteers and the need to expand and provide a range of consistent services that meet the extensive needs of battered women and children.

⁴ The establishment of the Family Violence Prevention Initiative (FVPI) in 1990 is an example of the government's commitment to partnerships. The FVPI is an interdepartmental organisation committed to developing communication networks, coordination and collaboration between departments and communities in order to respond to family violence issues (Poff, 1993, p.2).

The contracting-for-funding regime fragments service delivery in refuges, as well as other social and welfare services, so that very critical services and programmes are not funded by government because they do not meet funding and programme criteria and do not match the contracting for services criteria (Levesque, 1996; V. Smith, 1996). Some aspects of children's and women's services such as domestic violence programmes funded by the Department for Courts only provide programmes where a Protection Order is in place. Many women using refuges do not have Protection Orders and consequently do not have access to such critical programmes. The joint initiative recently announced by the NCIWR with Save the Children New Zealand (SCNZ) is an example of the lack of government support. SCNZ has provided the NCIWR with funding for two years to assist the NCIWR with its *Children First Project (2000)*. This is a fundamental and critical service as it enables opportunities to train refuge workers to identify children at risk, and ensure that they have access to appropriate services (Masters, 2000). However sustainable government funding not only for a project manager to establish and maintain the programme and for each refuge to employ a full-time, permanent child advocacy worker is not available. The provision of funding on a block basis would demonstrate the government's continued commitment to ending domestic violence in New Zealand. This broadening of funding criteria applies to all social and welfare services so that they can provide the depth and range of services that can do more than patch up existing problems.

The New Zealand refuge movement's retention of a quasi-collective model, which remains dependent on volunteers and supports collaborative processes at a national level through its eight refuge member Core Group and the NCIWR, may unwittingly act to prevent changes in the funding regime. The NCIWR as a hierarchical organisation understands the requirements of government and translates its meaning and expectations to individual refuges. In the past refuges elected to remain autonomous (Review Team, 1986) leaving many responsibilities to the NCIWR to deal with as they focused on supporting battered women. It can be argued however that refuges are much more organisationally sophisticated as they understand accountability issues, have gained experience and knowledge and established management structures. It may be time to review this arrangement in order to evaluate what is happening currently and give voice to service users and staff

experiences, so that the refuge movement can use these experiences to develop a strategy for accessing appropriate levels of funding. Previously the NCIWR has sponsored various research reports that have reviewed the economic viability of addressing domestic violence within the current funding regime (PWC, 2000; Snively, 1996) but it is important to construct a broader conception of women's experiences not only of abuse but of being sheltered in refuges. This is critical as it would enable government and other support services to understand that the deterministic nature of measuring inputs, outputs and outcomes crowds out the personal and social factors that impact on women's lives. Consequently it is critical to engage with government constructively and consistently to bring to their attention what it is to be a battered woman, what really happens to them and how they manage existing social, legal and economic responses. It is also important to ensure that the day-to-day experiences of women working in and for refuges are heard and focused upon, as their experiences are grounded in the pervasive frustrations of external requirements and internal pressures that inhibit their ability to provide consistent and effective services. Staff in the refuge had very clear ideas about the problems they faced. Under the current contractualised funding regime however they cannot be effective.

The continuation of a contracting regime that only focuses on measuring inputs, outputs and outcomes remains problematic as individuals and families continue to experience problems that are not easily remedied. The Minister of Social Services Steve Maharey recently quoted in the *New Zealand Listener* (Stirling, 2001) states:

It's one the tragedies of our time that right-wing politicians spent two decades dismantling the welfare state because they thought it was bad for us; it was doing too much for people. But you can trace the rise of many of those problems to the dismantling of things like Plunket visits and basic services like public health nurses. There was a complete lack of concern about the restructuring and high unemployment and dislocation, the change in housing policy which forces overcrowding, and so on (p.21).

This situation is unlikely to change in the near future unless the refuge movement takes further action to address the hardships that refuges face. Individual refuges need to draw these issues to the attention of government and insist upon partnerships that address their concerns and accomplishments in situations where the inconsistency

between funding and services provided is significant. New initiatives are required that will enable the refuge movement and government to work together in partnership.

Issues for the Canadian Transition House and the New Zealand Refuge

Although the refuge has experienced structural and organisational change that has led to an increased bureaucracy and authority driven structures this does not necessarily exclude collective practices from being part of structure and organisation. Sharing information, active staff and volunteer participation at the governance level and more open discursive practices are possible. Governing members who take their governance role seriously (as they endeavour to manage inadequate budgets) do not have to exclude staff from participation and collaboration across a wide range of governance and funding issues. Internal conflict that results between staff and governing members is likely to remain unresolved unless both parties can communicate their concerns in non-threatening ways and find meaningful processes to work in partnership and collaboration. A willingness to listen to and confront issues and problems and adhere to a process of inclusivity and negotiation in order to move the organisation forward may help to provide a balance between "organisational and personal considerations" (Morgen, 1994, p.681). The collaborative and consensus approach involved between refuge staff and the NCIWR's regional representative meetings and the national meetings provides a critical example of collective processes. The transition from collective to hierarchical structures can be made easier if governing members are familiarised with collective processes as well as becoming better informed and knowledgeable about the refuge's feminist roots in order to provide a context for and augment its governing role.

Governments have the means to control funding levels and have shown that they accomplish this effectively as they insist on accountability and responsibility without providing the necessary resources for this to occur. Within shelters changes have occurred - collectives have become hierarchies as governments insist on dealing with authority-based structures such as boards of directors who retain responsibility for governance issues (Currie, 1989; Sullivan, 1982; Schechter, 1982), service delivery becomes increasingly specialised and case managed (Ahrens, 1980; Davis, 1988a;

Murray, 1988) and shelters focus on ensuring that funding is maintained so that autonomy and independence is suspended as the movement focuses on ensuring that it complies with government expectations in their efforts to be sustained. Shelters however do not have to accommodate completely government's exacting requirements. There are opportunities to challenge and negotiate.

The Canadian transition house movement has experienced inconsistencies with funding (Vis-a-Vis, 1989) as provincial governments retain control over what they are prepared to give to shelters (Gilman, 1988). However the commitment of and the ability to negotiate with the Nova Scotia provincial government enabled the transition house to employ five full-time and 11 part-time and relief staff. This is not insubstantial and enabled the transition house to provide a comprehensive range of services to all its clientele. This clearly shows a commitment to providing support to women and children. However this has not been achieved without struggle, commitment and optimism on the part of the transition house movement. The last two permanent positions that of Children's Services Worker and Outreach Worker both full-time positions were the focus for many years and only because of the tenacity of the transition houses in working in partnership and negotiating with government were these positions realised. This is not to imply that it has been easy for the transition houses, they still remain accountable to government for their budgets, they have to submit monthly statistics, reports and the like, but because they are block funded and salaries consist of the majority of funding (80%) staff are invested in to provide appropriate and meaningful services that by definition they initiate and design. This investment has meant a trade-off for shelters as professionalism and specialisation become the norm, and hierarchies replace the collective grass roots shelter organisations (Ball, 1974; Currie, 1989; Lupton, 1994; L. MacLeod, 1987; Pizzey, 1974; Schechter, 1982). However the transition houses in Nova Scotia have also generally benefitted from stable funding (they don't necessarily know what their annual budgets will be but they know that they will remain stable), they have negotiated higher salaries and have been able to expand services and programmes and influence government policies about domestic violence. This balancing of government funding and retaining collective elements has not been achieved easily but understanding and

investing in the relationship between government and the transition houses has enabled the latter to work in partnership with the former.

In New Zealand the government has for the past two decades funded the refuge movement, but has also controlled through its reliance on contract funding what it is willing to fund. The government has also relied on a volunteer work force in refuges to subsidise services and programmes and in doing so has also mandated that volunteers be accountable not only to their individual organisations but to the NCIWR and the NZCFA who insist that they conform to Standards of Practice criteria (NCIWR, 1996b) and Standards for Approval criteria (NZCFA, 1995a). This presents various problems for the refuge movement that continues to apply a collective model but is also consumed with accountability and the maintenance of an infrastructure that does not have sufficient funding to ensure that individual refuges are assisted and supported effectively. The asymmetrical relationship that government has adopted with refuges (and other social and welfare services) illustrates the refuge movement's reliance on government and the government's ability to eschew the requests and needs of refuges as the latter are forced to participate in a narrowly-defined funding regime (Adams, 1998; Potuchek, 1986; B. Robinson, 1998). This was certainly the experience of the New Zealand refuge who spoke critically of the dependence on government and understood that compliance with the funding regime was not based on reciprocity or partnerships but on the needs of the refuge to continue to assist and support battered women.

Conclusion

The transition from one organisational model to another has repercussions as New Zealand refuges attempt to comply with government requirements. The continued reliance on volunteers to provide essential services and the struggle to balance collectivity with accountability can be seen to exemplify the refuge movement's attempt to hold on to autonomy and independence from government. However the refuge movement has also focused on increasing staff numbers because of the diminution of volunteers, and has reviewed, evaluated and provided solutions for addressing the increased needs of battered women (PWC, 2000; Snively, 1996).

Changes to the funding levels and organisational criteria however mean increased accountability to government and it is notable that the NCIWR has gone a long way to assure government that it is prepared for increased accountability:

1997-98 was the "Year of the Acronym" for refuges in the struggle to keep delivering quality services for women and children while busily translating practice into KOPPS [Key Operating Policies and Procedures] for NZCFA and SOP [Standards of Practice] for NCIWR (Lynch, 1998, p.7)

The transformation that is occurring within the refuge movement will mean that refuges will be held increasingly accountable not just for how they spend their budgets but for all aspects of their structure and organisation. To the extent that this has already happened it has meant that refuges lose their sense of autonomy as they standardise operations and internal structural configurations. The refuge movement needs not only to be prepared for such changes but is also required to ensure that individual refuges are able to comply with such exacting requirements. A challenge for the movement is to balance the requirements that increased funding represents with maintaining a discourse and focus on actions that retain a feminist collectivism within the movement.

This level of accountability has not happened to the same degree in Nova Scotia where transition houses maintain control over how they conduct themselves and provide services to battered women. That is not to say that they exist in a perfect situation, internal conflicts do arise (MacDonald, 1995) but there appears to be a degree of flexibility that does not inhibit them from being innovative. It appears that the transition house movement has been able to come to terms with the need for accountability whilst holding on to independent strategies within their organisations. Accountability requirements for both shelter organisations has had a significant impact on their structure and organisation. It is the balancing of structural and organisational change with a social change agenda that remains critical. Thus this comparative study shows possibilities which might yet be realised in New Zealand.

APPENDIX A¹

CASE STUDY SURVEY

The transition house and the refuge

For the reporting period - April 1995- March 1996

PART I: COMMUNITIES SERVED BY THE WOMEN'S REFUGE/TRANSITION HOUSE (TH)

1. What areas do you serve? (towns, country and population size)
- 2a What geographical areas does the refuge/TH serve? (urban/rural)
- 2b What proportion of the geographical areas served is urban/rural?
3. What ethnic communities does the refuge/TH serve?

PART II: ADMISSION AND RESIDENCE FACTORS

4. What are the criteria for admission to the refuge/TH?
5. How many women and children were accommodated in the refuge/TH during the reporting period? (Specify separately)
- 6a How many women could not be accommodated and for what reasons during the reporting period? House/refuge full, alcohol problems, drug problems, psychiatric problems, visual/hearing impairments, other special needs
- 6b How many women and children could not be accommodated for any of the above reasons? (Specify separately)
- 7a What is the total number of beds available in the refuge/TH?
- 7b What is the total number of women and children that can be accommodated at one time? (Specify separately)
- 7c What is the total number of funded beds?
- 7d How many women and children were accommodated beyond the total number of funded beds during the reporting period? (Specify separately)
- 7e How were these beds funded?
8. How many women were accommodated with?: No children, 1 child, 2 children, 3 children, 4 children, 5 or more children.
9. How many children were?: Under 2 years, 3 to 5 years, 6 to 10 years, 11 to 16 years, over 16.
10. How many women and children accommodated in the refuge/TH experienced the following types of assault/abuse? (Specify separately)
Physical, Emotional, Sexual, Physical and Sexual, Psychological, Economic, Other
11. What is the upper age limit for sheltering male children?
- 12a Is there a maximum length of stay in the refuge for which a residence payment/per diem can be received? Yes No go to q.12c
- 12b What is the maximum length of stay in the refuge/TH for which a residence payment/per diem can be received?

¹ Reformatted to condense its presentation. Was in a more appropriate format when used as a document.

- 12c What is the actual maximum length of stay in the refuge/TH?
- 12 d What is the average length of stay in the refuge/TH?
- 12e What would be the optimum length of stay for women in a refuge/TH and if it differs from the actual maximum length of stay what reasons would be given for the difference?
- 13. How many women stayed in the refuge/TH for the following periods? Length of stay: Less than 5 days, 5 to 10 days, 11 to 15 days, 16 to 20 days, 21 to 25 days, 26 to 30 days, 31 to 35 days, 36 to 42 days, 42 to 50 days, 51 to 60 days, 61 to 70 days, more than 70 days.
- 14. How many women and children stayed in the refuge/TH each month of the reporting period? (e.g. number of women + children x days spent = total number of days)
- 15. During the reporting period did the occupancy rate in the refuge/TH increase or decrease, or stay the same over the previous year - 1994-1995? (Specify separately)
- 16. During the reporting period what was the average occupancy rate in the refuge/TH? (Specify numbers and percentages)

PART III: WOMEN'S REFUGE/TRANSITION HOUSE HISTORY, ORGANISATION AND SECURITY.

- 17. When did the refuge/TH open?
- 18a How can the refuge/TH be described? (i.e. women's refuge/TH, emergency shelter)
- 18b What type of location is the refuge/TH situated in? (e.g. suburb, country area, urban area)
- 19. What role do residents play in the daily operations of the refuge/TH?
- 20a What are the refuge's/TH's constitutional objectives?
- 20b If any changes were made to the objectives what were they and why were they made?
- 20c How have the changes affected services and programmes?
- 21a What safety and security measures has the refuge/TH in place for the protection of women, children, staff and volunteers? (i.e. residential rules, alarm system, intercom system, surveillance equipment, steel doors, barred windows, security fencing, unlisted address/telephone number, other)
- 21b What kind of building is the refuge/TH? (e.g. house, bungalow, flat/apartment, age and construction).
- 21c What is the size and configuration of the refuge/TH? (i.e. number of rooms, front/back doors, garden, driveway, parking, accessibility)
- 21d How many bedrooms does the refuge/TH have and what are their sizes?
- 21e How many living areas are there and what are they used for?
- 21f How many bathrooms are there and what amenities does the refuge maintain? (e.g. showers, baths, bidets, child size toilets)
- 21g What facilities are there in the refuge/TH regarding services for women? (e.g. counselling rooms, library, group therapy/support space, equipment usage, such as telephone, computer, copier)
- 21h What facilities are there in the refuge/TH regarding services for children? (e.g. counselling rooms, play therapy room, outdoor play area, library)
- 21i What are the laundry facilities in the refuge/TH?

- 21j Who is responsible for cleaning, laundry and cooking in the refuge/TH?
- 21k What are the kitchen facilities in the refuge/TH?
- 21l What facilities are available for staff and volunteers in the refuge/TH? (e.g. separate bathroom, offices, staff training and meeting rooms, equipment, computers)
- 21m Is there a separate reception area in the refuge/TH? Yes No go to q.21o
- 21n How is it used? (e.g. contains crisis line, used for interviews with clients, general meeting place of staff, storage for house/client records)
- 21o What facilities would the refuge/TH prefer to have in place that are not available at the present time?
- 21p Who is responsible for the overall maintenance of the refuge/TH? (e.g. repairs, and renovations)

PART IV: SERVICES AND PROGRAMMES

- 22a What types of calls were received by the refuge/TH during the reporting period? (Specify number and percentage of calls) Request for refuge from battered women; request for refuge for battered women from family and friends; from service providers; Calls from previous clients not seeking refuge; crisis calls from battered women requesting advice and information; crisis calls from women not being battered; other types of calls
- 22b Is the refuge open 24 hours, 7 days a week? Yes go to q. 22g No
- 22c When is the refuge open? (Specify days and times)
- 22d What services are available to battered women and who provides them, outside of the refuge's hours of opening?
- 22e What prevents the refuge from opening 24 hours, 7 days a week?
- 22f What additional days and hours would the refuge prefer to open if it had sufficient resources?
- 22g What services are provided and who are the service providers in the refuge/TH? (Please cross (X) the appropriate boxes - women and children and identify by position the service provider) Categories include: counselling, support group, advocacy, accompaniment, referrals, information/resources, crisis line, transport, outreach follow-up, structured children's activity programme, childcare, other
- 22h What non-residential services does the refuge/TH provide to women and children and who are the services providers? Categories same as 22g.
- 22i What proportion of residential and non-residential services and programmes were provided by the refuge/TH during the reporting period? (Specify separately in percentages)
- 22j Did non-residential services increase or decrease, stay the same during the reporting period? (Specify as q. 22i)
- 22k What additional services to women and children would the refuge/TH like to provide if it had sufficient resources?
- 22l What prevents the refuge/TH from providing additional services?
- 23a Does the refuge/TH provide services for women/children with special needs? (i.e. physical disabilities, language difficulties or cultural differences, other) (Specify for each category and sub-category: Yes No Under Review)
Residents with physical disabilities, Wheelchair access to refuge, Ground floor
Second floor, Bedroom, Bathroom, Bathroom modification, Other

Women with hearing or visual impairments, TDD facilities, Braille resources, Sign language, Other

Women with language or cultural differences, Bilingual staff, Culturally sensitive services to aboriginal women (i.e. Māori/First Nations women), Interpreters for visible minority women, Other

23b If the answer is no to any of the categories is this situation likely to change in the future? Yes go to q. 23d No

23c What prevents the refuge/TH from providing special needs services?

23d What special needs services does the refuge/TH intend to implement?

PART V: HUMAN RESOURCES

24a During the reporting period how many staff positions did the refuge/TH have?

24b How many staff worked full-time or part-time? (Full-time equivalent (FTE) = 1.0, Part-time equivalent (PTE) ranges from 0.2 to 0.9, e.g. 0.2 =one day)

24c How many staff worked relief or casual hours? Relief, Casual

23d How many hours a week does a FTE work?

24e Do any staff job share or are employed in more than one position in the refuge/TH?

25. Referring to the list below, please identify staff by their positions as employed in the refuge/TH and whether they are FTE or PTE? (Specify as FTE 1.0, PTE 0.9, 0.8, 0.7, 0.6, 0.5, 0.4, 0.3, 0.2)

Executive director/coord., Refuge/transition house worker, Children's/children's services worker, Outreach worker, Administrator, Bookkeeper, House manager, Volunteer coordinator, Relief/casual refuge/transition house worker, Other

26. What are the daily shifts worked by staff in the refuge/TH (e.g. 7a.m. to 4p.m.), how many staff work each shift and in what positions ?

27a Referring to the list below what are the annual salaries/hourly rates for refuge staff? (Specify staff positions) (see q. 25 for categories)

27b Are current salaries adequate for staff? Yes go to q. 27d No

27c What should salary rates be for staff and why?

27d Are salaries in line with other salary rates in similar types of work? Yes go to q.27f No

27e What is the salary difference and if other salaries are higher than existing staff salaries, why is this?

27f What benefit packages are available to refuge/TH staff and how are they provided? (e.g. health insurance to cover dental, glasses, appointments, prescriptions, superannuation/retirement bonds)

27g What types of remuneration are in place for overtime worked or volunteer time given by staff? (e.g. overtime pay, time off in lieu)

27h What kind of activities are undertaken to recognise and value staff?

28. How many weeks annual vacation are staff entitled to? (Please specify staff positions and their entitlements)

29a Is the refuge/TH adequately staffed? Yes go to q. 29d No

29b How many additional staff are required in the refuge/TH to effectively meet the needs of residents?

29c What specific positions would these staff fill and why?

29d How many staff resigned their positions during the reporting period? (Please

- specify positions)
- 29e What reasons were given for the resignations?
- 29f How many staff were hired during the reporting period to replace resignations and for new positions? (Please specify replacement and new positions created)
- 29g Has the refuge/TH staff joined a union? Yes No go to q. 29l
- 29h When did the refuge/TH unionise?
- 29i What reasons did refuge/TH staff give for unionising?
- 29j Has unionisation had any impact on the refuge/TH? Yes No go to q.30a
- 29k In what ways has unionisation impacted on the refuge/TH? (e.g. service delivery, salary scales, working conditions, personnel issues)
Go to Question 30a
- 29l Is it likely that the staff will unionise in the near future? Yes go to q.30a No Under Review
- 29m What reasons have staff given for not unionising in the future?
- 30a What qualifications and/or experience is required for the following positions: Executive Director/Coordinator, 30b Refuge/transition house worker, 30c Children's/services worker, 30d Outreach worker, 30e Other
- 31a Has the refuge/TH established a staff training programme? Yes go to q. 31c No
- 31b What training opportunities are provided for refuge staff?
- 31c Is the training programme adequate to address the training needs of all staff? Yes go to q. 32 No
- 31d What aspects of the programme do not address the needs of all staff and what more is required?
- 31e What prevents the refuge/TH from providing additional training?
32. What kind of issues are of concern to staff? (Please give examples)
- 33a Are there any aspects concerning the refuge/TH that would benefit from implementing basic standards? (i.e. services, programmes, staffing, training, statistics/forms, client records) Yes go to q. 33c No
- 33b If no what is in place now?
- 33c What should be standardised and why? (Please specify)
- 33d Are there any standards being implemented? Yes No Under Review
- 34a Is there a role for volunteers in the refuge/TH? Yes go to q. 34d No
- 34b If no why doesn't the refuge/TH use volunteers?
- 34c Is the refuge/TH likely to use volunteers in the future? Yes No Under Review. If the answer is no or under review go to q. 35a
- 34d How many volunteers are used in the refuge/TH and what kind of activities are they involved in?
- 34e How many hours, on average do volunteers give to the refuge/TH per month?
- 34f What training does the refuge/TH provide for volunteers?
- 34g Who in the refuge/TH is responsible for training volunteers?
- 34h Who is responsible for volunteer management and how is it coordinated?
- 34i Are there any issues arising from volunteer coordination?
- 34j What kind of activities are undertaken to recognise and value volunteers?
- 34k What kind of issues are of concern to volunteers? (Please give examples)

PART VI: FUNDING SOURCES

- 35a What was the refuge's/TH annual operating budget for the reporting period?

- 35b Was this amount higher than the previous year's budget? Yes No
- 35c If yes, by how much (Specify dollars and percentages)
- 35d During the reporting period what was the total amount in dollars and percentages, source and use of funding that the refuge/TH received from government? (For TH federal, provincial and municipal govts.)
36. What other sources of funding were received by the refuge/TH, how were they used and what were their amounts?
 Women's refuge foundation/United Way; Fundraising; Payment by women for room and board; Grants from privately funded organisations (e.g. trusts/foundations); Donations from service organisations (e.g. Rotary/Lions, Kinsmen; Community donations; Other
37. What 'in-kind' contributions did the refuge/TH receive during the reporting period and from what type of donor? (e.g. equipment, clothing, furniture, groceries, free labour)
- 38a What was the refuge/TH allocated daily for residence payments/per diem rates for women and children during the reporting period?
 (Specify separately Women/Children and together dollars and percentages).
- 38b Were the daily residence payments/per diem rates higher than the previous year? Yes No go to q. 39a
- 38c What were the 1994-1995 rates? (Specify as 38a).
- 39a What source(s) of funding does the refuge/TH receive for activities other than services, house expenditures and salaries? (e.g. professional development, research, subscriptions, meetings) (Please specify activities)
- 39b Are these sources adequate to fund these activities? Yes go to q. 40a No
- 39c What funding is required by the refuge/TH to adequately support these other activities?
- 40a Has the refuge/TH received an increase in the operating budget in the fiscal period 1996-1997? Yes No go to q. 40c
- 40b What was the increase received? (Specify dollars and percentages increase over previous year's budget)
- 40c How much time does the refuge/TH spend in seeking and accessing funding?
- 40d Who is responsible in the refuge/TH for accessing funding?
- 40e What aspects of funding does the refuge/TH see as being important and why?

PART VII: WOMEN'S REFUGE/TRANSITION HOUSE STATUS AND RESPONSIBILITIES

- 41a What is the legal status of the refuge/TH? (e.g. registered charity, constitution, by-laws, governing body)
- 41b How is the refuge/TH organised? (e.g. membership, board of directors, collective group, officers, elections, annual dues, meetings)
- 41c Who is responsible for the overall management of the refuge/TH?
- 41d Does the refuge/TH have a governing body? Yes go to q. 41f No
- 41e How does the refuge/TH maintain its roles and functions without a governing body?
 Go to q.41i
- 41f How is the governing body selected?
- 41g What are the functions and responsibilities of the governing body?

- 41h How does the governing body carry out its functions and responsibilities? (e.g. committees, sub-groups)
- 41i What types of committees/sub-groups are in place and what are their functions? (Specify each one separately)
- 41j What is the financial status of the refuge/TH? (i.e. mortgaged, rented, donated, mortgage fully paid) If the refuge/TH is rented go to q. 41n
- 41k If the refuge/TH is mortgaged, how was this arranged?
Go to q.42
- 41l If the refuge/TH is fully paid for how did this come about?
- 41m If the refuge/TH was donated, who donated it and what reasons were given for the donation? (Please specify type of donor). If the refuge/TH is not rented go to q. 42
- 41n If the refuge/TH is rented, who does the refuge rent from and what is the annual rent? (Please specify type of landlord/lady)
- 41o Is renting the refuge's/TH's preferred option? Yes go to q. 42 No
- 41p What is the preferred option for renting and why?
- 42. Who owns the title to the refuge/TH?

PART VIII: FEATURES OF WOMEN AND CHILDREN

- 43. How many women and children who stayed in the refuge/TH during the reporting period were in the following age groups?
Age group women - 18-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, - 55-64, 65+ TOTAL
Age group children - 0-3, 4-6, 7-12, 13-17 TOTAL
- 44. How many women in the following marital status categories stayed in the refuge/TH during the reporting period?
Single, Married, Living Common-Law, Separated, Divorced, Widowed
- 45. How many women who stayed in the refuge had lived with their abusive partners for the following length of time? Less than 1 year, 1-2 years, 3-5 years, 6-10 years, 11-15 years, 16-20 years, more than 20 years
- 46a How many women had left their partners on a previous occasion? Once before, twice before, three times before, four times before, more than four times before
- 46b How many women had left their partners before for the following reasons? (Specify women and children) Physical abuse, emotional abuse, psychological abuse, sexual abuse, physical and sexual, economic
- 47. How many women who stayed in the refuge/TH had attained the following educational level? Up to Form 5/Grade 10, High School Cert., Form 6/Grade 11, Form 7/Grade 12, University degree, post-graduate degree, Other
- 48. How many women who stayed in the refuge/TH worked outside the home and how many women worked inside the home? (Specify numbers and percentages separately)
- 49. How many women were identified as being in the following job categories? Professional (e.g. teacher, nurse, lawyer), White collar (e.g. secretary, bank clerk, nurse's aide), Blue collar (e.g. store worker, plumber, cook)
- 50a How many women who worked outside the home had the following personal annual income? Less than \$5,000, \$5,000 -\$10,000, \$11,000-\$15,000, \$16,000- \$20,000, \$21,000-\$25,000, \$26,000-\$30,000, \$31,000-\$35,000, \$36,000-\$40,000, \$41,000-\$45,000, more than \$46,000

- 50b How many women who worked outside the home had the following family annual income? (see q. 50a for categories)
- 50c How many women who did not work outside the home had the following family annual income? (see q. 50a for categories)
51. How many partners of the women who stayed in the refuge?TH had attained the following educational level? (See q.47 for categories)
52. How many partners of the women were: Full-time permanently employed, part-time permanently employed, seasonally employed, working intermittently, unemployed, on ACC/sickness benefit, pension, other
53. How many partners were identified as being in the following job categories? (see q.49 for categories)
54. How many women who stayed in the refuge/TH during the reporting period were from the following ethnic groupings?
Pakeha/Caucasian European, Māori/First Nations, African-Canadian, Pacific Island, Asian, Other
55. What was the source and number of referrals for women and children who stayed in the refuge/TH during the reporting period?
Referral source: Crown attorney, Doctor/hospital, Employer, Family, Family Court, Friends, Lawyer/Legal Aid, Police, District Court, Private counselling services, Public health nurses, Refuges, Religious organisations, Schools, Self referrals, Social services/Welfare, State/public housing, Therapy groups for men, University, Women's centre, Other
- 55b Where did the women reside before their stay in the refuge/TH? (Specify number of women by place of residence)
Town/country areas served; Elsewhere within New Zealand/Province of Nova Scotia; Oher Canadian Provinces; Other countries
56. How many women had previously stayed in the refuge/TH on one or more occasions? Once only, twice before, three times before, four to five times before, More than five times
57. After leaving the refuge/TH how many women took the following course of action?
Returned to partner, Moved into state/public housing, TH/ moved into second stage housing, Moved into privately rented house or flat on their own/with children, Moved in with another partner, Lived with family and friends, Don't know, Other
- 57b What were the reasons given by the women who indicated that they would return to their partner?

PART IX: PUBLIC EDUCATION AND INTER-AGENCY COOPERATION

- 58a Does the refuge/TH provide educational and training activities within the community and for service agencies? Yes No go to q.58
- 58b What type of educational and training does the refuge/TH provide, who provides them and how frequently? (Please specify dates, e.g. weekly, monthly, annually)
Presentations to service orgs., Presentations to social service/legal agencies
Presentations to personnel in educational institutes, Presentations to students (schools), Presentations to women's groups, Workshops/seminars to health/

- medical personnel, Workshops with law enforcement personnel, Workshops to employers/business orgs., Other
- 58c What prevents the refuge/TH from providing education and training?
- 58d What additional education and training would the refuge/TH like to provide if it had sufficient resources?
59. What is the refuge's/TH's relationship with other agencies and organisations? (Please score as follows, 1=poor 2=adequate 3 =good 4=very good 5=Excellent)
- Court system, Education insts., Employer/business orgs. Health & medical services, Legal services, Police, Private counselling services, Refuges/THs., Religious Orgs., Social service/welfare, State housing, Women's orgs., Other
60. What was the source, type and frequency of all referrals to the refuge/TH during the reporting period? (i.e. frequency - 1 = never, 2 = up to 25% of the time, 3= between 25% and 50% of the time, 4=between 50% and 75% of the time, 5= more than 75% of the time) (Agencies and organisations same as q.59)
- 61a Is the refuge/TH involved in any inter-agency groups? Yes No go to q. 61c
- 61b What kind of involvement does the refuge/TH have in inter-agency groups? (Please specify degree of involvement, types of groups and their activities)
- 61c How is the refuge/TH regarded by other agencies?
62. Of all the sections and questions in this survey which is/are the most important for the refuge/TH?
63. What other issues would you like to comment on?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR COMPLETING THIS SURVEY. THE INFORMATION GATHERED WILL HELP IN THE COMPLETION OF THE CASE STUDY.

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED IN FOCUS GROUPS AND INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS BOARD/GOVERNING/EX-BOARD/GOVERNING MEMBERS

PART I: BOARD/GOVERNING MEMBERS ISSUES

The first set of questions address your role as a (past) current board/governing member, your involvement with the transition house (TH)/refuge, what is required to be a board/governing member and a transition house worker (THW)/refuge worker.

1. How did you become involved with the transition house/refuge?
2. What (has) kept you involved as a board/governing member?
3. What sort of credentials do board/governing members need to have?
4. What are the roles and responsibilities of a board/governing member?
5. What do you see as being the role of a transition house/refuge worker?

PART II: ROLE AND PHILOSOPHY OF THE TRANSITION HOUSE/REFUGE

The next set of questions examine your perceptions and experiences as a board/governing member of the transition house/refuge.

6. What do you see as being the role of the transition house/refuge?
7. What do you see as being the transition house's/refuge's philosophy as defined by its constitution and practice?
8. What chances do battered women have during their stay in the TH/refuge to take control of their own lives?
9. What types of services address the needs of battered women in the transition house/refuge and the community?
10. In what ways is/isn't the transition house/refuge meeting the needs of battered women?
11. How can the transition house/refuge meet the needs of battered women?
12. What is the transition house's/refuge's policy on hiring former battered women as workers?

PART III: IMPACTS AND INFLUENCES ON THE TRANSITION HOUSE/REFUGE

The next set of questions seek your opinions and thoughts on factors that may impact on and/or influence the transition house's/refuge's organisation and philosophy.

13. In what ways has government funding impacted on the structure and philosophy of the transition house/refuge?
14. As far as government impact is concerned what are the advantages and/or disadvantages for the transition house/refuge?
15. What other factors excluding government funding may influence the structure and philosophy of the transition house/refuge?

PART IV: SERVICE DELIVERY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ISSUES

These questions focus more specifically on your views on the transition house's/refuge's ability to combine service operations with organising to end violence against women.

16. How do you feel about what's been called the professionalisation of transition houses/refuges?
17. What kinds of organisational structures are best suited to meet the needs of battered women?
18. To what extent should the transition house/refuge be committed to ending violence against women as compared to maintaining a service focus?

PART V: IMPACT OF SOCIAL POLICIES ON BATTERED WOMEN

This set of questions focus on your opinions of the way in which various social policies and practices impact on battered women.

19. Over the years there have been various interventions made by government. What do you think of current social policies and practices both positive and negative for battered women?
20. How do you think negative policies could be changed so that they benefit battered women?
21. What new policies and practices would be helpful to battered women?
22. Given the opportunity what role should battered women play in deciding and implementing new policies?

PART VI: FINAL QUESTIONS

23. Of all the questions responded to, which is the most important to you?
24. What other concerns have been missed that you would like to comment on?

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS (IN ADDITION TO APPENDIX B QUESTIONS) USED WITH STAFF/EX-STAFF MEMBERS

PART I: STAFF MEMBER ISSUES

1. In what ways do you think you have changed as a result of working in the transition house/refuge?
2. What sort of credentials do transition house/refuge workers including executive director's/coordinators need to have?

PART IV: SERVICE DELIVERY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN ISSUES

3. (In response to question 18) How can the TH/refuge achieve both characteristics?

APPENDIX C
INTERVIEW SCHEDULE USED IN FOCUS GROUPS AND
INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS
RESIDENTS/EX-RESIDENTS

1. What were the circumstances that caused you to go to the TH/refuge?
2. What is/was the experience like for you?
3. In what ways are/were the services you received helpful?
4. What is/was really important about the TH/refuge that would encourage you to suggest it to other women in abusive relationships?
5. What do you see as being the role of the TH/refuge?
6. What do you see as being the TH's/refuge's philosophy as defined by its practice and service delivery?
7. Are/were there any chances during your stay to take control of your own life?
8. Are there any changes or improvements that you would suggest to the TH/refuge if you had the opportunity?
9. If these changes were to be implemented how do you think they would influence the organisational structure and principles of the TH/refuge?
10. Can you think of any factors that may influence the TH's/refuge's organisational structure and principles?
11. Over the years there have been various interventions made by government. What do you think of current social policies and practices for battered women?
12. How do you think these policies could be changed so that they benefit battered women?
13. What new policies and practices do you think would be helpful to battered women?
14. Given the opportunity what role would you play in deciding and implementing new policies?
15. Of all the things discussed today, which is the most important to you?
16. What other concerns have been missed that you would like to comment on?

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR PARTICIPATING IN THIS
DISCUSSION/INTERVIEW. THE INFORMATION YOU HAVE GIVEN
WILL HELP IN THE COMPLETION OF THE CASE STUDY.

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