

## Aberystwyth University

*“Listen to me, his behaviour is erratic and I’m really worried for our safety...”*

Wydall, Sarah; Zerk, Rebecca

*Published in:*  
Criminology and Criminal Justice

*DOI:*  
[10.1177/1748895819898513](https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895819898513)

*Publication date:*  
2020

*Citation for published version (APA):*

Wydall, S., & Zerk, R. (2020). “Listen to me, his behaviour is erratic and I’m really worried for our safety...”: Help-seeking in the context of coercive control. *Criminology and Criminal Justice*.  
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1748895819898513>

### General rights

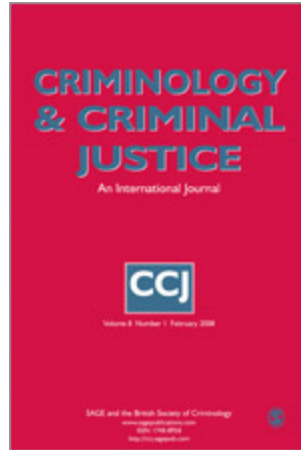
Copyright and moral rights for the publications made accessible in the Aberystwyth Research Portal (the Institutional Repository) are retained by the authors and/or other copyright owners and it is a condition of accessing publications that users recognise and abide by the legal requirements associated with these rights.

- Users may download and print one copy of any publication from the Aberystwyth Research Portal for the purpose of private study or research.
- You may not further distribute the material or use it for any profit-making activity or commercial gain
- You may freely distribute the URL identifying the publication in the Aberystwyth Research Portal

### Take down policy

If you believe that this document breaches copyright please contact us providing details, and we will remove access to the work immediately and investigate your claim.

tel: +44 1970 62 2400  
email: [is@aber.ac.uk](mailto:is@aber.ac.uk)



**“Listen to me, his behaviour is erratic and I’m really worried for our safety...”: Help-seeking in the context of coercive control.**

Journal:	<i>Criminology &amp; Criminal Justice</i>
Manuscript ID	CCJ-18-0137.R3
Manuscript Type:	Standard Article
Keywords:	domestic abuse, coercive control, police, criminal justice, non-feasance, intimate partner abuse
Abstract:	This article explores 12 female victim-survivors’ experiences of seeking protection from criminal justice agencies in Dyfed-Powys, an area in Wales. The discussion draws on rich qualitative data, from a series of narrative interviews held in 2015, which offers new insights into how coercive and controlling behaviours influence ‘help-seeking’. The findings suggest that for 12 women, deemed to be high-risk, the experience of actively engaging with criminal justice agencies, served to instil in them a sense that they were alone at the most dangerous period in their help-seeking journey, namely the juncture of leaving, without formal protection. Under-enforcement by justice agents resulted in what Stubbs (2016) terms ‘non-feasance’: a process whereby women are unable to access protection from the law, thus potentially increasing the propensity for lethal violence.

SCHOLARONE™  
Manuscripts

## Acknowledgements

We would like to express our deepest gratitude to the women for their courage and openness when they shared sensitive and personal experiences with the researchers. The authors would also like to thank the stakeholders that helped to facilitate contact with the women to help give them a voice. Finally, the authors would also like to give special thanks Professor Alan Clarke, Professor Christopher Harding and the anonymous reviewers for their valuable feedback and suggestions.

## Declaration of conflicting interests

The authors declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

## Funding references

The author(s) disclosed receipt of the following financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article: The authors received external funding from the former Police Crime Commissioner of Dyfed Powys, Christopher Salmon.

Reviewer 1 comments:	Revised changes
<p>There is a quote on page 16 that is incomplete or perhaps just spaced out inappropriately which has resulted in a gap.</p>	<p>The spacing was out. This has been corrected and we have also added "<i>And the first opportunity that the police officer came in [to our home], she didn't like us and didn't listen to us.</i>"</p>
Reviewer 2 comments:	Revised changes
<p>In response to the reviewer's comment that p.24 line 7 didn't quite capture Stubbs' argument, the author has removed Stubbs from the conclusion. However, Stubbs' concept of non-feasance is still discussed but not attributed to her (p.25, last para) I recommend that Stubbs is included since her work appears central to the paper's argument (and is highlighted in the abstract). Rather than remove Stubbs from the conclusion, work should be undertaken to ensure that her argument is captured appropriately and referenced.</p>	<p>The authors agree with the comments made by the reviewer and added a more considered reflection of the findings, discussing how it feeds into what Stubbs describes as 'non-feasance'. See pages 26 &amp; 27.</p>
<p>We would not normally expect to see in-text citations in an abstract (unless referring to a particular concept perhaps).</p>	<p>We have removed the in-text citations to SafeLives (2014) and Abrahams (1994) in the abstract as they are reference in the main paper. However, given the article looks at Stubbs' concept of non-feasance, we felt it was necessary for the reference to Stubbs to remain.</p>

1  
2  
3  
4  
5 *“Listen to me, his behaviour is erratic and I’m really worried for*  
6 *our safety...”* Help-seeking in the context of coercive control  
7  
8  
9  
10

## 11 Abstract

12  
13  
14  
15 This article explores 12 female victim-survivors’ experiences of seeking protection from  
16 criminal justice agencies in Dyfed-Powys, an area in Wales. The discussion draws on rich  
17 qualitative data, from a series of narrative interviews held in 2015, which offers new insights  
18 into how coercive and controlling behaviours influence ‘help-seeking’. The findings suggest  
19 that for 12 women, deemed to be high risk, the experience of actively engaging with  
20 criminal justice agencies, served to instil in them a sense that they were alone at the most  
21 dangerous period in their help-seeking journey, namely the juncture of leaving, without  
22 formal protection. Under-enforcement by justice agents resulted in what Stubbs (2016)  
23 terms ‘non-feasance’: a process whereby women are unable to access protection from the  
24 law, thus potentially increasing the propensity for lethal violence.  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43

44 Since 1998, there have been significant developments in the United Kingdom Government’s  
45 approach to tackling domestic abuse, for example, strategy documents have emphasised  
46 the need for greater protection and perpetrator accountability and encouraged victim-  
47 survivors to engage with a criminal justice response to domestic abuse (Home Office, 2007).  
48 Our research in Dyfed-Powys highlights that despite the plethora of empirically-informed  
49 guidance and training provision, criminal justice practitioners still appear to have a limited  
50 understanding about coercive and controlling behaviours and the increased levels of  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 dangerousness associated with leaving a perpetrator (Campbell, 1995). Although our  
4  
5 research was undertaken prior to the introduction of section 76 of the Serious Crimes Act  
6  
7 2015, which made controlling or coercive behaviour a discrete offence, it shows how the  
8  
9 failure of criminal justice practitioners to respond appropriately to a pattern of coercive or  
10  
11 controlling behaviours by perpetrators can have a negative impact on women's help-  
12  
13 seeking. As noted above, given the information available in criminal justice policies and  
14  
15 practice prior to the new legislation, the narratives from this research suggest that it is  
16  
17 unlikely that the introduction of section 76 will increase opportunities for legal protection in  
18  
19 Dyfed-Powys, given significant shortcomings in how criminal justice agencies understand  
20  
21 domestic abuse. Whilst the findings may not be indicative of criminal justice professionals'  
22  
23 behaviour in other parts of the United Kingdom, the data suggest that there is a need for a  
24  
25 transformative response to domestic abuse by criminal justice agencies, particularly the  
26  
27 police, if they are to fulfil their obligations to hold perpetrators accountable and protect  
28  
29 women and children.  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38

### 39 Doing justice differently? 40 41

42 Developments over the last two decades have led to a paradigm shift towards 'doing justice'  
43  
44 differently, with an increasing emphasis being placed on the needs and rights of victims  
45  
46 (College of Policing, 2016; Ministry of Justice, 2015; Moffat, 2017). In the context of  
47  
48 domestic abuse, meanings of justice are complex, and victim-survivors do not have a shared  
49  
50 universal perception of what justice is. Holder and Daly (2017) describe how, when victim-  
51  
52 survivors access the criminal justice system, they have a 'trilogy of justice interests' with  
53  
54 multiple aims and motivations for themselves, the perpetrator, and their community (p. 6).  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 For victim-survivors, 'justice goals' unfold and re-order as they engage, in varying degrees,  
4  
5 with the criminal justice process.  
6  
7

8  
9 Many victim-survivors' expectations of help-seeking, which may include 'justice-seeking' are  
10  
11 rooted in ideas of being treated fairly at every stage in the process (Tyler and Huo, 2002). As  
12  
13 Walgrave (2011) observes, it is through the process of seeking justice that victim's sense  
14  
15 justice. Improving victim-survivors' experiences of the justice system, from when they  
16  
17 report a crime through to their appearance in the courts is crucial, as individual perceptions  
18  
19 of justice processes are more positive when issues of procedural justice are effectively  
20  
21 attended to, irrespective of the final outcome (Cataneo and Goodman, 2010; Thibaut and  
22  
23 Walker, 1975). Indeed, as Tyler (2006) notes, 'Procedural justice focusses on the subjective  
24  
25 sense of being treated fairly with respect and equity, being taken seriously and listened to  
26  
27 by authorities' (p. 308).  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33

34 Typically, when people choose to engage with the criminal justice system, it is often to  
35  
36 report a one-off incident, consequently, victims are unlikely to feel at risk of re-victimisation  
37  
38 by the same offender. In contrast, for victim-survivors of domestic abuse, the point of  
39  
40 disclosure to formal agencies actually increases the risk of significant harm by perpetrators,  
41  
42 as disclosure is likely to result in further victimisation (Abrahams, 2007).  
43  
44  
45

46 Given the heightened need for protection when women leave male perpetrators, criminal  
47  
48 justice agents need to prioritise safety. As Lewis et al. (2000) suggest women are aware that  
49  
50 the confined space in which they seek help is a highly unsafe, rapidly changing environment.  
51  
52 As perpetrators place temporal and situational constraints on victim-survivors, it is vital that  
53  
54 the response provided by criminal justice agencies is sensitive to the dynamics within which  
55  
56 women operate when attempting to seek protection.  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The findings from the analysis of the 12 narratives provide a deeper insight into the  
4 complexity of relationship dynamics, and thereby enriches our understanding of how  
5 coercive and controlling behaviour acts as a barrier to women's help-seeking. The research  
6 also highlights the extent to which criminal justice professionals, particularly the police,  
7 address issues of safety when they respond to direct requests for help. Furthermore, the  
8 narratives indicate these professionals may have a limited understanding about the  
9 constraints that exist for female victim-survivors whilst help-seeking in this context.  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20

## 21 Domestic abuse, coercive control and disclosure to criminal justice 22 professionals 23 24 25 26 27 28

29 According to the World Health Organisation (2012), domestic abuse is a gendered crime  
30 where women are more likely to be victims and men are more likely to be perpetrators,  
31 particularly when the abuse involves coercive and controlling behaviours (Myhill, 2015). The  
32 Home Office (2013) provide a cross-government definition of domestic abuse as, 'any  
33 incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or  
34 abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family  
35 members regardless of gender or sexuality' (p. 1). Whilst this definition is not without its  
36 limitations (Groves and Thomas, 2013), the inclusion of the term 'coercive and controlling'  
37 behaviour signifies a potential shift in how domestic abuse is conceptualised.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 Following a series of consultations, official Home Office discourse has been transformed,  
52 reflecting a move away from the use of the term 'domestic violence', which focusses on the  
53 physical aspect of the experience (Home Office, 1990), to the much broader phrase  
54 'domestic violence and abuse' (Home Office, 2013). Incorporating the term 'abuse'  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 acknowledges the non-physical aspects of the experience and represents a potential step  
4 forward in influencing the effectiveness of frontline responses. Coercive and controlling  
5 behaviour is now a crime under section 76 of the Serious Crime Act 2015, and some feminist  
6 activists perceive this as a landmark in increasing the potential to transform the criminal  
7 justice response to victim-survivors (Women's Aid, 2015). The impetus for change has  
8 continued with the Home Office now using the term 'domestic abuse' to reflect that  
9 victimisation is 'almost always part of an ongoing pattern of behaviour' (Home Office, 2018,  
10 p. 12) and the term serves to refocus the relevance of coercive control within the context of  
11 domestic abuse.  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26

### ***Domestic abuse as a pattern, not a single incident***

27  
28  
29  
30 In the last three decades, the effectiveness with which criminal justice agencies, particularly  
31 the police, respond to domestic abuse has been questioned (HMIC, 2014, 2015; Paladin et  
32 al., 2014; Women's National Commission, 1985). As far back as 1998, Home Office  
33 documentation referred to domestic abuse as a 'pattern of abusive and controlling  
34 behaviour which tends to get worse over time' (Home Office, 1998, p. 4), yet despite this  
35 recognition, little appears to have changed in practice. For example, research by Robinson  
36 et al. (2016) suggest that the police still continue to adopt a 'single incident approach' rather  
37 than examining chronological patterns of abuse, despite the fact that non-physical forms of  
38 abuse and repeat victimisation have been key indicators on various police risk assessment  
39 tools since 1998.  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54

55 As noted by Laing et al. (2013), domestic abuse has traditionally been socio-legally  
56 conceptualised as a discrete incident of physical abuse. This has led to a simplified  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 understanding of women's experiences and a lack of appreciation of the complexities of the  
4 relationship dynamics. Legislation has been criticised for failing to capture the conduct and  
5 harm that were associated with coercive control. Bettinson and Bishop (2015) argue that  
6 the legislative framework created a 'hierarchy of harms' that prioritised physical forms of  
7 violence that did not always correspond with the harm experienced by victim-survivors.  
8 Thus, in the pursuit of a criminal justice response, women who experienced non-physical  
9 forms of abuse have not been granted adequate protection (Allen, 2013), despite coercive  
10 and controlling behaviour being recognised as a strong risk factor in cases of domestic  
11 homicide (Home Office, 2016).

12  
13 According to the College of Policing (2016), the Home Office's (2013) latest definition and  
14 the increasing awareness of the serious effect of coercive control, paved the way for a  
15 police response that takes into account patterns of abuse and non-physical incidents when  
16 responding to a disclosure of domestic abuse. Yet research undertaken by Paladin et al.  
17 (2014) examining victims' perspectives suggest, police awareness about coercive and  
18 controlling behaviours has not really improved, particularly in relation to knowledge about  
19 non-physical forms of abuse, such as threats to kill, as indicators of potential physical harm.  
20 Such findings are disappointing given the significant efforts by researchers, activists and  
21 policymakers since the 1990s to draw attention to a pattern of behaviours occurring in the  
22 context of domestic abuse.

### 23 24 25 ***Coercive Control***

26  
27 'Coercive control', as described by Stark (2007; see also Tadros, 2004), is a pattern of  
28 behaviours employed by male perpetrators to exercise ongoing control over female victims.

1  
2  
3 Perpetrators isolate women socially and economically, whilst monitoring and controlling  
4  
5 their activities with intensive forms of surveillance and threats of lethal harm. Consequently,  
6  
7 women find it difficult to seek help without the perpetrator being aware and can feel  
8  
9 trapped in a relationship with restricted access to resources (Kelly et al., 2014).  
10  
11

12  
13 According to Towns and Adams (2016), perpetrators use male privilege, whilst deflecting  
14  
15 blame onto victim-survivors. Over the course of the relationship, women become highly  
16  
17 sensitive to certain cues that signal danger and continually assess strategies to remain safe  
18  
19 (Cavanagh, 2003; Stubbs, 2002). As individual perpetrator behaviour is often unpredictable,  
20  
21 it is difficult for women to avoid further abuse (Pitman, 2017). For women in this context,  
22  
23 abusive and controlling behaviours are continual and often escalate over time (Hanmer et  
24  
25 al., 1999; Kelly, 1988). While research suggests that 'coercive control' or coercive and  
26  
27 controlling behaviour has a major effect on female victim-survivors' wellbeing (Myhill, 2015;  
28  
29 Stark, 2007), there are very few qualitative studies that explore victim-survivors' lived  
30  
31 experiences of coercive control when attempting to seek protection from the police and  
32  
33 other criminal justice agents, especially within a Welsh context.  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41

## 42 Help-seeking in the context of an increased risk of lethal violence

43  
44

45 Holder (2001) suggests that victim-survivors' primary reason for contacting the police and  
46  
47 other criminal justice agents is not to pursue a criminal conviction, but to use them as a  
48  
49 resource to stop the abuse and provide immediate protection from further harm. The  
50  
51 criminal justice response is often perceived to be 'a clumsy tool' (Hoyle and Sanders, 2000)  
52  
53 because it is unlikely to provide a solution to an ongoing pattern of domestic abuse,  
54  
55 especially given the tactics perpetrators use to isolate victim-survivors.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Compared to other violent crimes, domestic abuse has the highest rate of repeat  
4 victimisation, with seventy-three per cent of reported incidences in England and Wales  
5  
6 involving victims who have previously reported the abuse to the police (Home Office, 2011).  
7  
8 For victim-survivors, the process of seeking help is a complex journey involving multiple  
9  
10 attempts to safely escape an abusive partner (Anderson and Saunders, 2003). Typically,  
11  
12 women seek help when they feel they are no longer able to protect themselves, or their  
13  
14 children, from immediate (Holder, 2001) or anticipated harm (Lewis et al., 2000; Stewart et  
15  
16 al., 2013). Women must exercise a considerable degree of agency to keep themselves and  
17  
18 their families' safe during this period of heightened risk (Hoyle and Sanders, 2000).  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

26 Abrahams (1994) states that physical violence by the perpetrator intensifies and peaks  
27  
28 when a woman attempts to assert her independence and tries to leave the perpetrator.  
29  
30 Perpetrators may become hyper-vigilant as they sense a shift towards increased victim  
31  
32 autonomy, and threaten to increase the violence to undermine any help-seeking efforts  
33  
34 (Goodman et al., 2003; Ullrich, 2004). Furthermore, perpetrators can increasingly restrict  
35  
36 victims' movements thus limiting women's 'space for action' (Kelly, 2003). There is strong  
37  
38 evidence to suggest that there is an increased risk of homicide when the perpetrator feels  
39  
40 that they are being abandoned, either in a physical or symbolic sense, by the victim (Dodd et  
41  
42 al., 2004; Johnson and Hotton, 2003). In addition, domestic homicide involving intimate  
43  
44 partners is far more likely to involve 'collateral' homicides, i.e. murder of other family  
45  
46 members, especially children (Dobash and Dobash, 2015) than other forms of homicide.  
47  
48 Therefore, the need to protect family members from lethal harm further complicates  
49  
50 women's help-seeking activities.  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 As noted by Hoyle (1998), women's decision-making is highly contingent on their immediate  
4 and rapidly changing safety needs, as well as the safety and security of their children and  
5 other family members. Wiener (2017) observes that women 'do not "give in" to perpetrator  
6 demands because they are inherently weak or flawed as individuals; they obey because they  
7 are rightly fearful of the consequences if they do not' (p. 509). Thus, at the point of  
8 separation from the abusive partner, agencies may wrongly perceive women's actions as  
9 inconsistent and/or illogical because practitioners lack an understanding of the difficulties  
10 women face when decision-making in the context of coercive control.  
11  
12

13 Whilst it is estimated that just over three-quarters of victim-survivors make a disclosure of  
14 the abuse to a practitioner (Fanslow and Robinson, 2009), this initial contact rarely appears  
15 to be an empowering process, as victim-survivors often experience secondary victimisation  
16 from practitioners (Anderson and Saunders, 2003; Wemmers, 1996). According to research  
17 by SafeLives (2015), on average victim-survivors will experience fifty incidents of abuse  
18 before receiving effective help.  
19  
20

21 Inappropriate responses to disclosures leave victim-survivors more isolated, thus  
22 heightening their sense of vulnerability at a critical juncture (Elliot et al., 2014). The  
23 consequences of practitioners repeatedly invalidating women's claims of abuse can result in  
24 victim-survivors experiencing harm as a direct consequence of reporting domestic abuse  
25 (HMIC, 2014; Hoyle, 1998; Laing, 2017). The next section will highlight some of the recurrent  
26 issues with the criminal justice response prior to the criminalisation of coercive and  
27 controlling behaviour, with a particular focus on under-enforcement, gender stereotyping,  
28 and the significance of adopting a person-led response to disclosure.  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## Gender discrimination and 'non-feasance'

On an international level, Stubbs (2016) states that since the 1990s, despite a plethora of legislation and guidance, little has changed for women regarding the quality of police responses. Stubbs suggests improving police practice is contingent on improving the integrity of the police. She borrows the term 'non-feasance' from Sklansky (2008) to describe how police under-enforcement can lead to victim-survivors experiencing further harm. Giving the police the freedom to exercise discretion when responding to reports of domestic abuse may lead to errors of judgement, resulting in a failure to safeguard victim-survivors. Furthermore, Natapoff (2006) suggests that, if the policing response is one of 'under-enforcement', this can be viewed as 'eroding the system of efficacy, fairness and democratic accountability' (p. 1776). Although Natapoff (2006) recognises the implications of a lack of police action, she suggests that it is important to consider under-enforcement and the role it plays in the criminal justice system and in perpetuating the social inequalities in wider society.

According to Meyer (2016), female victim-survivors often encounter gender stereotyping and victim-blaming attitudes when formally disclosing their experiences, especially if they do not conform to the characteristics of an 'ideal victim' (see Christie, 1986). In addition, Stewart et al. (2013) state that some professionals working in criminal justice settings may subconsciously give more credence to a man's account of an incident, and be sceptical of a woman's recollection of the abuse when they are making a disclosure, particularly when the perpetrator does not present as dangerous. Such gender discrimination may contribute to the relatively high attrition rate in domestic abuse cases (Stewart et al., 2013).

1  
2  
3 Research by Taylor-Dunn (2016) shows that the attrition rate in criminal justice processes is  
4 significantly reduced when domestic abuse specialists adopt a person-led 'empowerment  
5 approach'. This approach involves listening to women's assessments of perpetrator actions  
6 and taking their concerns seriously. Not surprisingly, when such a person-led approach is  
7 used, women state they feel far safer. This person-led 'empowerment model', according to  
8 Nichols (2011), may help to challenge prejudices against women that exist within patriarchal  
9 systems. The approach however, requires professionals to recognise women as active  
10 agents capable of making their own decisions (Lehrner and Allen, 2009).

11  
12  
13 This paper documents the nature of the support, the police, and other professionals  
14 involved in the criminal justice system, provided to 12 women living in Dyfed-Powys in  
15 Wales. The article examines the degree to which the approach was person-led and how safe  
16 women felt as a consequence of making the decision to seek help. At the time of the study,  
17 a report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) (2014) had highlighted a  
18 need to change practice by encouraging earlier recognition of coercive and controlling  
19 behaviours. For the women in this study, the exchanges they had with the police during the  
20 period of help-seeking provide insights into the extent to which such guidance was  
21 integrated into practice in Dyfed-Powys. The next section outlines the methodology and  
22 provides some background context to Dyfed-Powys.

## 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 **Research methodology**

### 50 51 52 53 ***Dyfed-Powys***

1  
2  
3 Dyfed-Powys police provide a service to four counties; Carmarthenshire, Ceredigion, Powys  
4 and Pembrokeshire. The police cover the largest geographical area in England and Wales,  
5  
6 and Pembrokeshire. The police cover the largest geographical area in England and Wales,  
7  
8 operating in just over half (54%) the land mass of Wales (Dyfed-Powys Police and Crime Plan  
9  
10 2013-2018). Dyfed-Powys is a largely rural area, with a population that exceeds 515,870  
11  
12 people (Census, 2011). The population is largely white, with an underrepresentation of black  
13  
14 and minority ethnic groups (2.02% of the population).  
15  
16  
17  
18

### 19 ***Research background***

20  
21  
22  
23 In 2015, the Police Crime Commissioner for Dyfed-Powys provided funding for this study in  
24  
25 response to the recommendations in Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC)  
26  
27 2014 report '*Everyone's business: Improving police response to domestic abuse*'. The HMIC  
28  
29 report emphasised the need for more qualitative research when evaluating criminal justice  
30  
31 processes and outcomes from a victim's perspective. More specifically to Dyfed-Powys, the  
32  
33 HMIC report (2014) stated victims were receiving an inconsistent service that could deter  
34  
35 them from reporting incidents in the future. The report also highlighted that the police  
36  
37 needed to record incidents of domestic abuse more effectively.  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43

### 44 ***Study design and method***

45  
46  
47 The research employed an interpretivist methodology to gain an in-depth understanding of  
48  
49 victim-survivors' experiences. Data collection involved a series of face-to-face narrative  
50  
51 interviews with 12 women over a four-month period between October 2014 and January  
52  
53 2015. The questions examined the impact of coercive and controlling behaviours on help-  
54  
55 seeking. The research also explored women's perceptions of safety after disclosure and the  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 extent to which they felt they had been treated justly by members of the criminal justice  
4 system. The use of narrative interviews provided the women with the opportunity to share  
5 their personal accounts in their own words and encouraged them to influence the  
6 interviewing process by imposing a sequence on their lived experiences whilst making sense  
7 of the events within their own lives (Riessman, 1993).  
8  
9

10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16 Participants who had agreed to take part in the study were invited to enlist the support of  
17 their key worker. The research team observed the ethical guidelines developed by the  
18 British Society of Criminology (2015).  
19  
20  
21  
22

### 23 24 ***Research sample***

25  
26  
27  
28 The research employed a purposive sampling approach to recruiting victim-survivors,  
29 reflecting the aims of the study. Access to all the women involved in the study was via  
30 specialist domestic abuse third sector organisations. The participants varied in background  
31 characteristics, education and socio-economic status. The age range was between 18-69  
32 years of age. The sample consisted of 11 heterosexual females and one gay woman/lesbian.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
61  
62  
63  
64  
65  
66  
67  
68  
69  
70  
71  
72  
73  
74  
75  
76  
77  
78  
79  
80  
81  
82  
83  
84  
85  
86  
87  
88  
89  
90  
91  
92  
93  
94  
95  
96  
97  
98  
99  
100  
101  
102  
103  
104  
105  
106  
107  
108  
109  
110  
111  
112  
113  
114  
115  
116  
117  
118  
119  
120  
121  
122  
123  
124  
125  
126  
127  
128  
129  
130  
131  
132  
133  
134  
135  
136  
137  
138  
139  
140  
141  
142  
143  
144  
145  
146  
147  
148  
149  
150  
151  
152  
153  
154  
155  
156  
157  
158  
159  
160  
161  
162  
163  
164  
165  
166  
167  
168  
169  
170  
171  
172  
173  
174  
175  
176  
177  
178  
179  
180  
181  
182  
183  
184  
185  
186  
187  
188  
189  
190  
191  
192  
193  
194  
195  
196  
197  
198  
199  
200  
201  
202  
203  
204  
205  
206  
207  
208  
209  
210  
211  
212  
213  
214  
215  
216  
217  
218  
219  
220  
221  
222  
223  
224  
225  
226  
227  
228  
229  
230  
231  
232  
233  
234  
235  
236  
237  
238  
239  
240  
241  
242  
243  
244  
245  
246  
247  
248  
249  
250  
251  
252  
253  
254  
255  
256  
257  
258  
259  
260  
261  
262  
263  
264  
265  
266  
267  
268  
269  
270  
271  
272  
273  
274  
275  
276  
277  
278  
279  
280  
281  
282  
283  
284  
285  
286  
287  
288  
289  
290  
291  
292  
293  
294  
295  
296  
297  
298  
299  
300  
301  
302  
303  
304  
305  
306  
307  
308  
309  
310  
311  
312  
313  
314  
315  
316  
317  
318  
319  
320  
321  
322  
323  
324  
325  
326  
327  
328  
329  
330  
331  
332  
333  
334  
335  
336  
337  
338  
339  
340  
341  
342  
343  
344  
345  
346  
347  
348  
349  
350  
351  
352  
353  
354  
355  
356  
357  
358  
359  
360  
361  
362  
363  
364  
365  
366  
367  
368  
369  
370  
371  
372  
373  
374  
375  
376  
377  
378  
379  
380  
381  
382  
383  
384  
385  
386  
387  
388  
389  
390  
391  
392  
393  
394  
395  
396  
397  
398  
399  
400  
401  
402  
403  
404  
405  
406  
407  
408  
409  
410  
411  
412  
413  
414  
415  
416  
417  
418  
419  
420  
421  
422  
423  
424  
425  
426  
427  
428  
429  
430  
431  
432  
433  
434  
435  
436  
437  
438  
439  
440  
441  
442  
443  
444  
445  
446  
447  
448  
449  
450  
451  
452  
453  
454  
455  
456  
457  
458  
459  
460  
461  
462  
463  
464  
465  
466  
467  
468  
469  
470  
471  
472  
473  
474  
475  
476  
477  
478  
479  
480  
481  
482  
483  
484  
485  
486  
487  
488  
489  
490  
491  
492  
493  
494  
495  
496  
497  
498  
499  
500  
501  
502  
503  
504  
505  
506  
507  
508  
509  
510  
511  
512  
513  
514  
515  
516  
517  
518  
519  
520  
521  
522  
523  
524  
525  
526  
527  
528  
529  
530  
531  
532  
533  
534  
535  
536  
537  
538  
539  
540  
541  
542  
543  
544  
545  
546  
547  
548  
549  
550  
551  
552  
553  
554  
555  
556  
557  
558  
559  
560  
561  
562  
563  
564  
565  
566  
567  
568  
569  
570  
571  
572  
573  
574  
575  
576  
577  
578  
579  
580  
581  
582  
583  
584  
585  
586  
587  
588  
589  
590  
591  
592  
593  
594  
595  
596  
597  
598  
599  
600  
601  
602  
603  
604  
605  
606  
607  
608  
609  
610  
611  
612  
613  
614  
615  
616  
617  
618  
619  
620  
621  
622  
623  
624  
625  
626  
627  
628  
629  
630  
631  
632  
633  
634  
635  
636  
637  
638  
639  
640  
641  
642  
643  
644  
645  
646  
647  
648  
649  
650  
651  
652  
653  
654  
655  
656  
657  
658  
659  
660  
661  
662  
663  
664  
665  
666  
667  
668  
669  
670  
671  
672  
673  
674  
675  
676  
677  
678  
679  
680  
681  
682  
683  
684  
685  
686  
687  
688  
689  
690  
691  
692  
693  
694  
695  
696  
697  
698  
699  
700  
701  
702  
703  
704  
705  
706  
707  
708  
709  
710  
711  
712  
713  
714  
715  
716  
717  
718  
719  
720  
721  
722  
723  
724  
725  
726  
727  
728  
729  
730  
731  
732  
733  
734  
735  
736  
737  
738  
739  
740  
741  
742  
743  
744  
745  
746  
747  
748  
749  
750  
751  
752  
753  
754  
755  
756  
757  
758  
759  
760  
761  
762  
763  
764  
765  
766  
767  
768  
769  
770  
771  
772  
773  
774  
775  
776  
777  
778  
779  
780  
781  
782  
783  
784  
785  
786  
787  
788  
789  
790  
791  
792  
793  
794  
795  
796  
797  
798  
799  
800  
801  
802  
803  
804  
805  
806  
807  
808  
809  
810  
811  
812  
813  
814  
815  
816  
817  
818  
819  
820  
821  
822  
823  
824  
825  
826  
827  
828  
829  
830  
831  
832  
833  
834  
835  
836  
837  
838  
839  
840  
841  
842  
843  
844  
845  
846  
847  
848  
849  
850  
851  
852  
853  
854  
855  
856  
857  
858  
859  
860  
861  
862  
863  
864  
865  
866  
867  
868  
869  
870  
871  
872  
873  
874  
875  
876  
877  
878  
879  
880  
881  
882  
883  
884  
885  
886  
887  
888  
889  
890  
891  
892  
893  
894  
895  
896  
897  
898  
899  
900  
901  
902  
903  
904  
905  
906  
907  
908  
909  
910  
911  
912  
913  
914  
915  
916  
917  
918  
919  
920  
921  
922  
923  
924  
925  
926  
927  
928  
929  
930  
931  
932  
933  
934  
935  
936  
937  
938  
939  
940  
941  
942  
943  
944  
945  
946  
947  
948  
949  
950  
951  
952  
953  
954  
955  
956  
957  
958  
959  
960  
961  
962  
963  
964  
965  
966  
967  
968  
969  
970  
971  
972  
973  
974  
975  
976  
977  
978  
979  
980  
981  
982  
983  
984  
985  
986  
987  
988  
989  
990  
991  
992  
993  
994  
995  
996  
997  
998  
999  
1000

Eleven of the women had children aged 16 years and under. Over the entire sample, the narratives indicated that there were 47 occasions where the women engaged with criminal justice professionals. All 12 women contacted the police, and each women experienced at least one initial police contact at the point of disclosure followed by at least one further point of police contact. Eleven women sought advice from a solicitor, and three women had contact with members of the judiciary, two were a witness for domestic abuse-related criminal offence, and one applied for an injunction, two of these women were in contact with members of the judiciary on two occasions.

1  
2  
3 Participants were risk assessed by the specialist domestic abuse third sector organisation as  
4  
5 'high-risk' using the Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Harassment and Honour-Based Violence  
6  
7 Risk Identification Checklist (DASH RIC SafeLives, 2014). All the women had experienced  
8  
9 coercive and controlling behaviours and nine had experienced physical violence. Three  
10  
11 perpetrators were described as using their high status within the community as a  
12  
13 mechanism to isolate the victim-survivor and deter them from seeking help. Two  
14  
15 perpetrators in the sample had previous convictions for criminal damage (n=1) and arson  
16  
17 (n=1). Two perpetrators misused substances and another had a chronic mental health  
18  
19 condition. The majority of participants had attempted to leave the perpetrator on numerous  
20  
21 occasions and 10 women experienced post-separation abuse. At the time the series of  
22  
23 narrative interviews took place, none of the women reported experiencing ongoing abuse.  
24  
25 The women stated that they hoped that their involvement in the research would help  
26  
27 inform policy and practice.  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35

### 36 *Data analysis*

37  
38  
39 Interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim. Researchers made reflexive  
40  
41 notes and the analysis of the data began after each interview. The transcripts were analysed  
42  
43 to identify themes that were prominent in the data and atypical themes worthy of further  
44  
45 investigation. The study was not without its limitations. Given the small and  
46  
47 unrepresentative sample, it is not possible to make generalisations from the data. However,  
48  
49 inductive qualitative research has the advantage of deepening our understanding of the  
50  
51 women's subjective worldview and generating in-depth knowledge about the lifeworld of  
52  
53 female victim-survivors of domestic abuse.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## Findings

All 12 interviewees stated that the primary reason they sought help from the police was that they felt too unsafe to remain in the relationship. The women highlighted the complexity of decision-making in the context of coercive control. Furthermore, all victim-survivors experienced secondary victimisation, with seven women reporting that they felt the police were coercive rather than 'person-led' in their responses. Three key interrelated themes emerged from the analysis.

The first theme highlighted how when perpetrators became aware of criminal justice intervention, their coercive and controlling behaviour escalated, leading victim-survivors to feel increasingly vulnerable and unsafe. A second theme related to 'non-feasance', in that victim-survivors experienced harm resulting from under-enforcement by both the police and the courts. A final theme provided an insight into experiences of procedural justice, demonstrating how being listened to and treated with dignity and respect had a profound impact on women's wellbeing and their sense of safety. Conversely, there were many accounts where women felt they were not listened to, this had a detrimental effect on their sense of justice and their attitude towards help-seeking.

### *The impact of coercive control on help-seeking*

Women discussed at length the omnipresence of perpetrators' coercive and controlling behaviours governing their everyday movements. The women spoke of what happened when their efforts to conceal their help-seeking activities failed and perpetrators became aware that victim-survivors had notified the police and other criminal justice agencies. The women reported how perpetrators made concerted attempts to 'do male dominance',

1  
2  
3 through intensifying the level of threats and promises to change, and by challenging the  
4 women's sense of agency. Interviewees described how the perpetrators 'up-scaled' the  
5 abuse, especially within the home environment, employing tactics to re-establish control,  
6 such as; sleep deprivation, threats to use firearms, food poisoning, animal cruelty and  
7 physical abuse. Perpetrators also extended their threats to other family members. The  
8 women interpreted this as a direct attempt to break down informal support structures and  
9 sabotage their help-seeking strategies. Women were unanimous that this juncture felt like  
10 the most dangerous period in the whole relationship (Goodman et al., 2003).  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22

23 Women stated that they felt unused to making any decisions. For example, Heulwen, after  
24 years of repeated victimisation, including coercive and controlling behaviours, described the  
25 sense of isolation she felt when deciding to seek help. She provided an insight into her first  
26 contact with the police and her sense of uncertainty about her own assessment of her  
27 circumstances because of the effect of the perpetrator's tactics to control her:  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35

36 *The way I can explain it is, you know if you take your dog for a walk on the lead every*  
37 *day. Then you take the dog out and you take the lead off. It [the dog] doesn't run off*  
38 *and go wild. It turns around and looks at you and says, "Well what do we do now?"*  
39 *We were really scared of the outside world. He [the perpetrator] had put in our heads*  
40 *that people didn't like us, that people wouldn't listen to us. And the first opportunity*  
41 *that the police officer came in [to our home], she didn't like us and didn't listen to us.*  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51 *Heulwen*

52  
53 The majority of responses highlighted the levels of control perpetrators had regarding  
54 victim-survivors' decision-making. Throughout the help-seeking process, feelings of  
55 vulnerability were intensified by the police who in all but one example, were negative  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 towards the women and did not appear to listen to their concerns about negotiating their  
4  
5 safety.  
6  
7

8 The women spoke of how the complexity of their circumstances increased given the  
9  
10 escalating abuse; they also shared how their concerns for their safety affected their ability  
11  
12 to cope with the level of decision-making *expected* of them by the police, solicitors and the  
13  
14 judiciary. When women decided to change their course of action, they perceived that the  
15  
16 police, in particular, were sometimes impatient, coercive and even aggressive if the  
17  
18 women's priorities at that point ran counter to the aims of their organisation. The women  
19  
20 stated the majority of practitioners they sought help from during this critical period rarely  
21  
22 acknowledged the adverse stress women experienced from the perpetrators.  
23  
24

25  
26 Supporting Holder and Daly (2017), women had multiple justice goals during their help-  
27  
28 seeking journeys. The women said that they wanted the police to record the disclosure, hold  
29  
30 perpetrators accountable and offer protection, but felt that the police were solely  
31  
32 interested in obtaining a criminal conviction. A recurring theme was the tension created by  
33  
34 the conflicting priorities of the police and the women. As Heulwen observed:  
35  
36  
37

38  
39  
40 *...But her [the Police Officer] whole demeanour was aggressive... This is how we [the*  
41  
42 *family] felt. If she were not going to get an arrest out of this... why should she be*  
43  
44 *talking to us?*  
45  
46

47 *Heulwen*  
48  
49

50 Heulwen believed that because the female police officer felt she was unable to obtain  
51  
52 enough evidence to make an arrest, she was unwilling to listen to Heulwen's story. Like  
53  
54 Heulwen, many women expressed faith in the justice system prior to contacting criminal  
55  
56 justice agents (Fleury, 2000). However, only one of the women in the current study reported  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 a positive response by the police. In the remaining cases, the women felt that the police  
4  
5 response failed to recognise a pattern of coercive control and acknowledge the seriousness  
6  
7 of the disclosure, all of these women stated they felt even more afraid after contacting the  
8  
9 police.  
10  
11

### 12 13 14 ***A lack of public protection: criminal justice non-feasance*** 15

16  
17  
18 Members of the public expect a level of police response proportional to the potential risks  
19  
20 (HMIC 2014; 2015). The assumption by the women was that all appropriate measures would  
21  
22 be in place when they were at their most vulnerable. All of the women stated they had  
23  
24 spent months planning an opportunity to access help, so they were often emotionally  
25  
26 devastated at the reluctance of police professionals to act decisively when they asked for  
27  
28 protection.  
29  
30

31  
32 There was a sense that criminal justice agents, particularly the police often interpreted  
33  
34 victim-survivors' decision-making as irrational and repeatedly questioned their actions.  
35  
36 Because the research team were unable to interview the police officers it was unclear what  
37  
38 motivated them to act in the way women described, especially given the available practice  
39  
40 guidance on domestic abuse. Mandy describes her experience of disclosing:  
41  
42  
43

44  
45 *I said [to the Police Officer], "I am really concerned about the safety because he [the*  
46  
47 *perpetrator] is so erratic. That he is really nice one minute and the next minute he is*  
48  
49 *horrible. Texting that he is going to kill us... [Mandy and her young son]. He [the*  
50  
51 *Police Officer] didn't even come to the house. Nothing. He didn't want to know, didn't*  
52  
53 *want to take anything formally. So I don't even think there are any formal papers on*  
54  
55 *it [the abuse incidents]. It was just at the [police station] door. The police officer*  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3                   *wouldn't even let me go into the police station. It [the disclosure] was just at the door*  
4  
5  
6                   *of the police station.*  
7

8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

*Mandy*

Mandy's quote above shows symbolically and physically how a police officer responsible for public safety appears to refuse a victim-survivor the opportunity to access available resources. According to the women's narratives, the police did not tell the women whether they had undertaken a risk assessment at any stage, nor were the women given advice on safety planning. The stark realisation that victims-survivors were responsible for their own protection, unless they could demonstrate physical evidence of an assault, was difficult for many women to come to terms with, particularly in the context of increasing coercive control. Even when previous incidents had occurred, which involved the use of physical violence, women felt that officers chose to treat each incident separately, as a single incident, rather than look at the previous pattern of abuse (Paladin et al., 2014; Stark, 2007). As the Home Office (2016) suggests, the level of control a perpetrator exercises helps to provide an accurate indication of the risk of homicide: a finding that is also apparent in domestic homicide reviews (Robinson et al., 2016). Given the escalating coercive and controlling behaviour by the perpetrator, police should have taken action given Mandy's evidence of a text message that recorded a threat to kill (HMIC, 2014).

Women described how the lack of police response led to a sense of injustice, and made women feel that their lives and the lives of their children were not worthy of protection, some women reflected that they felt less valued as citizens. Mandy provided an account of what she had told a police officer, the second time she visited the police station:

1  
2  
3 *"I am really worried for my safety and my kid's safety. Because he [the perpetrator]*  
4 *has done things to me in the past." He [the Police Officer] said, "Until he [the*  
5 *perpetrator] actually does anything or puts you into hospital there is nothing we can*  
6 *do." [After this response] I got into the car and cried. I didn't know where we [Mandy*  
7 *and her young son] went from there. And that's when my [relation] said, "Right then*  
8 *if they are not going to help you I am going to come up and stay with you." So he*  
9 *came up for Christmas and told my ex-partner that he [the perpetrator] would be*  
10 *leaving and he had to find somewhere to stay. Things [the abuse] then got really bad.*

11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23 *Mandy*

24  
25 There were numerous examples of police non-feasance (Stubbs, 2016), where relatives had  
26 to act to protect the women and their children from further abuse. For example, in three  
27 quarters of the cases there were instances where family members felt they had no choice  
28 but to move temporarily into the woman's home, thus potentially placing more people at  
29 risk. As Jane stated:

30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37 *I don't know what I would have done. Because I had no money. Five children is a lot*  
38 *to say, "Can I come and stay at your house for a couple of nights?" ...I had to call my*  
39 *Dad to come up [to the house] and stay because I did think he [the perpetrator]*  
40 *would kill me... Luckily my Dad was there because when my ex [the perpetrator] got*  
41 *home he got completely hammered [intoxicated]. My dad actually locked the door*  
42 *and he [the perpetrator] had to sleep in his office. I don't think my Dad slept either.*  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60  
*Then my Dad had to go home. After that is when it [the abuse] was constant. Not*  
*letting me sleep...*

*Jane*



1  
2  
3 The comments from Mandy and Jane demonstrate not only an increase in perpetrator  
4 dangerousness as knowledge of the abuse moves into more public spheres, but also how  
5 families were left to fend for themselves. Given collateral homicides may feature more  
6 prominently in intimate partner homicide than other forms of homicide, such under-  
7 enforcement increases the propensity for lethal harm (Dobash and Dobash, 2015). Women  
8 stated that their fears escalated given the knowledge that they were not able to get help  
9 from the police to keep themselves safe.  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25

26  
27 ***Dignity, respect and equity: the role of procedural justice***  
28

29  
30 A recurring theme emerged where the women felt that criminal justice professionals,  
31 irrespective of their gender, were making decisions on women's behalf, thus denying them  
32 agency. With respect to the police, women described examples of sexist stereotyping when  
33 they requested help. The women spoke of the limited weight given to their accounts of the  
34 abuse, often leading to a decision by the police that women felt increased the likelihood of  
35 further harm. All women raised the issue of gender discrimination and gave examples of  
36 actions by criminal justice professionals that suggested male perpetrators had more rights  
37 and entitlements than female victim-survivors. One example, in particular, highlighted  
38 gender discrimination in the courts:  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50

51  
52 *It was just one man [the Judge]. It was the family court. And we [the women and her*  
53 *female Solicitor] went in there [the courtroom] and my Solicitor was saying [to the*  
54 *Judge], "You can't send this man [the perpetrator] home to her." And he [the Judge]*  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 was saying, "I am not going to kick a man out of, basically make a man leave his own  
4 home." And I was saying [to the Judge], "Please don't do it [take out a civil order]  
5 then. Please don't do it, he is going to kill me." And he [the Judge] said, "No you  
6 definitely need this. You need this non-molestation order but I am not going to have  
7 him [the perpetrator] out of the family home."  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14

15  
16 Jane

17  
18 It was common for women to experience what they felt was unfair treatment especially in  
19 relation to male privilege. Jane's quote above is characteristic of both the police and  
20 judiciary's responses to women seeking protection, thus, it was essential to uphold a man's  
21 right to remain in 'his' family home and this was more important than the woman's safety  
22 (Stewart et al., 2013). Women stated that they did not feel that their analysis of the danger  
23 the perpetrator presented to them was taken seriously, as they did not witness the police  
24 formally documenting any information. The women also stated that decisions by the courts  
25 often resulted in unsafe situations in the home, restricting these environments for women  
26 and their children, limiting the ability of victim-survivors to find expanded 'space for action'.  
27  
28 Jane commented on her experience in court:  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41

42 ...And that [non-molestation] order was the worst thing in the world. Having put a  
43 non-molestation order on him [the perpetrator] and him being allowed to enter the  
44 family home... [which resulted] with me not getting any sleep and him [perpetrator]  
45 waking me up. I was sleeping in the hallway at that time because I felt it was the  
46 safest place ...But then that ensued [resulted in?] in him [the perpetrator] coming  
47 past, giving me a good punch and then going to bed.  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56

57 Jane

1  
2  
3 Given their experiences with a range of criminal justice practitioners, all but one of the  
4 women stated that they were less likely to seek help in similar situations, thus potentially  
5 heightening the risk of future harm (Holder, 2001). The women felt that inappropriate  
6 sanctions trivialised the long-term victimisation. Holly noted that she would rather preserve  
7 the little dignity she had than contact the police again:  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13

14  
15 *I wouldn't go to them [police] again, never, ever, ever. Even if I was battered black*  
16 *and blue and I was left for dead I still wouldn't go to them.*  
17  
18  
19

20 *Holly*  
21

22  
23 The 12 women's narratives highlighted how when women provided an account of the  
24 abuse, they felt that these disclosures were invalidated. Women felt they had been treated  
25 unjustly, and with a lack of dignity, especially by the police. This sent a signal to female  
26 victim-survivors that the criminal justice system was discriminatory, thus replicating the  
27 gender inequalities in society.  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33

34  
35 In contrast, two women provided examples of an experience of procedural justice where  
36 they felt the response had been positive, these instances involved a police officer and a  
37 solicitor. The women felt listened to, treated with respect and empathy, and there was a  
38 sense that they were empowered by the interactions. One woman, Alison, who had a  
39 learning disability and mental health issues, talked about her solicitor's positive response.  
40 Alison described how the solicitor's behaviour facilitated informed choice:  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48

49 *He [the male Solicitor] listens to me and he doesn't make any judgement. He doesn't*  
50 *look at you and say, "No it is all in your head." I find him very professional. Very*  
51 *caring and he just listens to what you want to do and how you want to do it. Instead*  
52 *of being told... He is there to help you but he gives you information and lets you take*  
53 *the lead, which is really good because it is a way of making you feel safe. Also makes*  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 previous findings and suggests that the police do not always act in accordance with  
4  
5 guidance when women provide an assessment of the dangerousness of perpetrators. The  
6  
7 women initially contacted the police to seek protection from harm, but they felt the police  
8  
9 were only interested in taking action if the women presented them with evidence of a  
10  
11 physical assault. The police, members of the judiciary and the solicitors involved in these  
12  
13 cases were not available to give their perspective, thus it is not possible to ascertain  
14  
15 whether the disinclination to take action on the part of the police, was due to resource  
16  
17 issues, a limited understanding about the significance of the information the women  
18  
19 provided, and/or sexist stereotyping and gender discrimination (Meyer, 2016).

20  
21 In addition, the findings suggested a lack of recognition by many of the criminal justice  
22  
23 professionals about the effect of coercive control on the women's decision-making. As the  
24  
25 abuse worsened, the failure by the police to respond to coercive control as pattern of  
26  
27 behaviours, in particular, was re-traumatising and only served to act as a deterrent to help-  
28  
29 seeking.

30  
31 Elements of procedural justice associated with a positive experience, such as examples of  
32  
33 fair, dignified and respectful treatment by the police and the judiciary were largely absent  
34  
35 from the accounts given by women. The women's experiences of help-seeking indicate both  
36  
37 the police and members of the judiciary may benefit from more in-depth training to ensure  
38  
39 the procedural elements of engaging with justice mechanisms promotes fair treatment and  
40  
41 equality of opportunity for all victim-survivors seeking help.

42  
43 There were two examples where positive affirmation by criminal justice professionals (a  
44  
45 solicitor and a police officer), helped the victim-survivors situate the wrongdoing with the  
46  
47 perpetrator rather than harbouring feelings of self-recrimination. However, one of these  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 women asserted that victim-survivors should not have to feel grateful when they receive a  
4  
5 service to which they are entitled.  
6  
7

8 The research findings demonstrate non-feasance, whereby women actively seeking  
9  
10 protection felt they experienced additional harm as a direct consequence of their  
11  
12 engagement with the criminal justice system. Furthermore, where police support was  
13  
14 absent or insufficient, family members offered protection, thus compounding the women's  
15  
16 concerns, by making them fearful for the safety of their immediate and extended families.  
17  
18

19  
20 Feeling 'under-protected' by the police, and in some instances, the courts, eroded the  
21  
22 women's confidence in the criminal justice system and undermined police legitimacy, thus  
23  
24 reducing the likelihood of further engagement. An analysis of the lived experiences of  
25  
26 victim-survivors suggests a gap, or possibly a chasm exists, within criminal justice settings  
27  
28 between organisational everyday realities and normative ideals. Criminal Justice responses  
29  
30 resulting in nonfeasance test the sincerity of claims that there is a genuine commitment to  
31  
32 tackling domestic abuse. Failing to provide adequate protection for women inevitably raises  
33  
34 questions regarding police complacency and integrity.  
35  
36  
37  
38

39  
40 In this regard, supporting Stubbs (2016), police integrity needs to be understood in its  
41  
42 broadest sense; as a faithful adherence to conduct that prioritises equality and fair  
43  
44 treatment commensurate with the principles of procedural justice. However, this notion of  
45  
46 integrity feeds into a discourse that emphasises a rights-based approach to policing which is  
47  
48 somewhat problematical. Indeed Stubbs (2016) notes, this approach legitimises the police  
49  
50 and encourages compliance with the law, yet as our study shows, there may be coercive  
51  
52 elements to policing domestic abuse, whereby actions may be driven by organisational  
53  
54 targets without due consideration for the rights of female victim-survivors.  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The criminalisation of coercive or controlling behaviour presents potential opportunities for  
4 women to seek a prosecution when experiencing this form of abuse. The new offence  
5  
6 signifies a shift away from framing domestic abuse as a discrete incident involving a physical  
7  
8 assault, and supporting guidance highlights recognition of some of the complexities of the  
9  
10 dynamics. The implementation of section 76 of the Act is highly contingent upon the police  
11  
12 identifying, recording and responding appropriately to signs of coercive or controlling  
13  
14 behaviour. To date, implementation of section 76 of the Act appears to have been  
15  
16 problematic, with only 16% of all 156 recorded cases resulting in a conviction (Barlow et al.,  
17  
18 2018).

19  
20  
21 In conclusion, this qualitative study indicates that within Dyfed-Powys there is a need for  
22  
23 more intensive training to improve the quality of the criminal justice response, particularly  
24  
25 from the police, with respect to improving public protection measures and understanding  
26  
27 the nature and consequences of coercive control. Furthermore, if women are to successfully  
28  
29 engage with the criminal justice system and receive the response they need to feel safe,  
30  
31 particularly if they are at high-risk of harm, then a transformative change is called for within  
32  
33 both the police and judiciary. Given the barriers the women in this study have encountered,  
34  
35 it is questionable whether the new offence alone will be effective in increasing women's  
36  
37 chances of legal protection. Therefore, whilst knowledge of domestic abuse as a concept has  
38  
39 shifted significantly within policy spheres, it appears that for the 12 female victim-survivors  
40  
41 living in Dyfed-Powys that effective responses to tackling domestic abuse have yet to be  
42  
43 fully realised within criminal justice settings.  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

## References

1  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

Abrahams C (1994) *Hidden Victims: Children and Domestic Violence*. London: NCH Action for Children.

Abrahams H (2007) *Supporting Women after domestic violence: loss, trauma and recovery*. London: Jessica Kingsley Publishing.

Anderson DK and Saunders DG (2003) Leaving an abusive partner: An Empirical Review of Predictors, the Process of Leaving, and Psychological Well-Being. *Trauma violence & abuse* 4(2): 163-191.

Bettinson V and Bishop C (2015) Is the Creation of a Discrete Offence of Coercive Control Necessary to Combat Domestic Violence? *Northern Ireland Legal Quarterly* 66(2): 179–97.

British Society of Criminology (2015) *Statement of ethics for researchers*. Available at: <http://www.britsoccrim.org/documents/BSCEthics2015.pdf> (accessed 10 September 2018)

Campbell J C (ed.) (1995) *Interpersonal violence: The practice series, Vol. 8. Assessing dangerousness: Violence by sexual offenders, batterers, and child abusers*. United States: Sage Publications.

Cattaneo LB and Goodman LA (2010) Through the lens of therapeutic jurisprudence: the relationship between empowerment in the court system and well-being for intimate partner violence victims. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 25(3): 481-502.

Cavanagh K (2003) Understanding Women's Responses to Domestic Violence. *Qualitative Social Work* 2(3): 229-249.

Census (2011) *Population and household estimates for Wales, March 2011*. Available online at: <https://www.ons.gov.uk/peoplepopulationandcommunity/populationandmigration/popu>



1  
2  
3 [lacionestimates/bulletins/2011censuspopulationandhouseholdestimatesforwales/2012-07-](https://www.statistics.gov.uk/keystats/2011censuspopulationandhouseholdestimatesforwales/2012-07-16)  
4  
5 [16](https://www.statistics.gov.uk/keystats/2011censuspopulationandhouseholdestimatesforwales/2012-07-16)  
6  
7

8  
9 Christie N (1986) The ideal victim. In: Fattah E A (eds) *From crime policy to victim policy: Reorienting the justice system*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 17-30.  
10  
11  
12

13  
14 College of Policing (2016) *Major investigation and public protection: First response*. Available  
15  
16 online:  
17

18  
19 [https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-](https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/domestic-abuse/first-response/)  
20  
21 [protection/domestic-abuse/first-response/](https://www.app.college.police.uk/app-content/major-investigation-and-public-protection/domestic-abuse/first-response/)  
22  
23

24  
25 Dobash R and Dobash R (2015) *When men murder women (Interpersonal Violence)*. New  
26  
27 York: Oxford.  
28

29  
30 Dodd T, Nicholas S, Povey D and Walker A (2004) *Crime in England and Wales 2003/2004*.  
31  
32 London: Home Office. Available at: <https://www.legal-tools.org/doc/067b80/pdf/>  
33  
34

35  
36 Dyfed-Powys (n.b.) *Dyfed-Powys Police and Crime Plan (2013-2018)*. Available at:  
37  
38 [http://www.dyfedpowys-pcc.org.uk/media/2679/police-and-crime-plan-english-final-](http://www.dyfedpowys-pcc.org.uk/media/2679/police-and-crime-plan-english-final-designed.pdf)  
39  
40 [designed.pdf](http://www.dyfedpowys-pcc.org.uk/media/2679/police-and-crime-plan-english-final-designed.pdf)  
41  
42

43  
44 Fanslow J L and Robinson E M (2009) Help-seeking behaviours and reasons for help-seeking  
45  
46 reported by a representative sample of women victims of intimate partner violence in New  
47  
48 Zealand. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 25(5): 929-951.  
49

50  
51  
52 Fleury R E (2000) *Survivors' satisfaction with the criminal legal system response to intimate*  
53  
54 *partner violence. Unpublished doctoral dissertation*. Detroit: Michigan State University.  
55

56  
57 Goodman L, Dutton MA, Weinfurt K and Cook S (2003) The intimate partner violence  
58  
59 strategies index: development and application. *Violence Against Women* 9(2): 163-186.  
60

1  
2  
3 Groves N and Thomas T (2013) *Domestic violence and the criminal justice system*. Oxon:  
4  
5 Routledge.

6  
7  
8 Hanmer J, Griffiths S and Jerwood D (1999) *Arresting evidence: domestic violence and repeat*  
9  
10 *victimisation*. London: Home Office.

11  
12  
13 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) (2014) *Everyone's business: Improving*  
14  
15 *police response to domestic abuse*. London: HMIC.

16  
17  
18 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary (HMIC) (2015) *Increasingly everyone's business:*  
19  
20 *A progress report on the police response to domestic abuse*. London: HMIC.

21  
22  
23  
24 HM Government (2018) Transforming the response to domestic abuse: Government  
25  
26 Consultation. Available online: [https://consult.justice.gov.uk/homeoffice-moj/domestic-](https://consult.justice.gov.uk/homeoffice-moj/domestic-abuse-consultation/supporting_documents/Transforming%20the%20response%20to%20domestic%20abuse.pdf)  
27  
28 [abuse-](https://consult.justice.gov.uk/homeoffice-moj/domestic-abuse-consultation/supporting_documents/Transforming%20the%20response%20to%20domestic%20abuse.pdf)  
29  
30 [consultation/supporting\\_documents/Transforming%20the%20response%20to%20domestic](https://consult.justice.gov.uk/homeoffice-moj/domestic-abuse-consultation/supporting_documents/Transforming%20the%20response%20to%20domestic%20abuse.pdf)  
31  
32 [%20abuse.pdf](https://consult.justice.gov.uk/homeoffice-moj/domestic-abuse-consultation/supporting_documents/Transforming%20the%20response%20to%20domestic%20abuse.pdf)  
33  
34

35  
36  
37 HM Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (2017) *A progress report on*  
38  
39 *the police response to domestic abuse*. Available online:  
40  
41 [https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/progress-report-on-](https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/progress-report-on-the-police-response-to-domestic-abuse.pdf)  
42  
43 [the-police-response-to-domestic-abuse.pdf](https://www.justiceinspectors.gov.uk/hmicfrs/wp-content/uploads/progress-report-on-the-police-response-to-domestic-abuse.pdf)  
44  
45

46  
47 Holder R (2001) Domestic and family violence: Criminal justice interventions. *Australian*  
48  
49 *Domestic and Family Violence Clearinghouse Issues Paper 3*: 1–25.

50  
51  
52 Holder RL and Daly K (2017) Sequencing Justice: A Longitudinal Study of Justice Goals of  
53  
54 Domestic Violence Victims. *The British Journal of Criminology* 58(4): 787-804.

55  
56  
57 Home Office (1990) *Domestic Violence*. London: Home Office.  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Home Office (1995) *Inter-agency Co-ordination to Tackle Domestic Violence*. London: Home  
4  
5 Office.

6  
7  
8 Home Office (1998) *Domestic Violence: Break the Chain Multi-Agency Guidance for*  
9  
10 *Addressing Domestic Violence*. London: Home Office.

11  
12  
13 Home Office (2007) *Domestic Abuse Guidance: Supporting People & Multi-Agency Working*.  
14  
15 London: Home Office.

16  
17  
18 [Home Office](#) (2011) *Crime in England and Wales 2010/11: Findings from the British Crime*  
19  
20 *Survey and police recorded crime*. Available at:  
21  
22 [https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116417/hosb1011.pdf)  
23  
24 [data/file/116417/hosb1011.pdf](https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/116417/hosb1011.pdf)

25  
26  
27 Home Office (2013) *Domestic violence and abuse: New definition*. Available at:  
28  
29 <http://www.homeoffice.gov.uk/crime/violence-against-women-girls/domestic-violence/>

30  
31  
32  
33  
34 Hoyle C (1998) *Negotiating domestic violence: Police, criminal justice, and victims*. Oxford:  
35  
36 Oxford University Press on Demand.

37  
38  
39 Hoyle C and Sanders A (2000) Police Response to Domestic Violence: From Victim Choice to  
40  
41 Victim Empowerment? *British Journal of Criminology* 40(1): 14–36.

42  
43  
44 Johnson H and Hotton T (2003) Losing control: Homicide risk in estranged and intact  
45  
46 intimate relationships. *Homicide studies* 7(1): 58-84.

47  
48  
49 Kelly L (1988) *Surviving sexual violence (feminist perspectives)*. Oxford: Polity Press.

50  
51  
52 Kelly L (2003) The Wrong Debate: Reflections on Why Force is Not the Key Issue with  
53  
54 Respect to Trafficking in Women for Sexual Exploitation. *Feminist Review* 73(1): 139-144.

1  
2  
3 Kelly L, Sharp N and Klein R (2014) *Finding the Costs of Freedom: How women and children*  
4 *rebuild their lives after domestic violence*. London: Solace Women's Aid.

5  
6  
7  
8 Laing L (2017) Secondary victimization: Domestic violence survivors navigating the family  
9 law system. *Violence against women* 23(11): 1314-1335.

10  
11  
12  
13 Laing L, Cavanagh K and Humphreys C (2013) *Social Work and Domestic Violence:*  
14 *Developing Critical and Reflective Practice*. London: Sage Publications.

15  
16  
17  
18 Lehrner A and Allen N (2009) Still a movement after all these years? Current tensions in the  
19 domestic violence movement. *Violence Against Women* 5(6): 1-22.

20  
21  
22  
23 Lewis R, Dobash RP, Dobash RE and Cavanagh K (2000) Protection, Prevention,  
24 Rehabilitation or Justice? Women's Use of the Law to Challenge Domestic Violence.  
25  
26  
27  
28 *International Review of Victimology* 7(1-3): 179-205.

29  
30  
31 Meyer S (2016) Still blaming the victim of intimate partner violence? Women's narratives of  
32 victim desistance and redemption when seeking support. *Theoretical criminology* 20(1): 75-  
33  
34  
35  
36 90.

37  
38  
39 Moffat P (2017) Ending abuse against women and girls. *Journal of Health Visiting* 5(2): 64-  
40  
41  
42  
43 66.

44  
45 Ministry of Justice (2015) *Code of Practice for Victims of Crime*. London: Crown.

46  
47  
48 Myhill A (2015) Measuring coercive control: What can we learn from national population  
49 surveys? *Violence Against Women* 21(3): 355-375.

50  
51  
52 Natapoff A (2006) Under-enforcement. *Fordham Law Review* 75(3): 1715-1776.

53  
54  
55 Nichols AJ (2011) Gendered Organisations: Challenges for Domestic Violence Victim  
56  
57  
58  
59 Advocates and Feminist Advocacy. *Feminist Criminology* 6(2): 111-131.

- 1  
2  
3 Paladin, Sara Charlton Charitable Foundation and Women's Aid (2014) Domestic Violence  
4 Law Reform – The Victim's Voice Survey: Victim's Experience of Domestic Violence and the  
5 Criminal Justice System. Available at: [http://paladinservice.co.uk/wp-](http://paladinservice.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Victims-Voice-Report-March-2014-Website.pdf)  
6 [content/uploads/2014/03/Victims-Voice-Report-March-2014-Website.pdf](http://paladinservice.co.uk/wp-content/uploads/2014/03/Victims-Voice-Report-March-2014-Website.pdf)  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12  
13 Pitman T (2017) Living with coercive control: Trapped within a complex web of double  
14 standard, double binds and boundary violations. *British Journal of Social Work* 47(1): 143-  
15 161.  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21 Riessman CK (1993) *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE.  
22  
23  
24 Robinson AL, Myhill A, Wire J, Roberts J and Tilley N (2016) *Risk-led policing of domestic*  
25 *abuse and the DASH risk model*. Cardiff: Cardiff University, College of Policing and UCL  
26 Department of Security and Crime Science.  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32 SafeLives (2014) *Domestic Abuse, Stalking and Harassment and Honour-Based Violence Risk*  
33 *Identification Checklist*. Bristol: SafeLives.  
34  
35  
36  
37 SafeLives (2015) *Insights Idva National Dataset 2013-14*. Bristol: SafeLives  
38  
39  
40  
41 *Serious Crimes Act 2015*, s. 76  
42  
43  
44 Sklansky DA (2008) *Democracy and the Police*. Stanford England: Stanford University Press.  
45  
46 Stark E (2007) *Coercive control: How men entrap women in personal life*. New York: Oxford  
47 University Press.  
48  
49  
50  
51 Stewart CC, Langan D and Hannem S (2013) Victim Experiences and Perspectives on Police  
52 Responses to Verbal Violence in Domestic Settings. *Feminist Criminology* 8(4): 269–294.  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Stubbs J (2002) Domestic violence and women's safety: Feminist challenges to restorative  
4 justice. In Strang H and Braithwaite J (eds) *Restorative justice and family violence*.  
5  
6 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 42-61.  
7  
8

9  
10 Stubbs J (2016) Searching for integrity in domestic violence policing. In Hunter J, Roberts P,  
11 Young S and Dixon D (eds) *Integrity in the Criminal Process: From Theory into Practice*.  
12  
13 Oxford: Hart, 53-74.  
14  
15

16  
17  
18 Tadros V (2004) The distinctiveness of domestic abuse: A freedom based account. *Louisiana*  
19  
20 *Law Review* 65(1): 989-1014.  
21  
22

23 Taylor-Dunn H (2016) *The Impact of Victim Advocacy on the Prosecution of Domestic*  
24 *Violence Offences: Lessons from a Realistic Evaluation. Criminology and Criminal Justice*  
25  
26 16(1): 21-39.  
27  
28

29  
30 Towns AJ and Adams PJ (2016) I didn't know whether I was right or wrong or just  
31 bewildered: Ambiguity, responsibility, and silencing women's talk of men's domestic  
32 violence. *Violence Against Women* 22(4): 495-520.  
33  
34  
35

36  
37 Tyler TR and Huo YJ (2002) *Trust in the Law: Encouraging Public Cooperation with the Police*  
38 *and Courts*. New York: Russell-Sage Foundation.  
39  
40  
41

42  
43 Tyler TR (2006) Restorative justice and procedural justice: Dealing with rule  
44 breaking. *Journal of Social Issues* 62(2): 307-326.  
45  
46

47  
48 Ullrich C G (2004) *Activating social policy and individual autonomy. Social World* 55(2):  
49  
50 145 – 158.  
51  
52

53  
54 Walgrave L (2011) Investigating the potentials of restorative justice practice. *Washington*  
55 *University Journal of Law and Policy* 36(1): 91-140.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Welsh Government (2005) *All Wales National Strategy: 'Tackling Domestic Abuse – a joint-*  
4 *agency approach'*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly.

5  
6  
7  
8 Women's Aid (2015) *What is coercive control?* Available at:  
9  
10 [https://www.womensaid.org.uk/information-support/what-is-domestic-abuse/coercive-](https://www.womensaid.org.uk/information-support/what-is-domestic-abuse/coercive-control/)  
11 [control/](https://www.womensaid.org.uk/information-support/what-is-domestic-abuse/coercive-control/)  
12  
13  
14

15  
16 Wiener C (2017) Seeing What is 'Invisible in Plain Sight': Policing Coercive Control. *The*  
17 *Howard Journal of Crime and Justice* 56(4): 500-515.

18  
19  
20  
21 World Health Organisation (2012) *Understanding and addressing violence against women:*  
22 *Intimate partner violence.* Available at:  
23  
24 [http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77432/1/WHO\\_RHR\\_12.36\\_eng.pdf](http://apps.who.int/iris/bitstream/10665/77432/1/WHO_RHR_12.36_eng.pdf)  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60