

Enacting Entangled Practice:

Interagency Collaboration in Domestic and Family Violence Work

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Certificate of Original Authorship

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the collaborative doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ANT	Actor-Network Theory
AOD	Alcohol and Other Drugs
AVO	Apprehended Violence Order
CHAT	Cultural-Historical Activity Theory
CJS	Criminal Justice System
CS	Community Services
CCR	Community Coordinated Response
DCS	Department of Corrective Services
DFV	Domestic and Family Violence
DV	Domestic Violence
DVLO	Domestic Violence Liaison Officer
FACS	Family and Community Services
FLO	Family Law Order
FVS	Family Violence Service
FRS	Family Referral Service
HRO	High Risk Offender
IPV	Intimate Partner Violence
LIW	Learning in and for Interagency Working
MARAC	Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference
MPA	Multi-Partner Agreement
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NSW	New South Wales
NSWPF	New South Wales Police Force
OIC	Officer-in-Charge
PINOP	Person in Need of Protection
POI	Person of Interest
P&P	Probation and Parole
SAH	Safe-at-Home
TIS	Telephone Interpreter Service
WDVCAS	Women's Domestic Violence Court Advocacy Service
YHS	Youth Health Service

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Abstract

This study contributes to the field of domestic and family violence (DFV) research. It also adds to practice-based research within scholarship on professional practices. Specifically, it examines the complexities of working together when diverse practitioners collaborate, across organisational and disciplinary boundaries, to address the 'wicked' problem of DFV.

Much of the existing literature treats interagency collaboration uncritically, assuming it is inherently worthwhile, regardless of the outcomes. There has been limited research attention focused on the enactment in practice of interagency work, and on the effects of these enactments in relation to the victim/survivors. This research employs an innovative methodology, combining key conceptual resources of actor-network theory with new material feminist thinking. This approach enables three significant moves. First, it shifts understandings of collaboration away from a continuum approach and towards a conceptualisation of interagency work as enacted by dynamic networks. Second, it directs attention away from the factors that are deemed critical for success and focuses instead on the range of 'actors' that are involved in the doing of this work, paying heed not only to the practitioners, but also to the various objects that matter in their collaborative work. Third, it approaches the question of effectiveness by tracing the effects of enactments of interagency work.

This ethnographic study of practice examines an integrated DFV initiative in one local area, in outer metropolitan Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. It unravels entanglements of people and things, meanings and matter, discourses and technology, and knits them back together again. The investigation shows how the various practices that make up 'working together' shape each other, producing material effects for the victim/survivors.

A key outcome of this research is a new conceptualisation of interagency DFV work as two distinctive, yet entangled, modes of working together that co-exist in the textured fabric of service provision. 'Multiple practices', involve

practitioners with separate foci for action. 'Practice multiple' involves practitioners working together with a singular victim-centred focus. It is argued that responses are only properly 'integrated' when 'practice multiple' occurs, that is, when victim/survivors' interests are integrated into practice. This conceptualisation accommodates complexity and acknowledges that interagency work unfolds in an imperfect world, riddled with tensions and ambivalences. The conclusions have important implications for interagency DFV practice and policy, as well as for collaborative professional practice and learning generally.

Part I

Chapter One:

Working Together Against Domestic and Family Violence

If one positive thing can come from Luke's death, I want the different parts of the system to talk to each other and work together. (Batty 2014)¹

Interagency working has been a cornerstone of domestic and family violence (DFV) policy for decades (Stewart 2014) and yet working together appears to not always produce the expected outcomes. This thesis reports on an ethnographic study of working together. Specifically, the study examines the complexities of interagency work in the troubled area of DFV. It investigates what happens when diverse practitioners collaborate, across organisational and professional boundaries, in trying to make 'the different parts of the system talk to each other and work together' in addressing this significant social issue of concern.

Much of the existing literature on interagency DFV work is based on an assumption of the presumed benefits of collaboration, and a conceptualisation of interagency work based on levels, or degrees, of working together. Considerable research has identified enabling and impeding factors in working together, and substantial effort continues in evaluation of the effectiveness of coordinated and integrated interagency responses to DFV. There has been limited research attention focused on the enactment in practice of interagency DFV work *in situ*, and the effects of these enactments specifically in relation to the victim/survivors².

This research takes a different approach to previous studies, interrogating the assumption that interagency collaboration is inherently valuable, and proceeding from an understanding of working together as multilateral participation in various networks. It focuses on the range of 'actors' performing this complex work, paying attention not only to the practitioners who work together, but also

to the material objects and artefacts that matter in their collaborative work, tracing the effects of their entanglements in relation to victim/survivors. Unravelling the multiple entanglements of people, technology, protocols, procedures and other 'tools' that play a part in the practical accomplishment of working together, the study contributes empirically to the increasingly important field of DFV research. It also adds to the growing body of practice-based studies (Gherardi 2008, 2009a, 2012a) located within the field of professional practice scholarship. Derived from actor-network theory (ANT) (Callon 1986; Latour 1996, 2005; Law 1992) and infused with key concepts drawn from the new material feminisms (Alaimo & Hekman 2008; Barad 2007; Coole & Frost 2010), the linked theoretical framework and methodology constitute a new sociomaterial feminist research approach.

1.1 Context for the study

Globally, it is estimated that 35% of women have experienced physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner, with estimates as high as 70% in some countries (World Health Organisation 2013). In Australia, it is estimated that at least one woman a week is killed at the hands of a violent partner or ex-partner, with domestic homicides accounting for almost half of all murders (Australian Institute of Criminology 2015). Children comprise the second most frequent group of domestic/family homicide victims, with 238 child deaths recorded in Australia in the decade 2002–2012 (Australian Institute of Criminology 2015). Many, many more women and children live in daily fear and misery, with one in three women estimated to have experienced gender-based physical violence since the age of fifteen, one in four experiencing emotional abuse by a current or former partner and one in five having experienced sexual violence (Cox 2015). Significant numbers of children are exposed to violence against their mother, as over 50% of women experiencing violence from their current or former partners have children in their care at the time of the violence (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012).

Living in a violent home has profound impacts on children and young people, often significantly affecting their behavioural, cognitive and emotional functioning and social development (Frederick & Goddard 2007). The situation for Indigenous women and children in Australia is staggeringly appalling. Physical and sexual intimate partner violence is significantly higher among Indigenous women than among their non-Indigenous counterparts, with Indigenous women being 35 times more likely to be hospitalised because of family violence related assaults (Steering Committee for the Review of Government Services 2009).

Increasingly in Australia the terms 'domestic violence' and 'family violence' are being used in combination to indicate that the two types of violence often co-occur. Domestic violence (DV) refers to violence and abuse that occurs in domestic settings between two people who are, or were, in an intimate relationship. It includes physical, sexual, emotional, psychological and financial abuse. DV is also sometimes called 'intimate partner violence' (IPV) to distinguish it from family violence (FV). Family violence is a broader term that is sometimes used to include partner violence. It refers to violence between and among other family members, and includes elder abuse and adolescent violence against parents or siblings. Family violence is often the preferred term in Indigenous communities in Australia, as it encompasses extended families and kinship networks. In this thesis, the term DFV is used to refer to violence against women and children that is perpetrated, principally by men, within a domestic or family setting.

While it is acknowledged that men may be victims and women may be perpetrators of violence, official police and court data, as well as statistical evidence collected by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS), show that most victims are women and children and the overwhelming proportion of perpetrators of violence are men (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2012). For this reason, this thesis recognises DFV as a gendered phenomenon (Hester 2009a, 2013), defining it as gender-based violence, because it is violence that is

‘specifically directed against a woman because she is a woman or that affects women disproportionately’ (Our Watch 2013). This is not to say that DFV occurs only within heterosexual relationships, simply to underscore that fact that the perpetrators of violence are overwhelmingly men and the victims are usually women.

1.1.1 DFV as a ‘wicked problem’

Not only is DFV a huge issue globally, it is also an extremely complex problem, one of a growing number of social problems that appear to defy resolution and that have been dubbed ‘wicked’. The term ‘wicked problem’, originally coined by Rittel and Webber (1973) referring to urban planning issues, has recently gained considerable currency in relation to a wide range of complex issues, from child abuse (Devaney & Spratt 2009) to climate change to indigenous disadvantage (Head 2008). It has only relatively recently been used in relation to DFV (see Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013; Kearns & Coen 2014; Stanley & Humphreys 2014). Wicked problems are characterised as being particularly complex, open-ended and apparently intractable because of the complex interdependencies that are involved and the fact that efforts to solve one aspect of the problem may create additional problems (Rittel & Webber 1973). They are contrasted with ‘tame’ problems, for which solutions can be found based on a scientific-rational approach (for example, mathematics problems).

Head (2008) proposes three dimensions against which issues may be mapped to determine their degree of ‘wickedness’. These are: complexity (which relates to number of elements, subsystems and interdependencies), uncertainty (which relates to risks, consequences of actions and changing patterns) and divergence (which relates to degree of fragmentation in viewpoints, values and strategic intentions). DFV rates highly across all three of Head’s (2008) proposed dimensions of wickedness. This study takes complexity as the starting point for investigation, and frames DFV as a wicked issue of the highest order, necessitating thinking that grasps the full range of interrelationships involved.

While there appear to be no clear or easy ‘solutions’ for wicked problems, there are ways forward. Roberts (2000) suggests that three types of strategies have emerged as ways of tackling these sorts of problems: authoritative, competitive and collaborative. These strategies differ principally in terms of how power is dispersed. Authoritative strategies involve handing a problem over to a small group of ‘experts’ to solve, competitive strategies involve key stakeholders battling it out over the ‘best’ solution and collaborative strategies involve a wide range of stakeholders in problem-solving. While all three have their advantages and disadvantages, the bulk of the literature on wicked problems supports collaboration as the most appropriate and effective course of action (Australian Public Service Commission 2007), with the ability to work across agency boundaries to join up interventions being noted particularly as an important skill for collaborators (Head 2008).

1.1.2 The need for action and systemic reform

The need for action to address DFV, and violence against women and children more generally, is recognised internationally and evidenced by the growing number of countries that have developed Action Plans to address the issue over the past decade (see, for example, Canadian Association of Chiefs of Police 2016; Commonwealth of Australia 2009, 2012, 2013, 2016; Government of Poland 2006; Government of South Africa 2008; HM Government 2013; Ministry of Social Development 2002; Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry 2007; Sri Lanka National Committee on Women 2005; Welsh Government 2016). Despite different cultural contexts, most of these plans have in common a call for greater coordination and collaboration across sectors and services (Wells, Claussen & Sandham 2012).

In Australia, the implementation of an overarching National Plan to Reduce Violence Against Women and their Children (now in the third phase of a twelve-year plan), has been informed by various inquiries into responses to DFV commissioned by State governments in recent years³. These have resulted in a plethora of reports and reviews, making many recommendations for systemic reform.

Indeed, currently in Australia, the issue of DFV rates as a ‘hot topic’ politically, and is arguably more at the forefront of public consciousness than it has ever been. The nomination of Rosie Batty as Australian of the year in 2015, was for many a long-overdue acknowledgement of the strength of DFV survivors; for others, it was a wake-up call. In February 2014, after a decade of abusing her, Rosie’s violent ex-partner, Greg Anderson, who was by then well-known to police, killed their eleven-year-old son, Luke, in broad daylight, at cricket practice in south-east Melbourne. The coronial inquest into Luke Batty’s death found that ‘there had been a fundamental failure by institutions to share vital information’ (Gray 2015, cited in Adams & Lee-Jones 2017, p. 2). Perhaps as a way of coping with her grief, Rosie used her public profile to campaign against DFV, raising issues about systemic failures often resulting from lack of interagency coordination. Her statements to the press attracted much political attention. The following year she was made Australian of the Year. One by one, State governments began launching (new) plans to tackle ‘the scourge of domestic violence’; invariably, Rosie was at the side of the State Premier who was doing the launching⁴.

In 2015, in the wake of several other high profile DFV-related deaths, the *Victorian Royal Commission into Family Violence* was established, releasing its eight-volume report with 227 recommendations in March 2016 (State of Victoria 2016). Many of these recommendations, particularly those related to building integrated responses, echoed those made by the Queensland DFV Taskforce which had released its report, *Not Now, Not Ever – Putting an end to Domestic and Family Violence in Queensland* (Queensland Domestic and Family Violence Taskforce 2015), a year previously. The Victorian Commission concluded that, despite strong foundations, there were severe systemic limitations, and new approaches were required. Notably, the Commission specified that ‘closer relationships must be built between all the services that support victims of family violence’ (State of Victoria 2016, pp. 9-10).

New South Wales (where the present research was conducted) has seen report after report released in recent years. In 2010, the Australian and NSW Law Reform Commissions released a joint report, *Family Violence – A National Legal Response* (Commonwealth of Australia 2010). This was followed in 2011 by the NSW Auditor General's report, *Responding to Domestic and Family Violence* (Audit Office of NSW 2011), which was followed in 2012 by the NSW Legislative Council Standing Committee on Social Issues report, *Domestic Violence Trends and Issues in NSW* (NSW Parliament 2012). All these inquiries produced similar findings and made similar recommendations, prompting the NSW Government to develop a new framework for reform. *It Stops Here: Standing Together to End Domestic and Family Violence in NSW* (NSW Government 2014) was launched in February 2014.

Of primary relevance to the present research are recurrent findings that, despite legislative and policy differences between the Australian States and Territories, service systems are uncoordinated, interventions are inconsistent and that better-integrated interagency responses are required. Indeed, one of the most frequently-cited problems in relation to responses to DFV is 'fragmentation', which results in what has become known as 'siloed' service provision, with agencies operating in isolation from each other, separated by seemingly impenetrable walls of bureaucracy. Recommendations for addressing this problem have invariably been couched in terms that suggest that greater collaboration is at least part of the solution. However, after decades of exhortation of service providers to work together, the problems remain widespread. Clearly 'working together', while easy to espouse in policy documents and recommend in government reports, is challenging to enact and does not always produce the intended results in practice.

1.1.3 Collaboration as a way forward

Nevertheless, over the past two decades, 'working together' has become a pre-eminent catchcry in relation to efforts to address the wicked problem of DFV. This has generated much policy and research interest in interagency

collaboration. In relation to DFV, this interest has taken the form of integrated and/or coordinated responses.

In Australia, integrated responses to DFV have 'attained policy status as good practice' (Chung, cited in Audit Office of NSW 2011; Murray & Powell 2011, p. 128). This is not surprising. The need for organisations to work together to address the multi-faceted problem of DFV is well-recognised, not only by policy-makers, but by practitioners in the DFV sector, and, importantly, by 'average Australians' such as DFV survivor-turned-activist Rosie Batty. However, what is surprising is that, despite the proliferation of various forms of integration and coordination, the enactment of interagency DFV work in practice is still not well understood.

As noted, numerous inquiries into systemic responses in Australia (see, for example, Audit Office of NSW 2011; State of Victoria 2016) have found that service fragmentation is a major problem. Indeed, internationally there has been widespread concern, for almost two decades, about fragmentation among DFV-related services, particularly within the criminal justice system (CJS) (see Shepard 1999). In the United States, this concern led to the development of Coordinated Community Responses (see Pence & McMahon 1999) and in the United Kingdom to a range of interagency arrangements, particularly multi-agency fora (see Hague 1998; Hague & Malos 1998; Hague 2001). Conklin (2005) argues that 'the concept of fragmentation provides a name and an image for a phenomenon that pulls apart something that is potentially whole' (Conklin 2005, p. 2). The suggested solution to fragmentation then is integration, presumably to 'join up' the fragments of a systemic response.

Integration has also been framed as a way of managing complexity in relation to the delivery of children's services (Hood 2014). Observing that much policy rhetoric and official guidance rest on the (false) presumption of controllability' (Hood 2014, p. 36), Hood argues that the current approach to integration is driven by managerial models and is concerned primarily with risk and accountability, paying inadequate attention to 'the unpredictable dynamics that beset complex

casework' (Hood 2014, p. 39). Emphasising that integrated working is about 'what happens in complex cases, in which events unfold in a unique configuration of service users, their families, professions....' (Hood 2014, p. 29), Hood concludes that 'many of the so-called "integrated" processes and tools in use today may be hindering professional expertise just when it is needed the most' (Hood 2014, p. 39). The same may be said in relation to integrated DFV services. This point is a key focus in the analysis of interagency practices investigated in this study.

1.2 A need to rethink the complexity of interagency collaboration

The promotion of interagency work in the context of DFV responses has proceeded from a largely uncritical stance on collaboration (Huxham & Vangen 2004), based on the assumption that working together is intrinsically beneficial. This study problematises this proposition and questions the assumption that working together always works in the interests of victim/survivors.

While complexity is invariably noted as a defining feature of DFV (Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013; Macvean et al. 2015), there has been comparatively little attention given to what this complexity means for practice. The policy response to this complexity has been to try to mandate consistency across sectors, to attempt to 'tame' the problem. However, as has been noted, wicked problems resist taming and so policy directives and strategy documents often accomplish little more than the illusion of coherence, with practitioners painting a different, much messier, picture. This picture has been little-explored in DFV research.

Specifically, in relation to practice, there has been little research into the effects of different ways of working together. Knowing how this complex work is performed and understanding its effects is important, because well-intentioned interagency efforts do not always result in good outcomes for victim/survivors (Murray & Powell 2011; Valentine & Hilferty 2011), demonstrating that interagency working 'is not *inherently* a good thing' (Statham & Department of Children and Youth Affairs (DCYA) 2011, p. 4).

Adopting Hood's suggestion to take 'a closer look at complexity as a phenomenon in its own right, rather than just a convenient metaphor of difficulty' (Hood 2014, p. 28), this study attends to the ways in which integrated responses play out in practice, how interagency collaboration is enacted and with what effects. This approach has enabled an important distinction to be made between ways of working together that benefit victim/survivors and those that serve other interests.

Against the backdrop of the preceding discussion, this study set out specifically to answer two questions:

- How is interagency domestic and family violence work *enacted in practice*?
- What are the *effects* of these enactments in relation to *victim/survivors*?

It should be noted that the term 'effects' is used here in a technical sense, as distinct from the way it is generally understood in common usage, as outcomes of 'causes'. This is discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

1.2.1 Previous approaches to interagency DFV work

Previous approaches to investigating interagency DFV work have been dominated by three main research foci: the pursuit of definitions, the identification of enablers and impediments and the evaluation of effectiveness.

Much research in this area has proceeded from conceptualisations of collaboration as points on a continuum (for example, Fine, Pancharatnam & Thomson 2000, 2005; Wilcox 2008, 2010b), or as different types of interagency work related to scale (for example, Gray 2002), that are often defined in binary terms, such as top-down and bottom-up (for example, Murray & Powell 2011). This has contributed to a preoccupation with terminology in a bid to define the phenomenon of interagency DFV work precisely (this is discussed further in Section 2.2).

Many studies have also emphasised the factors that are perceived as enabling working together and those that are barriers or impediments (Atkinson 2007;

Murphy & Fanslow 2012). Interagency differences have generally been positioned as chief among obstacles to collaboration (for example, Tapley 2010), with these differences being frequently framed as a source of unproductive tension and conflict (for example, Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013; Zanettino & McLaren 2012) manifesting as discursive clashes (for example, Hester 2009a, 2011; Humphreys & Absler 2011).

Another dominant approach to studying integrated and coordinated responses to DFV has been to try to evaluate their effectiveness (e.g. Banks, Dutch & Wang 2008; Edleson & Malik 2008; Robinson 2004). While evaluation studies are dominant in this field of research, not all of them have specifically addressed the impacts on victims.

This study emerges from a different point of departure, illuminating the issues in a new way. Instead of seeking to define, it seeks to find connections. Rather than searching for factors that are deemed to determine success, it follows the actors to see what work they do in the enactment of practice. In lieu of evaluating outcomes, it traces effects. Instead of exploring different perspectives on a single reality, it exposes multiple different realities.

In this way, the study builds on and extends existing research, unlocking the complexity of interagency DFV work to develop new understandings. Chapter Two presents a review of the relevant literatures.

1.2.2 A theoretically-informed approach

Unlike previous approaches to interagency DFV research, this study draws together elements of three research approaches: practice-based, sociomaterial and feminist. Taking a practice-based approach means that practice is the starting-point for the research, and practices are the units of analysis. Harnessing the ‘Critical Power of the “Practice Lens”’ (Gherardi 2009b, p. 115), this approach assumes ‘an ecological model in which agency is distributed between humans and non-humans and in which the relationality between the social world and materiality can be subjected to inquiry’ (Gherardi 2009b, p. 115). A sociomaterial

perspective focuses the researcher's gaze on the intersections of people/practitioners and things/objects. The methodology entails using key concepts from ANT, principally the notion of 'actor-networks' (Latour 1996) and the processes involved in 'translation' (Callon 1986). Core conceptual resources drawn from the new material feminisms infuse the methodology, enabling a process of 'diffractive analysis' (Barad 2007) of the data, which sheds new light on the phenomenon under investigation.

These theoretically-informed research approaches are lashed together in a qualitative study that may be characterised as 'praxiographic' (Mol 2002); that is, ethnographic research focused on practice. Drawing on a range of current practice-theory perspectives (Corradi, Gherardi & Verzelloni 2010; Gherardi 2008; Hager, Lee & Reich 2012; Kemmis 2005; Nicolini 2011; Schatzki 2006), the aim in this study was to examine the micro-dynamics of 'knowing-in-practice' (Gherardi 2008, 2014; Gherardi & Strati 2012), Gherardi's important concept that connects 'knowing' with 'doing'. With an ANT sensibility, inflected with new materialist feminist thinking, this study unravels practice as it is enacted in the process of assembling and maintaining the networks that are intrinsic to working together against DFV.

1.2.3 A focus on enactment and effects

A focus on *enactment* enables a view of how practitioners work together, and of who and what participates. By disentangling practices and 'following the actors' (Latour 2005), this study enables important connections to be made between how processes unfold and the outcomes that are produced. Taking a sociomaterial perspective, 'the material world is treated as continuous with and in fact embedded in the immaterial and the human' (Fenwick, Nerland & Jensen 2012, p. 6). In this way, the research enacts a methodology for tracing interactions among non-humans and humans, facilitating an understanding of knowledge as embedded in material action (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011). This vantage point allows examination of both human and non-human action as entangled in systemic webs that span across agency and organisational boundaries.

Understood with an ANT sensibility, *effects* are functions of configurations of networks and ‘all actions...are relational effects’ (Law 2009, p. 145); products of the agency of actors. This idea, along with other sociomaterial concepts, is discussed further in Section 3.3, where the conceptual resources deployed in this study are elaborated.

1.2.4 The focus and scope of the study

The overarching concern of this study is the wicked problem of DFV to which interagency work has become a pre-eminent response. While the terms ‘interagency’ and ‘multi-agency’ are often used interchangeably (Warmington et al. 2004a), ‘interagency’ often implies tighter coordination than ‘multi-agency’, which may simply refer to working together when more than one service provider engages with the same client. Coordination usually involves the need to work across workforce sectors (for example, health, human services, criminal justice, community) and so the terms ‘intersectoral’ and sometimes ‘cross-sectoral’ are also used. In this thesis, the term ‘interagency work’ is used to refer to a range of government and non-government organisations working together, in a planned and formal way, resulting in coordination at the operational and strategic levels.

Similarly, the terms ‘integration’ and ‘coordination’ are often used synonymously in the DFV policy and research literature to refer to systemic responses that involve connecting services, departments and/or strategies that may otherwise be operating separately. Sometimes, different usage simply reflects jurisdictional preferences for terminology. For example, in the United States, the term ‘community coordinated response’ (CCR) is widely used to refer to a formalised system of collaboration between various social service agencies, which includes policies, information-sharing and referral pathways between the CJS and counselling centres and shelters for survivors (Pennington-Zoellner 2009). In this thesis, ‘integrated’ responses are understood to demonstrate a closer connectedness than that of loosely-coordinated interagency networks, exhibiting a more unified response (Australian Attorney-General’s Department 2010).

Collaboration is generally recognised in the DFV literature as a key feature of integrated and coordinated responses (Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013), although there is no universal definition of what constitutes this way of working together. In this thesis, the term 'collaboration' is used to refer to a means by which services are coordinated to achieve integration for the ultimate purpose of improving outcomes for victim/survivors of DFV (see Section 2.2 for further discussion of terminology).

While the focus of this study is on interagency practice in the context of DFV, the research does not purport to be an exhaustive exploration of all the elements of interagency responses to DFV. Rather, it is an account of the core interagency practices that were observed in one local integrated strategy. These practices were principally enacted as part of frontline service delivery in relation to crisis and post-crisis intervention, and were selected for examination because they have a direct impact on victim/survivors, which is a central concern of this study. For this reason, practices involving community education and men's behaviour change programs, for example, are not specifically examined in this study. While primary and secondary prevention are increasingly regarded as important in integrated DFV responses, they are outside the scope of the research in this study.

1.3 Locating the researcher in the research

Having worked professionally in the DFV sector for almost thirty years prior to undertaking doctoral research, I identify myself as a practitioner-researcher. The decision to transition from 'practitioner' to 'researcher' was motivated largely by sheer frustration. After several years working as coordinator of a state-wide DFV interagency project, I felt that little headway was being made in terms of facilitating greater collaboration among agencies. My brief included developing and delivering 'interagency training'. Although my instinct told me that 'training' was not the solution to an uncoordinated and fragmented service system, I held focus groups with practitioners from across the health, human services, criminal justice and legal system and community sectors and asked them what sort of training they thought would be useful to help them work better

together. Their responses suggested that they also were dubious about the value of formalised structured training as a way of improving interagency collaboration (Stewart 2010). It became increasingly clear to me that what was needed was not another training program but a way of understanding *how* people performed this complex work together, despite the challenges. I needed to find out what happens when diverse practitioners are assembled to 'work together' on DFV. Thus, the idea for this research was spawned.

Being a practitioner-researcher has had both advantages and disadvantages in conducting this study. On the advantage side, my experience and background in the field equipped me with a deep understanding of the challenges experienced by practitioners. This facilitated initial access to the research site, assisted with recruiting participants and subsequently enabled me to establish trust and to relate easily to participants. These advantages, however, had their disadvantages. My familiarity with the field and the issues increased the possibility of researcher bias and of making assumptions based on my prior knowledge and experience. It also meant that participants sometimes made assumptions about what I knew and/or understood in any given situation. Inevitably, ethical issues also arose from time to time. For example, if I observed what I saw as 'bad practice', I struggled with balancing my researcher role with my practitioner background. Role conflict issues also arose in the writing process, when my urge towards advocacy and activism had to be tempered and held in check, in favour of a more dispassionate academic tone.

However, holding this awareness throughout the research process, from data collection through to analysis and the production of this thesis, I maximised the benefits of an 'insider' position, while minimising its attendant risks and pitfalls. Moreover, having left the DFV sector by the time the thesis was completed effectively positioned me as neither an 'insider' nor an 'outsider', but rather as inhabiting a researcher niche located somewhere in between (Breen 2007; Dwyer & Buckle 2009).

Having also identified myself as a feminist for over thirty years inevitably shapes my research stance. My analysis of DFV is firmly grounded in established feminist concerns, the material conditions of women's lives and the gender inequities that allow violence against women to continue (see for example, Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). However, my theoretical and methodological approach is highly influenced by the 'new' material feminist scholars because I am also interested in engagements with matter, in how practitioners engage with material things (in the form of technologies and other inanimate objects) in the enactment of their work. This then begs the question of what *kind* of feminist account this thesis offers. Donna Haraway's (1985) observation that 'it has become difficult to name one's feminism by a single adjective' (Haraway 1985, p. 72) speaks to my sense of self as having a constantly moving subjectivity. Borrowing Marilyn Strathern's (1991) phrase, this thesis traces a trail between and among 'more than one, and less than many' partial connections (Strathern, cited in Mol 2002, p. 82) between the feminisms of then and the feminisms of now. (This is discussed further in Section 3.3 in relation to theoretical and methodological issues.)

Carla Lam (2012) suggests that the new material feminisms represent the most promising feminist approach seen for a long time, because

they constitute a methodological approach that has the greater consequence of "breaking feminist waves" hence taking us beyond the impassable social constructionist / biological essentialist narrative that is associated with postmodernist and modernist theories respectively. (Lam 2012, p. 17)

My hope is that this thesis finds its place among the research of those who are contributing to 'breaking feminist waves' in the pursuit of the elimination of men's violence against women and children.

1.4 Organisation of the thesis

Interagency work in relation to DFV work is often framed in terms of breaking down walls of silos between agencies (see, for example, Reddy & Sen 2013), or of fitting together pieces of a jigsaw (see, for example, McPhail et al. 2007; Thompson 2013). These are metaphors that conjure images of hard and unyielding substances that, once broken apart, and/or fitted neatly together, result in a clear and unobstructed view of the 'full picture', a static and idealised representation of 'reality', where interagency conflicts are buried under rubble and differences are squashed between puzzle pieces.

However, the story can be told another way, a way that accounts for messiness, partial truths and multiple realities. This thesis is a tale of tensions and trade-offs, a chronicle of conflict and cooperation. It is a narrative of negotiations and networks, a reimagining of working together against domestic and family violence. Reconceptualising the 'gaps' between professional and organisational 'silos' as network threads (that may need strengthening) shifts the dominant thinking about interagency differences. What if, instead of empty spaces between puzzle pieces, the black holes of interagency 'turf wars' (into which too many victims fall, often with tragic consequences), working together was conceptualised and practised as a fluid movement of drawing together and pulling apart, tracing a way through entangled and sticky webs stretchy with emergent possibilities? This thesis explores these imaginings.

Part One of the thesis comprises Chapters One to Three. Chapter One provides the context for the study, clarifying DFV as the overarching social issue to which the study responds. DFV is framed as a 'wicked' issue and the rationale for interagency collaboration is outlined. The research problem is articulated as incomplete understanding of practice in this context, further defining and locating the focus and scope of the study. Previous approaches to the study of practice in interagency DFV work are discussed and the new approach to investigation taken in this study is introduced.

Chapter Two reviews the relevant literatures on which this study builds, synthesising, analysing and critiquing previous research. The review is structured in three sections. The first section reviews the literature examining different approaches to and understandings of interagency collaboration. The second section focuses on the empirical examination of enactment of interagency collaboration in practice. The third section examines the literature that reports on the effects of interagency collaboration in integrated and coordinated responses to DFV. The limitations of existing studies in addressing the identified problem are clarified and the space occupied by this study is articulated.

Chapter Three presents the theoretical and methodological framework for this ethnographic study of practice, or praxiographic (Mol 2002) study. The overall research approach is explained, framing the study conceptually and methodologically. Section 3.2 locates the study broadly within the field of practice-based, sociomaterial research. Section 3.3 explains the theoretical resources that are deployed, drawn from ANT and post-ANT thinking, and inflected with key concepts from the new material feminisms. Section 3.4 describes the research site and profiles the participants, describing the data generation methods and explaining the process of 'diffractive analysis' (Barad 2007).

Part Two of the thesis is introduced by a short chapter (Chapter Four) that justifies the decision to structure the findings chapters around four separate but overlapping interagency DFV practices. This section also explains the decision to use Callon's (1986) four 'moments of translation' as the foci for analysis of these practices. The unique conceptualisation of interagency DFV work that this thesis proposes is introduced in this chapter.

Chapter Five is the first of four findings chapters. This chapter examines the practice of Interagency Referral, which, in this study, involved daily meetings of police and specialist DFV service providers to decide on the most appropriate services to which to refer victim/survivors who had come to the attention of police. The practice responds to the locally-identified problem of high numbers

of victims with diverse needs, which no one service provider alone could meet. Attention is paid in the analysis of this practice to Callon's (1986) concept of *problematization*, the first stage of network formation, in which a problem is defined and a set of relevant actors decide how to address the problem, thereby making themselves indispensable.

Chapter Six is the second findings chapter, in which the practice of Court Support is discussed. In this study, this practice was coordinated by a non-government women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS) working within the CJS. The practice involved government and non-government organisation (NGO) service providers participating on a weekly roster to provide holistic support to women attending the local court to seek legal protection in the form of Apprehended Violence Orders (AVOs). Callon's (1986) second moment of translation, *interessement*, is used as a focus for analysis here, shedding light on how the process of network formation involves agencies seeking to impose identities on each other, and how these identities are either stabilised or resisted.

Chapter Seven, the third findings chapter, addresses the practice of Integrated Case Coordination. In the context of this study, this practice entailed the key local service providers meeting together monthly, as per their locally-agreed interagency protocol, to discuss and take responsibility for managing different aspects of case-plans of local DFV offenders who had been deemed to be 'high risk'. The analytic focus for this practice is *enrolment*, Callon's (1986) third moment of translation, which illuminates how the primary actors seek to define and interrelate the various roles assigned to the other actors in the process of network formation.

Chapter Eight, the fourth and final findings chapter, examines the practice of Monitoring and Review. This practice is characterised as a strategic practice, in contrast to the previous three practices, which may be regarded as more operational. Monitoring and Review involved senior managers of the key agencies that were signatories to the local multi-partner agreement (MPA) meeting bi-monthly to oversee the implementation of the local integrated DFV

strategy and to troubleshoot problems as they arose. Attention is paid here to the fourth of Callon's (1986) moments of translation, *mobilisation*, because this is the final stage of network formation, in which the primary actors assume the role of spokespersons for the silent majority of network actors, thereby taking the joint project forward. However, instead of taking just one analytic focus in this chapter, all four of Callon's (1986) moments of translation are used as lenses through which to examine the practice, showing how each moment may unfold within the enactment of a single practice.

Chapter Nine synthesises and theorises the empirical findings of the four previous chapters, advancing the understanding of interagency DFV work developed in the thesis. The discussion builds on the deep analysis of the four practices by conceptualising interagency work as accomplished by multiple interconnecting actor-networks. The crux of this novel theorisation is explained in terms of two entangled modes of working together, and their differential effects for victim/survivors. These networks and modes of working together are shown to be knitted/knotted together to make up the complex texture of interagency DFV work.

Chapter Ten is the final chapter, in which the research questions posed in Chapter One (Section 1.2) are answered, and the original and significant contributions to scholarship are articulated. This is followed by a discussion of the implications, for interagency DFV practice and policy specifically, but also for collaborative professional practice and learning more broadly. Suggestions for further research are canvassed and there is a section that reflects critically on the decisions taken in conducting the study. The thesis concludes with a reiteration of the way in which this research advances scholarship.

1.5 Concluding thoughts

Identifying interagency DFV work as the central concern of this study situates the research problem within a broader social context. Framing DFV as a wicked problem foregrounds its complexity and highlights the need for non-reductionist

approaches to researching the issue. While there are no readily available solutions to wicked problems, there is widespread agreement that interagency collaboration is the most appropriate way forward.

However, efforts to work together have frequently been perceived as being thwarted by systemic fragmentation. The antidote to this fragmentation has been framed as integration. This has led to the pursuit of a range of integrated responses to DFV, which in turn has generated substantial research to identify success factors for working together and to evaluate collaborative efforts. However, working together does not always result in better outcomes for victim/survivors. This begs the question of what happens in practice in the delivery of such interventions.

Thus, the research problem that this study addresses is framed as an incomplete understanding of the complexity of interagency DFV work in practice and, specifically, the ways in which its effects play out in relation to victim/survivors. A focus on enactment attends to an identified knowledge gap, and the practice-based sociomaterial feminist approach differentiates the study from previous research in the field of DFV.

The innovative approach taken in his study also adds another empirical study to the growing body of sociomaterial practice-based research. Generating new ways of thinking about how practitioners from diverse agencies and professional backgrounds work together, the study contributes to the broader academic field of professional practice studies, specifically to the research on interagency collaboration.

¹ Rosie Batty is a domestic violence survivor and activist. She was named Australian of the Year in 2015.

² In this thesis, the term ‘victim/survivor’ is used to acknowledge the strength of those (mainly women and children) who have survived the experience of domestic and family violence, as the term ‘victim’ often connotes a passivity and helplessness that does not always apply. However, the term ‘victim’ is also used in the legal sense (as in ‘victim of crime’) to clearly denote that responsibility for the violence lies with the perpetrator of the abuse. For these reasons, both terms, ‘victim/survivor’ and ‘victim’, are used in this thesis.

³ Australia is a federation of six states (New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, South Australia, Western Australia, Queensland) and two self-governing territories (Australian Capital Territory and Northern Territory). Each state and territory has its own constitution, parliament, government, laws and judiciary. This means that powers are divided between the national/central government (usually called the federal or Commonwealth government) and individual States. When State laws conflict with Commonwealth laws, the Constitution says that Commonwealth laws take precedence. This can be extremely problematic in DFV when Family Law (which is federal) conflicts with DFV legislation (which is state-based).

⁴ At the end of her twelve-month term as Australian of the Year, Rosie established the Luke Batty Foundation. She continues to be an active campaigner against DFV.

Chapter Two:

Literature Review – Conceptualisation, Enactment & Effects

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literatures that relate to the present study, identifying the scholarly conversations to which this research contributes and the gaps in the current research on interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) work. A critical analysis of existing literature led to identification of three dominant trends. This chapter is structured around these three trends.

Section 2.2 reviews the literature that explores different approaches to interagency collaboration. It establishes what the existing literature reveals about how interagency working has been conceptualised, drawing on literature beyond, but often related to, DFV. The pursuit of definitions of different ways of working together has been dominant in the DFV-specific literature. This has been coupled with an approach that distinguishes these definitions as points on a continuum, or depicts them as mutually exclusive ‘types’ of interagency work. In general, interagency collaboration has been under-theorised in the literature (Warmington et al. 2004b). This thesis theorises interagency working in a way that provides fresh insights into its inherent complexity in the context of integrated DFV work.

Section 2.3 focuses on how interagency collaboration in practice has been empirically studied, clarifying the way in which integrated and coordinated responses to DFV have been researched to date. A strong focus on the enablers and barriers to collaboration emerges in this body of work. However, empirical practice-based studies of interagency DFV work, especially those with a theoretical basis, are relatively rare. The present study contributes to addressing this identified gap.

Section 2.4 examines the literature that reports on the effectiveness of interagency collaboration in integrated and coordinated service responses. The focus here is on what previous studies have found in relation to what (if anything) changes, and for whom, when practitioners from different organisations/agencies work together. This section discusses how the impacts of interagency collaboration have been examined and what this reveals in relation to the effects for service users/clients, who in the context of DFV, are primarily victim/survivors. Evaluation studies are dominant in this research. The focus of the present research is different because it observes and analyses effects, rather than evaluates effectiveness.

The review began with a literature search across the following multi-subject database platforms: Google Scholar, Informit Complete, ISI Web of Knowledge, Journal Storage, SCOPUS (Elsevier), Australian Public Affairs Full Text and Wiley Interscience. Search terms was used in various combinations to locate literature relating to and informing interagency domestic and family violence work. These were: inter-agency / multi-agency / cross-agency + domestic violence / intimate partner violence/ family violence + collaboration / integration / coordination / partnership / joined-up + practice. Additional references were located by following up citations in the reference lists of key sources. While most of the material reviewed has been published since 2000, some earlier significant references have also been included.

The review draws on literature that examines interagency collaboration and integrated responses to complex problems, specifically in relation to DFV, but also in the connected areas of child protection and wellbeing and services for children and young people, as well as more broadly in the health, social and human services sectors, where relevant. It is worth noting that the bulk of the research on interagency collaboration has been conducted in these areas. Excluded from the review are studies that focus solely on interprofessional (as distinct from interagency) practice, unless this is addressed within the wider context of interagency work and/or responses to violence against women.

The chapter concludes with a clear articulation of the research gaps addressed by this study, the niche it occupies within the literatures, the scholarly conversations to which it contributes and the arguments it extends.

2.2 Conceptualisations of interagency work

While there is general agreement that working together is the most appropriate strategy for addressing complex problems, it cannot be assumed that there is a shared understanding of what this means, nor that there are shared practices involved. Just as Laing (2000) notes that there are no uncontested definitions in DFV work, neither is there one universally accepted way of working together. However, conceptualisation has largely been shaped by thinking in terms of a linear continuum of 'levels' of integration and/or circumscribed 'types' of interagency work. The guiding question for this part of the review, therefore, is how has interagency work been understood? This section explores the different understandings and divergent approaches to making sense of the many ways of working together across agency/organisational boundaries. This is important because how interagency work is understood shapes how it is studied. The conceptualisation that underpins this research study shapes the distinctive approach taken.

There exists a range of different models of interagency working that differ in terms of scale and degree, across and within jurisdictions (Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013; Wangmann 2006). Potito and colleagues (2009) describe four models of integrated service development in Australia: organic community development models; local responses to catastrophic events; top-down policy initiatives; joint decisions by policy makers/funders and local managers. They argue that the most prevalent is a community development model operating within a circumscribed geographical area. This is the dominant model in New South Wales, where the present study was undertaken. Healey, Humphreys and Wilcox (2013) note that models of integrated service delivery range from partnerships between individual agencies (Burt et al. 2001) to whole-of-government approaches across a state (Ross et al. 2011) and system-wide

taskforces (Malik, Ward & Janczewski 2008). A recent scoping review of interagency work at the interface between child protection, family law and community-based DV services, conducted by Macvean and colleagues (2015), for Australia's National Research Organisation for Women's Safety (ANROWS), found 24 different models internationally⁵.

These findings lend weight to the case for a diversity of approaches. However, as noted in Section 1.2, terms to describe working together are often used inconsistently, and definitional debates continue in the pursuit of clarity and with the aim of reducing confusion. This has left the field in something of a quandary, as definitions provide clarity but can also constrain flexibility.

2.2.1 The continuum/ typology approach

One way out of this impasse is to distinguish between different ways of working together in terms of levels of integration and/or types based on structure and function. One of the most common ways of untangling the various approaches is to distinguish them as points on a spectrum of responses. Indeed, many commentators suggest that this is the most useful way to conceptualise the different ways of working together (see, for example, Breckenridge et al. 2015; Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013; Potito et al. 2009).

Fine, Pancharatnam and Thomson (2000, 2005) proposed a continuum of 'levels' of integration from 'autonomy', through 'cooperation' and 'coordination', to 'integration'.⁶ At the autonomy end of the continuum, agencies are depicted as simply co-existing, acting independently of each other in isolated 'silos' (Wilcox 2010a). This depiction, however, ignores the fact that agencies' actions frequently do impact on each other. It is argued that cooperation, the next level, is marked by a preparedness to work together for some common goals, but individual agencies are still portrayed as essentially retaining their autonomy. Coordination is seen to entail the development of mutually agreed protocols and plans and 'harmonisation of activities', often involving an external coordinator to facilitate network-building. Integration, in this conceptualisation, is evident only when agencies are part of a single unified system, the boundaries between them

dissipated, with services being provided concurrently, smoothly and 'seamlessly'.

There are two problems with this approach. The first is that the notion of 'seamlessness', while perhaps a laudable aspirational goal, is rarely achievable in 'the real world' of human service delivery. Because this view of integration constructs it as the 'gold standard', there is a tendency for the architects of interagency responses of *any* kind to attach the label 'integrated' to imbue them with the glow of best practice. However, as has been pointed out by the Australian and NSW Law Reform Commissions (2010), many of the responses described as integrated in Australia bear more resemblance to variations of coordinated responses, although they might be referred to as integrated approaches. The second drawback of conceptualisations that establish integration as the goal is that a focus on the effects on victim/survivors may be lost, overlooking the point that collaboration is a means to an end, and not the end itself (Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013). The conceptualisation of interagency work proposed in this study addresses this shortcoming

In the realm of the human services sector, integration has focused primarily on the 'three Cs' of cooperation, coordination and collaboration, with collaboration being positioned as the third point on Keast, Brown & Mandell's (2007) continuum. Wilcox's (2010b) revised continuum of integrated service delivery, however, positions 'collaborative practice' and 'streamlined referrals' as two additional stages between service autonomy and cooperation. While collaboration does not feature on all integration continuum models, it has been variously conceptualised as a point/stage/activity that goes beyond cooperation and coordination, but 'stops short of integration' (Moore 2010, cited in McDonald & Rosier 2011a, p. 2). As noted in Section 1.2, in this thesis, the term 'interagency collaboration' is used simply to refer to a way of working together to achieve an integrated or coordinated response to DFV, the primary purpose of which is to improve outcomes for victim/survivors.

Breckenridge and colleagues (2015) argue that the advantage of a continuum model is that it avoids definitional debates by not fixing on one definition, 'thereby allowing for a more nuanced discussion of how integration may operate in different practice contexts' (Breckenridge et al. 2015, p. 9). While thinking in continuum terms enables an important shift away from constraining definitions, it doesn't eliminate a tendency towards categorisation.

A structural-functional approach to distinguishing the different modes of working together is advocated by Murray & Powell (2011), who characterise interagency responses as of two basic types, bottom-up/localised and top-down/policy-driven, noting that the challenge of integrated approaches is to ensure that policy, legislation and politics all align. Interestingly, 'practice' is not explicitly noted in this partnership. Gray's (2002) typology is another example of a structural-functional approach, making a distinction between collaborative endeavours that take a macro focus and those that concentrate on the micro level. Another distinction that has been proposed is 'horizontal' and 'vertical' integration, the former referring to processes occurring within a state jurisdiction and the latter to alignment between state and federal jurisdictions, principally within the legal arena (see Wilcox 2010a). These approaches, while accounting for complexity, do so in a way that is suggestive of neat boundaries and stability within systems, rather than embracing the dynamics of constant change that so often characterise complex problems such as DFV. This thesis takes instability and flux as its starting points.

Both the continuum approach and the typology approach have inherent limitations. While a continuum may serve as a useful heuristic for thinking about interagency work, it implicitly sets up a hierarchy of models, with 'worst' at one end and 'best' at the other. While not necessarily intended to be interpreted this rigidly, this approach lacks the fluidity that responses to complex problems require. Similarly, a tendency towards typologies, while helpful in terms of clarifying conceptual confusion, carries risks and has its own constraints, particularly in relation to practice. For example, if a model of interagency work

is described as falling into X category/level of approach, does this mean that it does not also sometimes look like (and be enacted as) model Y? Compartmentalising ways of working together like this runs counter to the thinking that needs to inform the sophisticated responses to complexity that are required. Significantly, both approaches concentrate attention on the *means* of working together, sometimes obscuring a focus on the *purpose* for working together.

2.2.2 Client-centred approaches

Client-centred approaches to interagency collaboration avoid this pitfall by decentring the means of working together and focusing on the end; that is producing benefits for the service-users. However, this focus on the clients of collaborating services is notably absent from much of the descriptive literature about interagency collaboration, resulting in what John Law (2004b) might refer to as a 'manifest absence' of victim/survivors (and of perpetrators) in interagency responses to DFV. There are exceptions. Flatau and colleagues (2013), for example, note that, while policy stakeholders place a greater emphasis on describing models of integration, practice stakeholders display a more finely-tuned sensibility about integration as the means to an end, to achieve connectedness with other services to meet the needs of their clients. This notion of a client-centred approach to collaborative working has been captured by various researchers. Daniels and colleagues (2007), for example, foreground the involvement of service-users as collaborators in their use of Victor & Boynton's (1998) term 'co-configuration' to denote service development as a partnership between providers and consumers. Engestrom, Engestrom & Vahaaho's (1999) term 'knotworking,' as used by Edwards and her colleagues (Edwards et al. 2009), captures the idea of collaborative working as tying threads of support around a client.

The development of the 'wraparound' service process is another conceptualisation of client-centred service delivery, with interagency collaboration being regarded as a key principle of these models (Burns et al. 2000;

Mattessich, Murray-Close & Monsey 2001; Warmington et al. 2004b). Evolving initially as a response to help families with the challenges of caring for children with severe emotional and behavioural problems, 'wraparound' has since been used in a wide range of other areas, including mental health, education, child welfare and juvenile justice (Burchard, Bruns & Burchard 2002). Describing the wraparound process as a collaborative, team-based approach to service and support planning, VanDenBerg, Bruns & Burchard (2003) make the important point that it is 'driven by the needs of the family rather than by the services that are available or reimbursable' (VanDenBerg, Bruns & Burchard 2003, p. 4). While the wraparound concept serves to centre the needs of clients in interagency collaboration, it also connotes a passivity on the part of service-users, possibly reinforcing the idea of service being 'done to' clients rather than 'done with' them, which runs counter to feminist-based notions of DFV service delivery, which underpin the thinking in this thesis.

The concept of 'wraparound' services has been taken up in the DV sector by Hague & Bridge (2008), who emphasise the need to centralise the voices of women in integrated responses. Noting that increased safety for women is 'consistently identified in the literature as the most important objective' (Hague & Bridge 2008, p. 197), they also suggest that this is not always prioritised in practice, a point echoed by Keeling & van Wormer (2012) who note that the system has become 'increasingly punitive and bureaucratic' (Keeling & van Wormer 2012, p. 1368). Once relegated to the domain of 'women's issues', violence within the home/family is now rightfully regarded as 'everyone's business'. However, this integration into the mainstream has perhaps come at a cost. Two decades ago, Hague (1997) warned of the risk of interagency work functioning merely as a 'smokescreen' to disguise inaction, signalling the possibility of the stories and voices of women (both victim/survivors and activist/advocates) becoming progressively invisible and inaudible. Sounding this note of caution about interagency initiatives, she asserted that the difference between interagency work in DV and in other areas is that, in the field of DV, engagement with a social movement (that is, feminism) is inevitable.

Foreshadowing the potential of interagency work to 'dilute feminist woman-centred ideas about DV', Hague (1998) posited that the real challenge for the women's movement was to 'maintain its integrity while laying out a partnership role' (Hague 1998, p. 446).

Taking a human rights perspective in making the case for integrated services in relation to violence against women, Kelly & Lovett (2005) take a slightly different approach to unpacking the term *integration*. Referring to integrated responses as those that address all forms of gendered violence simultaneously, they purposefully highlight the connections between DV, sexual assault, sex trafficking and other forms of gender-based exploitation. Focusing on the lived experiences of interpersonal violence, Kelly & Lovett's (2005) use of the term integration assumes a deliberately gendered nuance that serves as a counterpoint to the way the term is used in much of the literature to refer more pragmatically to inter-organisational arrangements. Kelly & Lovett (2005) also add another dimension to the concept, noting that 'the failure to integrate what we already know — and we do know a lot about connections — in the formulation and implementation of policy is a significant impediment to change' (Kelly & Lovett 2005, p. 16). The implications of a gender analysis of DFV for a client-centred approach to integrated service provision is a connective running thread in this thesis.

2.2.3 Summary of Section 2.2

While interagency collaboration is generally considered to be the most useful way forward to work on wicked problems (Australian Public Service Commission 2007) such as DFV, it is also acknowledged that there is no one way of working together. Efforts to clarify the differences between the various approaches and to reduce confusion in the field have resulted in the dominance of linear and/or binary understandings of working together, with continuum and typology approaches being the most prevalent conceptualisations. However, continuing efforts to contain and circumscribe interagency work in this way are unlikely to advance scholarship in this field; working together is a phenomenon

that escapes singular definitions, a performance imbued with multiplicity, as this thesis will show.

What is missing in the current interagency conceptualisation literature is a theoretically-based understanding of the messiness, fluidity and entangled nature of interagency work. This thesis argues for a different way of understanding interagency work, a way that takes account of webs of relations and fluctuating associations.

2.3 Enactment of interagency collaboration in practice

In the context of an array of different understandings and interpretations of what it means to work together, it follows that there is no one answer to the question of what interagency collaboration looks like in practice. This section reviews the literature that seeks to clarify this by identifying the key elements of success and the perceived barriers and challenges to interagency working.

Many reviews list the factors that purportedly facilitate collaboration and/or are necessary for successful integration (see, for example, Wilcox 2010a), placed alongside those that are perceived to act as barriers (see, for example, Murphy & Fanslow 2012). The empirical studies of practice are largely descriptive, confirming what is already known about the enablers of and impediments to interagency collaboration. Within this literature, there is a heavy emphasis on what Atkinson (2007) refers to as 'people factors' (Atkinson 2007, p. 45). This is to say that there is a strong focus on practitioners' communication with each other, conflict resolution and interpersonal skills to achieve common understandings to work better together (see, for example, Sloper 2004). There appears to be little discussion of how to proceed in the absence of shared understandings. Alongside this 'people factor' focus, running almost in parallel, is a descriptive thread about the systemic arrangements that purportedly facilitate interagency collaboration (for example, formal agreements, memoranda of understanding and interagency protocols). What is interesting is that there is

little attention given to how these ‘factors’ (the human and the non-human) interact in collaborative practice.

A notable exception to this trend is a case study by Mellaard & van Meijl (2016) that focuses on the enactment of a ‘code’ for reporting on DV and child abuse in Rotterdam in The Netherlands. While not within the DFV interagency collaboration literature, their study is of relevance to the present research as it was the only study that could be located that shifts the research gaze away from an almost exclusive focus on humans. In this study, Mellaard & Meijl (2007) define their approach as ‘object-oriented’, emphasising their intention to bring objects, and the practices that sustain those objects, to the foreground of analysis. Thinking in terms of assemblages, they argue, enabled them to ‘stay close to actors and draw not only attention to how human actors perform policy in different practices and sites, but also to non-human actors who are part of the same scene’ (Mellaard & van Meijl 2016, p. 16). In their analysis, the code is a ‘nonhuman actor which makes the non-coherent practices in the field of DV to cohere’ (Mellaard & van Meijl 2016, p. 2). This perspective shows policy not as something separate from practice, but as an actor that partakes in its enactment, an idea that this thesis takes up.

2.3.1 Key elements for success

There are few empirical studies of practice, and even fewer that are grounded in theory. Despite this slim empirical base, there is increasing agreement about the key factors for success, as well as the main challenges to collaborative work (Atkinson 2007; Gray 2002; Helean et al. 2005; Yim et al. 2008). The sub-sections that follow review the literature in relation to these enabling and hindering factors.

‘People factors’

High on the list of key elements for success in interagency DFV work is a shared vision and philosophy, underpinned by a common understanding (Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013), which is frequently regarded as ‘a fundamental

pre-requisite' (Murray & Powell 2011, p. 128) to working together. The present study questions this assumption.

The need for trust, mutual positive regard and respect for each other's professional cultures are also frequently noted as necessary (Darlington, Feeney & Rixon 2005; Johnson et al. 2003; Markoff et al. 2005; Potito et al. 2009). Starting from this basis, it can be argued that practitioners from different professions and organisational contexts can find common ground and improve interagency communication (Zanettino & McLaren 2012), building the commitment that is needed, at all organisational levels, to sustain collaborative working relationships (Sloper 2004). To achieve this end, Serrano (2003) notes the value of framing interagency work in a way that addresses the most urgent problems of the individual participating agencies, thereby establishing a 'win-win' arrangement. The need to serve multiple interests in productive collaborations is addressed closely in the chapters that follow.

The literature frequently notes the need for practitioners to develop collaborative skills (Atkinson et al. 2002) and the mechanism that is most often recommended to achieve this is training, both joint interagency training and specialist/single agency training (Darlington, Feeney & Rixon 2005; Murphy & Fanslow 2012). While training is generally regarded as enabling interagency work, most commentators make the point that it ought not be viewed as a panacea (Humphreys & Absler 2011). Markoff and colleagues (2005) also note the need to explicitly connect training to practice, and Sloper (2004) includes the need for appropriate practitioner support and supervision as part of ongoing professional development. While professional development is beyond the scope of this thesis, the implications for interagency learning is discussed in Chapter Ten.

'Systemic factors'

In relation to systemic factors, most of the literature in this area emphasises the importance of formalised agreements and protocols that articulate common aims and objectives (Murphy & Fanslow 2012), and clearly outline the roles and

responsibilities of the partners (Helean et al. 2005; Johnson et al. 2003; Sloper 2004). Such formalised agreements, it is argued, enable transparent decision-making, clear lines of accountability and participatory planning (Murphy & Fanslow 2012). They also facilitate information-sharing (Sully, Greenaway & Reeves 2005), which is widely considered as essential for joined-up decision-making (Adams & Lee-Jones 2017; Drinkwater et al. 2017; Keast et al. 2008; Wilcox 2010b) and continual performance monitoring and evaluation (Atkinson 2007; Sloper 2004). Strong leadership and robust governance arrangements (Hanleybrown, Kania & Kramer 2012), backed up by senior management 'buy-in' and support (Murphy & Fanslow 2012; Sloper 2004), are generally included in the list of critical success factors for interagency work. Some commentators highlight the importance of multi-agency steering groups (Allen 2005), while others argue for a dedicated coordinating service (Murphy & Fanslow 2012), and/or a specialist coordinator position acting as a 'strategic broker' (Atkinson 2007, p. 31). Adequate investment of material resources is invariably noted as essential to effective interagency work (Darlington, Feeney & Rixon 2005; Hague, Malos & Dear 1996; Johnson et al. 2003), as is the need for appropriate allocation of time and realistic timeframes. Sloper (2004) specifies that 'protected time for staff to undertake joint working activities' (Sloper 2004, p. 576) is vital, while Atkinson (2007) suggests that funders need 'patience for results' (Atkinson 2007, p. 46). While these researchers recognise the importance of extra-human factors, there are few empirical studies that explore how they interact with 'people factors' and with what effects (San Martin-Rodriquez et al. 2005).

2.3.2 Barriers, challenges and interagency differences

There is general agreement in the literature about the many obstacles and challenges involved in working together. Multiple reasons are offered as to why it is so difficult to work across agency and organisational boundaries. These can be grouped into two categories: problems stemming from interagency differences and practical resourcing and infrastructure issues. A strong focus on conflicting discourses, power disparities and interagency tensions and contradictions emerges from the focus on interagency differences, with the result

that difference itself has become framed as a problem to be overcome. This framing of interagency differences as a problem in and of itself is an important idea that this thesis explores and ultimately challenges.

Interagency tensions and conflicting discourses

Tapley (2010) makes the point that a fundamental issue that government guidance and strategies tend to gloss over is that partnership working is difficult because of the different interests, priorities and practices that are involved. These differences are thus generally framed in the literature as the source of interagency tensions and conflicts (Shlonsky, Friend & Lambert 2007; Zanettino & McLaren 2012) and are therefore perceived as obstacles to be surmounted (Laing, Irwin & Toivonen 2012). Laing, Humphreys & Cavanagh (2013) characterise this as a 'struggle over meaning' (Laing, Humphreys & Cavanagh 2013, p. 124), which gives rise to what Banks, Dutch & Wang (2008) have called a lack of 'institutional empathy' (Banks, Dutch & Wang 2008, p. 887). Some researchers have noted that this often results in a tendency towards defensiveness and culture of blame among practitioners in interagency work (Foster-Fishman, Salem & Allen 2001; Vangen & Huxham 2003).

Arguing that the conceptualisation of interagency working is generally underdeveloped, Warmington and colleagues (2004a) note that while much policy and strategic literature perpetuates the idea that interagency work is the solution to problems, it also underestimates interagency work as rife with tensions, conflict and contradictions. This is a point taken up by Hester (2011) in her analysis of the systemic tensions and contradictions that exist among what she calls the 'three planets' of DV (encompassing work with both victims and perpetrators), child protection and child contact (Family Law in the Australian context). Using Bourdieu's (1989) notion of *habitus* to explain the different orientations, perspectives and approaches of the different workforce groups, Hester (2011) argues that the fundamental starting point is to acknowledge that 'interplanetary work' is full of contradictions and tensions. Specifically, she notes the 'conceptual gap' in family law whereby men who are violent towards women

are frequently construed as ‘good enough’ fathers (Eriksson & Hester 2001). Within this context, she nevertheless asserts that ‘research has continually shown that coordinated and cohesive responses to DV are more effective at creating safety for both adult victims and children’ and that therefore there is a need for ‘much closer and coherent practices across the three areas’ (Hester 2011, p. 850).

Focusing on the historically fraught relationship between DV services and statutory child protection agencies, Douglas & Walsh (2010) note that different gender norms are one of the key structural factors at play in the interface between these two sectors, making ‘the relationship between the two services that seek to minimise violence, ironically highly conflicted’ (Humphreys, cited in McDonald & Robinson 2011, p. 16). Discussing the problem of conflicting discourses in relation to child protection in the context of DV, Humphreys & Absler (2011) highlight the fact that statutory child protection discourse is imbued with mother-blaming messages, while feminist discourse hinges around perpetrator responsibility and accountability. This helps to explain the challenges of collaborative interagency work, showing that simply shifting the blame from mothers to practitioners is also unhelpful as it deflects attention from the structures and systems that hinder constructive cross-sectoral practice. This thesis extends this argument, emphasising that it is the entanglement of divergent discourses with multiple systems in overlapping networks that account for the many challenges in interagency practice.

In this context, it is worth noting that one of the oft-cited ‘enablers’ of interagency collaboration, information-sharing provisions, is also, paradoxically, fraught with tensions in work at the interface of DV and child protection. The need to balance adults’ rights to privacy and the need to protect children frequently plays out as ‘juggling confidentiality and safety’ in relation to documentation practices (Drinkwater et al. 2017).

A focus on ‘discursive clashes’ is echoed in Harvie & Manzi’s (2011) ten-year longitudinal case study that examined the impact of the introduction of local Crime and Disorder Reduction Partnerships in the late 1990s in the United

Kingdom on DV service provision. The authors considered how these partnerships impacted on feminist ideologies and concluded that a combination of judicial processes and bureaucratic politics has resulted in feminist discourse being supplanted by three now dominant discourses. They call these the 'criminal justice' discourse, the 'managerialism' discourse and the 'equalities' discourse. The first they characterise as 'a one-dimensional criminal justice discourse [that] has displaced a feminist political, power and control, analysis' (Harvie & Manzi 2011, p. 79). The second, they argue, has emerged in the wake of the ascendancy of managerialism and 'has allowed prescriptive short-term performance measurement to prevail over long-term 'sufferer-orientated' responses' (Harvie & Manzi 2011, p. 79). The third 'equalities' discourse, they contend, has 'prioritized perpetrator initiatives and discouraged dissent' (Harvie & Manzi 2011, p. 79). The study found that the convergence of these three discourses has resulted in the 'dominance of the statutory sector, a marginalisation of voluntary agencies and the partial alienation of women's groups' (Harvie & Manzi 2011, p. 79). Harvie & Manzi (2011) argue that this has proved detrimental to the interests of the women who are predominantly the victims of DV, as well as to the voluntary, not for profit organisations that support them. In a similar vein, Moore (2016) refers to a clash between the 'Ethics of Care' enacted by victim advocates and an 'Ethics of Justice' enacted by the criminal justice agencies, as a key source of interagency tension in the provision of multidisciplinary human services. These arguments echo the early critique of interagency DV initiatives made by Hague & Malos (1998).

Buchbinder & Eisikovits' (2008) study of collaborative discourse in police and social work relationships in intimate partner violence in Israel also focused on contradictions and paradoxes in partnership work. Their analysis revealed four recurrent themes: struggle over who owns the solution and avoiding responsibility and the power to intervene; boundary preservation work; estrangement of the other organisation; and collaboration maintained on the interpersonal rather than the institutional level. The study found that professionals construct the situated meaning of their professional-organisational

policy and their ideological and professional culture, which prescribes collaboration without necessarily acting on it, recalling Hague's (1998) 'smokescreen' effect. The disjuncture between the prescriptive level of collaboration and the actual lack of this on the descriptive level of day-to-day practices is explored in this study. A focus on discourse adds a valuable dimension to understanding the challenges of working together in response to DFV, but the investigation needs to go further. This thesis investigates how these clashes play out in practice, as different professional and organisational perspectives collide and intersect with each other, and with the materialities of their work together, in the various shiftings of power relations.

A focus on power disparities is also evident in a study by Cole (2016) who examined the relationships within Sexual Assault Response Teams (SARTs)⁷ in the United States. Using in-depth surveys with SART coordinators and telephone surveys with 79 professionals involved in three active, formal SARTs in one state, Cole examined the structural and interpersonal factors that impacted on these interprofessional and interagency relationships. Findings suggest that power differences embedded in structural inequalities, and enacted interpersonally in practice, are at the source of interagency tensions and conflicts. Cole suggests that greater attention be given in the research and practice literature to the conditions that 'maximise constructive conflict and minimise destructive conflict' (Cole 2016, p. 17). She recommends that ongoing training for practitioners engaged in this collaborative work includes conflict resolution skills and the opportunity to 'explore existing tensions and constraints' (Cole 2016, p. 2). The theme of power differences is also taken up in the present study, but rather than focusing on efforts to resolve the conflict that arises from these power differences, this study examines how power is accumulated and distributed and the effects of this.

In an innovative four-year study, exploring interagency collaboration to prevent social exclusion of children and young people in the United Kingdom, Edwards and colleagues (2009) provided opportunities for practitioners to explore these interagency tensions and constraints in and through practice. Through the

structured developmental work research (DWR) sessions that are part of the Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT) methodology they used, and deploying Engestrom's (2001) notion of 'expansive learning', the researchers in the Learning in and for Interagency Working (LIW) project demonstrably link practice with learning. A key finding of this research was that the practitioners were 'learning to do inter-professional work *while* doing inter-professional work' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 85), and that their learning was facilitated by 'opportunities to discuss the challenges of these practices' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 85).

The study also found that there were key concepts that had currency across all the sites they studied. The concepts that characterised responsive interagency practice included a focus on the whole client in the wider context of their life, a responsiveness to others (both other practitioners and clients), and openness to alternatives, developing what Edwards (2005) has termed 'relational agency'. Recognising and respecting the importance of individual expertise and seeing themselves as part of a strong local system of distributed and connected expertise were also key features of these interagency practices. Responsive interagency practitioners in this study bent rules and took risks, as they developed tools and processes for knowledge-sharing, while 'balancing on the boundaries' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 38) of criss-crossing professional and agency practices. They also took what they (2009) call a 'pedagogic' stance at work, communicating knowledge not only horizontally across professions but also vertically 'upstream' in organisational hierarchies about systemic changes that might be needed to maximise impact. The use of conceptual resources provided by ANT and the new material feminisms expands the focus of investigation beyond the agency of the practitioners and their relationships with each other, to the actions and associations of a wider range of participating actors.

In their analysis of what helped interprofessional learning in the DWR sessions, the LIW researchers identified what activity theory calls 'shared objects', that is, problems that provided the impetus for collaborations. In one of their research

sites a Common Assessment Framework proved to be a powerful boundary object. However, they also found that 'efforts need to be made to shift institutional practices to enable interprofessional collaboration [and that] it cannot be taken forward by the heroic work of strong individuals who are robust enough to sustain professional identities outside organisations' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 96). Importantly they note that 'simply inserting a new tool such as an assessment framework into a system...does not guarantee that it will be used in the challenging and progressive way its designers had perhaps intended' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 97). This thesis applies a different theoretical framework to understand how it is that tools intended to assist working together sometimes have the opposite effect.

The LIW study thus addresses important gaps and limitations noted in the literature on interagency collaboration and is one of the few empirical studies of interagency practice identified in this review. As such, it serves as a solid foundation from which to launch the present study which takes a different approach to a similar problem. The sociomaterial approach adopted in the present research shifts the focus to what happens at the intersections between human practitioners and the material things that participate in their work together. By attributing equal agentic strength to non-human actors and human actors, this study opens for scrutiny the doing of practice in interagency collaboration in DFV, thereby extending the work on non-people factors that prior research has shown to be important. The conceptual framework and methodology for the study is explained in detail in Sections 3.2 and 3.3.

In the light of the emphasis in the literature on the challenges and obstacles involved in interagency working, some authors argue the need to weigh up the purported benefits against the difficulties. Huxham & Vangen (2004), for example, write of the dangers of operating in an uncritically pro-collaboration environment, warning of the possibility of what they call 'collaborative inertia'. This they suggest is when 'the output of a collaborative arrangement is negligible' (Huxham & Vangen 2004, p. 191), and is something that they claim

happens very frequently in practice. They conclude that given the highly resource-intensive and often painful' (Huxham & Vangen 2004, p. 200) nature of interagency collaboration, unless there is potential for real collaborative advantage, 'it is generally best, *if there is a choice [original emphasis]*, to avoid collaboration' (Huxham & Vangen 2004, p. 200). Stanley & Humphreys (2006) also suggest taking a critical approach to appraising interagency and multi-agency working, warning that there are important issues to be addressed 'if this work is to be progressive rather than increasing danger or only experienced as disempowering rather than helpful' (Stanley & Humphreys 2006, p. 38). This thesis examines these issues, shedding light on when interagency work merely serves to maintain the status quo, functioning as a 'facesaver... a way of appearing to be doing something ... without having to put in any real policy or resources, and of looking (and possible feeling) good while nothing much really changes' (Hague 1998, p. 445). In this process, ways of working that centralise the interests of victim/survivors (Hague 2005; Hague & Mullender 2006) in the enactment of integrated responses to DFV will also be identified.

Practical problems

Many studies report on the practical impediments to interagency collaboration, noting that limited financial resourcing is a serious and frequently encountered challenge (Atkinson 2007; Macy & Goodbourn 2012). This may be interpreted as a confirmation that integrated service provision is not cost-neutral and that inadequate funding results in poor infrastructure to support integrated responses (Sharland 2012; Zanettino & McLaren 2012). Wilcox (2012), for example, notes that some responses may be well-planned but are 'hampered in their capacity to make a difference because of significant gaps in service provision in the region' (Wilcox 2012, p. 6). This in turn may manifest as lack of managerial will and/or support to implement integrated responses (Stanley & Humphreys 2006), particularly when frontline practitioners are already time-poor and have high workloads (Harker et al. 2004; Helean et al. 2005). These problems are often exacerbated by poor information transfer across sectors

(Stanley et al. 2011), reinforcing the notion of agencies operating as separate silos. The findings of the present study show that the boundaries between these 'silos' are frequently more permeable than believed, and that information makes its way across agency boundaries in many ways, regardless of the systems that are in place.

2.3.3 Summary of Section 2.3

While much has been written about interagency collaboration in the context of integrated responses to DFV, most of this literature, with a few notable exceptions, is descriptive and lacks a strong theoretical base. This is significant because, without a strong conceptual framework, examination of the complexity of interagency DFV work is limited and the possibility of losing sight of the effects on victims is high.

In the context of a diversity of ways of working together, research attention on collaboration in practice has focused on identifying areas of agreement, and has found that there is considerable consistency in relation to the facilitators of and barriers to constructive interagency working. These have generally been framed as factors to be accounted for in the planning and implementation of integrated service responses. These factors have been further distinguished from each other as either 'systemic' or 'people' factors, with little attention being directed toward the way these factors interact with each other in practice.

An especially prominent theme in this literature is a focus on interagency differences as the source of much conflict and tension. With notable exceptions (for example, Edwards et al. 2009), these differences are generally framed as a problem to be overcome. A less common approach in the literature is to explore how interagency contradictions may be a source of productive tension and new practices. This thesis takes an approach to interagency differences that treats divergence as a given that is part of the fabric of interagency work.

What is largely missing in the literature that focuses on interagency collaboration in practice is empirical practice-based, theoretically-driven studies that highlight

the dynamism, instability and constant movement in the enactment of interagency DFV work, as all the disparate elements jostle together. This thesis shifts the focus from 'factors' to 'actors'. This shift, it is argued, enables a clearer focus on the *doing* of interagency collaboration, which is currently underexplored in the research on integrated responses to DFV.

2.4 Effects or effectiveness?

This section critically engages with the literature that examines the effects of interagency work. What is immediately apparent in this area is the dominance of evaluation studies. The study of 'effects' has become the evaluation of 'effectiveness', which in turn has become a process of seeking to quantify success. While the present study is *not* evaluative research, the findings of this large and growing body of research do have a bearing on current outcomes-focused discussions and debates, and point to a central concern of this thesis, the effects of interagency work in relation to victim/survivors. For these reasons, the work in this area will be reviewed here.

Three types of studies are discussed in this section: those that evaluate collaborative processes, those that evaluate outcomes for victim/survivors and those that identify unintended consequences.

As discussed in Section 1.1, repeated inquiries into systemic responses to DFV have continued to find failures in policy implementation and fragmentation in service provision. This has intensified the search for 'what works' (Hague 2000), with numerous calls for more rigorous evaluations of integrated responses (see McDonald & Rosier 2011b; Moore & Skinner 2010). Increasing pressure to produce 'hard evidence' of effectiveness has led to a notable tendency to evaluate what is measurable, with a resulting focus on the outputs of collaborative processes. The 'seductions of quantification' (Merry 2016) have resulted in comparatively little attention being paid to the qualitative effects of interagency working in relation to victim/survivors of DFV. Healey & Humphreys' continuum matrix for improving practice in regional interagency governance

provides for the possibility of more subtlety in evaluating effectiveness, offering an added dimension that is lacking in many of the evaluation studies in this review (Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013). However, by falling back on the continuum approach, the matrix has its limitations, as discussed in Section 2.2.

Despite the allure of the promised benefits of interagency collaboration, and the emerging evidence that some inter/multi-agency responses are effective (see Banks, Dutch & Wang 2008; Healey et al. 2009; Hester & Westmarland 2005), existing research has in general produced mixed or inconclusive results. This has led to a general view that there exists scant evidence of effectiveness (Shlonsky, Friend & Lambert 2007; Sloper 2004; Stanley 2015). However, while there is limited research linking interagency DFV work with better outcomes for victim/survivors, it is important to remember that this may be due largely to the methodological and conceptual difficulties of evaluating multi-faceted integrated responses (Friedman et al. 2007; Pence & Shepard 1999; Post et al. 2010; Stover 2005), and may not necessarily indicate the lack of effectiveness of all forms of interagency working.

Notwithstanding the challenges, there are an increasing number and type of evaluation studies that employ a range of methodologies. As noted, while some evaluations suggest evidence of positive changes, other studies have concluded that partnership initiatives do not necessarily result in coordinated service provision to victims (Welsh 2008) and that a collaborative approach does not always deliver improved outcomes to the intended recipients (Atkinson 2007; Postmus & Ah Hahn 2007; Valentine & Hilferty 2011; Visher et al. 2008). In their review of the literature on multi-agency initiatives in the child protection area, Valentine & Hilferty (2011) assert that integrated service delivery is not a panacea and cannot remedy entrenched systemic and social problems. They advocate a systems theory approach to examining multi-agency working because it 'enables consideration of the embeddedness of individual actions and events in larger operating systems, and an examination of patterns of practice rather than individual mistakes or failures' (Valentine & Hilferty 2011, p. ii). This is a fruitful

research direction that is taken up via the methodology adopted in the present study.

The open, and largely unanswerable, questions ‘does interagency collaboration work?’ and ‘is integration effective?’ have guided most of studies in this area. The central concern in this part of the review is on the effects of interagency collaboration particularly in relation to victim/survivors of DFV. More nuanced versions of the evaluation questions, then, are ‘for whom does interagency collaboration work/what interests are served?’ and ‘what counts as effectiveness?’.

The following sub-sections examine the literature on effectiveness from two perspectives. First, the findings of studies that focus on the effectiveness of collaborative processes is examined briefly. This is followed by a review of the findings of studies that focus on impacts and outcomes of working together; the area of evaluation research interest that is more closely related to the present study.

2.4.1 Evaluation of collaborative processes

Overall, studies that have focused primarily on collaborative processes have found that these generally improve interagency working relationships, and that sometimes, but not necessarily, this results in practice change. Even where there has been evidence of practice change, however, these studies have not usually been designed to investigate whether the change in practice results in better outcomes for victim/survivors.

Studies that have directed their attention primarily to the evaluation of processes of collaboration have tended to focus on system outputs, such as the development of interagency protocols. However, the mere existence of such agreements does not in and of itself improve outcomes for victim/survivors (Sapozhnikov 2017). While these studies have generated useful knowledge, and are undoubtedly contributing towards building the evidence base around interagency collaboration, they do not necessarily provide traceable links to the

effects for clients. A key limitation of many of these studies is that they tend to concentrate on evaluating the means of working together rather than on the end. This focus on collaborative processes in isolation from an examination of the effects of these processes can produce a skewed impression of effectiveness, and lead to a false assumption that collaborative endeavours are achieving their aims.

For example, a large multi-site developmental evaluation of six 'Greenbook' ⁸ demonstration sites in the United States, conducted by Banks, Lansdverk & Wang (2008) found 'significant changes in several areas of agency policy and practice' (Banks, Lansdverk & Wang 2008, p. 903). Malik, Ward & Janczewski (2008) found, however, that while cross-system efforts to identify child protection issues in DV services and DV in child welfare services had improved, sustained internal changes were less evident across sites in the DV system. This suggested that changes at the level of practice did not always translate into sustained systemic changes. The researchers concluded that, overall, the Greenbook initiative 'appeared to support significant collaborative ties among agencies that are typically believed to be at cross-purposes regarding family safety' (Edleson & Malik 2008, p. 874). However, they also noted that changes across systems and communities were hard-won and demanded substantial efforts both to achieve and to maintain. What the Greenbook evaluation highlights is the limitations of studies that evaluate processes without tracing the effects of these processes.

Some studies have taken an approach to evaluation that focuses specifically on practice change. However, this approach is often also flawed when the investigation does not extend to whether practice change translates into better outcomes for clients/victims/survivors. Webber, McCree & Angeli (2013) in the United Kingdom, for example, focused on the impact of joint protocols on practice in the context of mental health, substance abuse and DV services. Located at the contested intersection of child protection practice with other sectors, this empirical study found that, of the four protocols (mental health, alcohol and other drugs, disabilities and DV), the DV protocol appeared most effective in terms of increasing practitioner awareness. Nevertheless, only

slightly more than half the respondents reported that they had changed their practice since using the protocol. Despite this, the authors concluded that their study provides 'tentative evidence' (Webber, McCree & Angeli 2013, p. 156) that joint protocols influence practice. However, the study failed to provide even 'tentative evidence' that this effect on practice in turn had an effect in victim outcomes.

2.4.2 Evaluation of victim outcomes

Under increasing pressure to generate evidence of longer term impacts of their programs, service providers increasingly require evidence-based research to support funding applications, with the result that an increasing number of evaluation studies have begun to focus attention specifically on outcomes for service users. In relation to integrated responses to DFV, service-users are predominantly victim/survivors (women and children), but also increasingly perpetrators/offenders. Overall, these studies provide limited evidence of improved outcomes for victim/survivors. However, as noted, lack of evidence of effectiveness is not necessarily evidence of lack of effect. Taken together, the findings of outcome evaluation studies may, therefore, be more suggestive of the challenges posed by evaluation itself, rather than an indication of the usefulness of interagency work.

An increasing number of evaluation studies of small locally-based initiatives do demonstrate positive outcomes for victims. For example, in their second evaluation of the Green Valley Liverpool Domestic Violence Service (GVLDVS)⁹, Laing & Toivonen (2012) used a mixed methodology and found that the GVLDVS was a unique approach to DV service delivery as the only specialist service in the local area, providing both direct and indirect services to mothers, as well as to their children, to overcome the impacts of trauma. Clients reported that they felt safer receiving assistance that was client-centred and flexible, and based on their needs. Enacting what has been termed 'woman-centred advocacy' (Davies, Lyon & Monti-Catania 1998), the model resonates with client-centred approaches to

interagency work that centralise the voices of victim/survivors (Hague & Mullender 2006), as previously discussed.

However, large multi-site evaluations do not always produce the same positive results as small evaluative case studies. Post and colleagues (2010) evaluated ten Community Coordinated Responses (CCRs)¹⁰ in the United States, using a design in which each CCR site was paired with a sociodemographically comparable community. They found that, overall, there was *no impact* on rates of intimate partner violence and few significant increases in rates of contact with intimate partner violence services. These results may well be the product of the methodology employed, a focus on quantification and linear causal relationships; as such, any possibly positive effects of individual interventions are rendered invisible.

A more balanced approach to evaluation was taken by Robinson (2004) who conducted a six-month process and impact evaluation of the Multi-Agency Risk Assessment Conference (MARAC) approach in Cardiff, Wales. Both components entailed interviews and observations, as well as quantitative analysis of police data. Clients' perceptions of the Women's Safety Unit component of the MARAC were overwhelmingly positive. Participating practitioners also indicated that they viewed the MARAC as valuable, despite the substantial additional work their participation entailed. Among the impediments to effectiveness, time and resource limitations were noted, which is consistent with the findings of most other evaluative studies. However, also cited as a significant obstacle was 'lack of cooperation from victims' (Robinson 2004, p. 3). This finding was elaborated briefly in the comments that 'respondents placed responsibility squarely with the victim' (Robinson 2004, p. 19) and that 'fundamentally if victims want to stay with their (abusive) partners then the agencies must accept — if not respect — this choice' (Robinson 2004, p. 19). Surprisingly, this finding is not explored in any depth, although a recommendation is made to document 'victims' intuition' (Robinson 2004, p. 30) about their risk from the perpetrator. While Robinson acknowledges that 'past research suggests that victims are good sources of

“predictive ability” themselves, and that their perceptions of fear and danger must be acknowledged’ (Robinson 2004, p. 30), there is no explicit link made between this acknowledgement and the reluctance of some victims to ‘cooperate’ with authorities. This apparent lack of integration of the victim’s perspective and the scant attention paid to the effects of multi-agency working on victims is addressed in the analysis of practice presented in this thesis.

An evaluation study by Visser and colleagues (2008), of the impact of a coordinated response to intimate partner violence in the United States that involved the courts and justice agencies in a lead role, found limited impact. The primary goal of the Judicial Oversight Demonstration site was to increase victim safety and offender accountability, and to reduce repeat offending. However, despite positive responses from most participating services, and demonstrated improvements in the monitoring of offenders, these changes ‘did not translate into gains in victim perceptions of their safety or into reductions in repeat violence in all sites’ (Visser et al. 2008, p. 495). The authors concluded that services need to go beyond a focus on the court outcomes and include other services that address issues such as social support networks, financial impacts and practical issues including relocation and housing availability, as well as provide support with recovering from emotional trauma. The present study takes up this theme, and supports the contention that integrated and coordinated responses to DFV need to extend beyond an emphasis on court outcomes to counter a strong bias towards a legal response in most integrated approaches.

2.4.3 Unintended consequences

An important theme to emerge from some outcome evaluations is recognition of the unintended consequences of interagency collaboration. For example, an evaluation in two counties in Georgia, United States, by Salazar and colleagues (2007) focused on effectiveness in terms of increasing criminal justice system (CJS) sanctions for male DV offenders (that is, increased arrests, prosecutions, convictions, sentencing and referrals to batterer intervention programs). The results revealed that, while there was a significant increase in the numbers of

arrests of male offenders, in both counties, *more women* were also arrested following the intervention. The authors conclude that these results highlight the importance of attending to the way in which coordinated responses may influence the behaviour of CJS practitioners, especially in terms of unintended consequences for women.

In another study that evaluated a collaboration between substance abuse and DV agencies in the United States, Bennett & O'Brien (2007) recruited women who were seeking services for substance abuse or for intimate partner violence and included women who were both DV victims and who identified as abusing alcohol and other drugs (AOD). Their results suggested that, while participants used substances less frequently and experienced themselves as more efficacious following services, they were 'also more fearful of the consequences of DV' (Bennett & O'Brien 2007, p. 395). Does this constitute an 'improved outcome' for victims of DV? Clearly, this depends on what is being evaluated, and in Bennett & O'Brien's study the AOD-related outcomes were better than the DV-related outcomes. The authors concluded by saying that the study findings raise important questions about the 'no wrong door' concept in relation to coordinated services. They draw attention to what happens to feminist community-based services (and their clients) when they are expected to coordinate with large AOD services that are 'corporate behavioural care entities traded on Wall Street' (Bennett & O'Brien (2007, p. 409). While the context for working together is different, a focus of investigation in the present study is the interaction between small specialist feminist-oriented DFV services and large government agencies and other generalist service providers in an integrated response to DFV.

2.4.4 Summary of Section 2.4

Despite widely-held beliefs about the benefits of interagency collaboration, there is limited research that unequivocally links interagency work to improved outcomes for victim/survivors (Stanley 2015). This gap in evidence continues to generate research activity in the evaluation of integrated responses. However, a limitation of many of the evaluation studies considered in this review is that they

focus mainly on collaborative processes, often failing to make connections between these processes and their effects for victim/survivors. A focus on quantification of system outputs invariably leads to evaluation of only those things that can be measured, potentially missing substantial evidence that it may be in the interests of victim/survivors to collect. The findings of the studies that aim to evaluate outcomes are inconsistent, yielding results that are mixed and highly variable. Significantly, one finding from several studies that is worthy of closer attention is that working together can have unintended consequences that impact negatively on victim/survivors (Jaffe, Crooks & Wolfe 2003; Murray & Powell 2011). While some studies suggest positive outcomes for victim/survivors, others show no impact, while others still indicate negative effects. This means that it cannot be assumed that interagency collaboration will always produce effects that are in the interests of victim/survivors. How then are these findings to be understood? This thesis proposes a new conceptualisation of interagency DFV work that distinguishes modes of working together based on victim-centredness. This conceptualisation, it will be argued, has the potential to inform future evaluation studies.

In a deliberate attempt to counter-balance the weight of the literature that pursues the answer to the question ‘does it work?’, the present study aims to unravel how ‘it’ is enacted in practice, shining a light on the effects of these enactments, shifting the focus from evaluating and measuring effectiveness to understanding, and tracing the effects of interagency collaboration in integrated responses to DFV.

2.5 Current gaps in the literature and what this study adds

This chapter has networked the literature about interagency working in relation to complex social problems and has established the current state of the research in the field of interagency responses to DFV. The existing research (primarily from North America and the United Kingdom) has contributed to understandings of interagency work, and is growing the evidence base in relation to how best to address complex social problems.

Three major threads in the literature related to interagency collaboration and integrated DFV responses have been identified and knitted together. The first thread is a dominant conceptualisation of interagency work in terms of a continuum of integration and/or typology of approaches. While these conceptualisations help reduce confusion and bring clarity, they do not adequately account for the complexity of interagency work. The second thread is a focus on identifying the factors that enable and inhibit interagency collaboration. The research contributing to this thread is useful in terms of achieving some consistency across different ways of working together. It does not, however, foreground or explain how these factors dynamically interact in the performance of interagency work. The third thread is a focus on evaluation that is driven by pressures to produce evidence about the effectiveness of integrated responses. The pursuit of evidence of effectiveness is undoubtedly a worthwhile endeavour. However, a dominant trend towards quantification needs to be balanced by context-rich qualitative accounts that centre the lived experience of victim/survivors.

Despite the diversity of views and approaches reflected in the literature, there is consensus about the need for further research into interagency collaboration and integrated service delivery, to better inform policy and program design (Flatau et al. 2013; Garner & Maxwell 2008). Indeed, currently there is far less research literature in this area than there is policy and practice literature. Almost invariably, the calls for more and better research include a clearer focus on impacts on service-users/clients (Hague, Mullender & Aris 2003; Sloper 2004; Zwarenstein, Goldman & Reeves 2009) and, in the context of coordinated and integrated responses to DFV, improved outcomes for victim/survivors (Pence & Shepard 1999; Postmus & Ah Hahn 2007). Specifically, a need has been identified for research that more clearly connects the various components of integrated responses and evaluation methodologies that account for all aspects of integrated service delivery (Day et al. 2010) and that examine how interactional, organisational and systemic determinants of collaboration interact (San Martin-Rodriguez et al. 2005). As McDonald & Rosier (2011b) point out, 'if evidence-

based policy means more than an empty slogan, then this is surely a large gap in knowledge that needs to be filled' (McDonald & Rosier 2011b, p. 315).

Notwithstanding considerable advances in knowledge about interagency working, there remain unanswered questions and gaps in the literature. Despite a few notable exceptions (for example, Warmington et al. 2004a; Warmington et al. 2004b), interagency collaboration in general is under-theorised and conceptual frameworks for understanding interagency work in DFV are specifically lacking. There is also a relative scarcity of practice-based studies that examine interagency working, again with notable exceptions (for example, Edwards et al. 2009), and this gap is particularly marked in relation to integrated responses to DFV. In this context, there is a paucity of studies that empirically link practice changes with improved outcomes specifically for victim/survivors or that distinguish between ways of working together that benefit victim/survivors and those that serve other interests. Significantly, and somewhat ironically, there is a fragmentation, a lack of joined-upness, in the literature that parallels the disconnection between policy and practice noted by several authors (for example, Macy & Goodbourn 2012; Murray & Powell 2011).

In summary, there is more descriptive literature than analytical practice-based research in the field of interagency DFV work. An instrumental approach to interagency collaboration that treats 'working together' as a pragmatic tool has tended to dominate the field, and this has resulted in a somewhat reductionist approach. Dealing with complexity in a linear (cause and effect) and/or a binary (either/or) way has discouraged exploration of the messiness that interagency work entails and that is inevitable when tackling wicked problems. The usefulness of the concepts of interagency collaboration and integration then become subject to being measured only in terms that are measurable, omitting to take account of aspects of working together that are less amenable to quantification. In short, there seems to be a mismatch between what we know about complex problems and how we go about researching responses to these problems in practice.

The present study aims to address this lack of joined-upness by taking a new approach to the study of interagency DFV working. Addressing the questions of how interagency DFV work is enacted in practice and what the effects of these enactments are in relation to victim/survivors, the study takes as its starting point the framing of DFV as a wicked problem. With this approach, the complexity of interagency work is taken for granted and the entanglement of the issues involved in working together is something to be explored and worked with, rather than a problem to be overcome. Understanding DFV in this way also effects a shift from policy in isolation to policy as it is enacted in practice, a focus that is largely missing in the current literature. Devaney & Spratt (2009) suggest that conceptualisation of complex problems in this way not only supports practitioners in their work with clients to achieve good outcomes, but also helps to counter a 'rational technical approach' (Devaney & Spratt 2009, p. 653) in which there is a tendency to focus on short term system outputs.

The approach taken in this study enacts three significant moves.

- First, it argues for a shift in thinking about interagency working away from a linear continuum or a tightly-bounded typology approach towards a conceptualisation of interagency work as tangled and ever-changing networks.
- Second, it shifts the research focus from static 'factors' to dynamic 'actors', which include non-people actors, and the way they relate to each other. This directs attention to the doing of interagency work (regardless of the 'type' of interagency work it is), highlighting its inherent dynamism.
- Third, it refocuses attention from measuring 'effectiveness' to tracing 'effects', which permits a reprieve from seeking causal connections to quantify 'success', and instead seeks to understand associations and what happens in these associations.

Enacting these three moves requires a new theoretical and methodological approach to problematising everyday interagency practice in DFV work. In

making these moves, it is argued that this study adds a valuable dimension to an ongoing scholarly conversation in DFV studies, providing a much-needed focus on the networks of the diverse elements of integrated responses. Instead of thinking about interagency collaboration in terms of binary lists of dos and don'ts, factors that help and those that hinder, levels of integration, and measures of success, working together is conceptualised as the enactment of entangled practice.

The next chapter elaborates the conceptual framework, methodological approach and design of the study. Specifically, it clarifies what a practice-based approach offers, and unpacks the theoretical value of using sociomaterial concepts from ANT and the new material feminisms, as well as key conceptual resources from the field of professional practice. Section 3.4 describes the overall research design and data generation methods, and explains the diffractive methodology and approach to data analysis used in the thesis.

⁵ The Macvean et al. (2015) review forms part of a broader project called the PATRICinteragency project (PATHways and Research in Collaborative Inter-Agency working) led by the University of Melbourne with partners from five universities, three government departments and eight community sector organisations that specialise in domestic and family violence.

⁶ The integration continuum concept was originally formulated by Fine, Thomson & Graham (1998) and developed by Fine, Pancharatnam & Thomson (2000, 2005) in relation to human service delivery. It has since been further elaborated and adapted by various commentators.

⁷ A SART is a multidisciplinary team that coordinates multiple systems (e.g. medical, law enforcement, prosecutors and rape crisis centre advocates) to provide comprehensive care to sexual assault victims and to collect high-quality forensic evidence to facilitate investigation and prosecution.

⁸ The 'Greenbook' is a set of practice guidelines published in the USA in 1999 as Effective Intervention in Domestic Violence and Child Maltreatment. It became known as the Greenbook, the name deriving from the colour of the cover. It is regarded as providing a roadmap for child welfare agencies to collaborate and provide effective responses to families experiencing co-occurring child maltreatment and domestic violence.

⁹ At the time of writing, the GVLDS was one of six Integrated Domestic and Family Violence Services, operating in ten local areas, funded by the NSW Government.

¹⁰ The Coordinated Community Response (CCR) is an intervention strategy developed by the Domestic Abuse Intervention Project (DAIP) in Duluth, Minnesota, in 1980. Often referred to as the 'Duluth Model', it has provided the basis for many subsequent domestic violence interventions, in Australia and elsewhere.

Chapter Three:

Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Study Design

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Two reviewed the literatures in relation to interagency collaboration and integrated responses to domestic and family violence (DFV), identifying both the legacies and the limitations of previous research in this area, and establishing the need for the present study.

This chapter explains the conceptual and methodological framework for this study. By focusing on ‘enactment’, the study explores *how* diverse practitioners from different professional settings perform interagency DFV work together and in the company of various non-human actors. Taking a practice-based, sociomaterial feminist approach to examining the entangled elements of DFV interagency work, this praxiographic study (Mol 2002) also examines the *effects* of different enactments of practice. In this chapter, the research design is presented and the analytical process discussed. The chapter has three main sections.

Section 3.2 locates the study in terms of overall approach. This approach is framed as practice-based (Gherardi 2000, 2012a) and sociomaterial (Fenwick 2012a). Drawing on the professional practice literature, the term ‘practice’ as it is used in this thesis is clarified. The advantages of adopting a practice-based approach for the current inquiry are discussed, referring particularly to the work of Silvia Gherardi (2000, 2008, 2009a, 2012a) and Davide Nicolini (2011, 2013; Nicolini, Gherardi & Yanow 2003). A case is also made for the appropriateness of adopting a sociomaterial perspective, drawing primarily on the work of Tara Fenwick and her colleagues (Fenwick & Edwards 2013; Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011; Fenwick & Landri 2012; Fenwick & Nerland 2014; Fenwick, Nerland & Jensen 2012).

Section 3.3 frames the study conceptually and methodologically. The theoretical resources deployed and the methodological stance adopted are elaborated. These are inspired by actor-network theory (ANT) and post-ANT thinking, drawing predominantly on the work of Annemarie Mol (2002, 2010), John Law (1992, 1999, 2009) and John Law and Vicky Singleton (2013a, 2013b). The ANT approach is infused with the thinking of the new material feminists (Alaimo & Hekman 2008); particularly, Karen Barad (2003, 2007, 2014). This section clarifies the three moves articulated at the end of Section 2.5. To recapitulate, the first move involves a shift in thinking about interagency collaboration, from linear continuum models to more fluid network arrangements. The second move is from enumerating static factors that impact on working together to following dynamic actors doing the work. Third, the focus of the research gaze tilts away from measuring effectiveness and towards understanding effects of enactments of practice.

Section 3.4 describes the research study design, outlining the fieldwork and data generation methods, the participants, the research site and ethics approval processes and considerations. Importantly, it elucidates the process of diffractive analysis (Barad 2014) employed in the thesis.

The decision to present these three aspects of the thesis together in one chapter was taken to illustrate their intrinsic entanglement. The conceptualisation of practice adopted in the thesis cannot be separated from the methodology used to study it, any more than the analysis of the data can be disconnected from the methods used to generate it. This decision has produced a chapter that is longer than usual.

3.2 A practice-based sociomaterial approach

Chapter Two drew attention to the lack of empirical studies of interagency DFV work. The point was made that, in the absence of such studies, understanding of interagency DFV work in practice is limited. The starting point for this research, therefore, is practice: a practice-based approach is adopted and the units of analysis are practices. The discussion begins with Gherardi's (2012a) broad

notion that practice is ‘how ordinary work is practically accomplished’ (Gherardi 2012a, p. 6), and involves what she calls ‘knowing-in-practice’ (Gherardi 2008, 2014; Gherardi & Strati 2012). The following section clarifies more precisely the use of the term ‘practice’ in this thesis and explains what a ‘practice-based’ approach offers to the study.

3.2.1 Problematising practice

The term ‘practice’ has been defined variously, and used extensively in social science literature. Green (2009) argues that it has become ‘a “stop word” *par excellence*’ (Green 2009, p. 2) but that its meaning is ‘inescapably contested, if not essentially contestable’ (Green 2009, p. 2). Corradi and colleagues (Corradi, Gherardi & Verzelloni 2010) suggest that the popularity of the term has created a ‘bandwagon’ effect that serves to demonstrate ‘the institutionalization of practice-based studies’ but that ‘the collective appropriation of the label has not been achieved’ (Corradi, Gherardi & Verzelloni 2010, p. 265). Consequently, there are diverse conceptualisations of practice and ‘no discernible agreement on the scope and meaning of this term’ (Hager 2012, p. 17). However, to undertake a practice-based study, it is necessary to operationalise the term.

Drawing on the work of Schatzki and others (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina & Von Savigny 2001), Kemmis and colleagues (2012) synthesise current key ideas about practice as follows:

A practice is a coherent and complex form of socially established cooperative human activity in which characteristic arrangements of activities (doings) are comprehensible in terms of characteristic arrangements of relevant ideas in discourses (sayings), and when the people and objects involved are distributed in characteristic arrangements of relationships (relatings), and when this complex of sayings, doings and relatings “hangs together” in a distinctive project. (Kemmis et al. 2012, p. 36)

This definition provides the basis for the conceptualisation of practice adopted in this thesis. By widening the scope of participants in professional practice to beyond human practitioners, the sociomaterial approach that is taken follows the lead of a growing number of contemporary scholars and researchers in the field of professional practice studies (see Fenwick 2012a).

Frequently used in combination with classifiers such as ‘vocational’, ‘workplace’, ‘professional’, the word ‘practice’ itself has become ‘curiously devoid of semantic force’ (Hager, Lee & Reich 2012, p. 2). Arguing the need to problematise the notion precisely because it has become so taken-for-granted, Reich & Hager (2014) propose a conceptual framework based on six ‘threads’ that are prominent in the emerging literature on practice-based research approaches. They emphasise that these threads do not represent a unified approach to practice, but, rather, are illustrative of the ‘practice turn’ (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina & Von Savigny 2001). In drawing together current thinking about practice, Reich & Hager (2014) propose six threads for conceptualising practice which they articulate as follows.

Practices

1. involve a process of ‘knowing-in-practice’ (Gherardi 2008, 2014; Gherardi & Strati 2012) (see, for example, Manidis & Scheeres 2012);
2. have a sociomaterial dimension (see, for example, Zukas & Kilminster 2012);
3. are embodied (see, for example, Hopwood 2013);
4. are relational (see, for example, Lee, Dunston & Fowler 2012);
5. exist and evolve in historical social contexts (see, for example, Reich & Girdwood 2012); and
6. are emergent (see, for example, Davis 2012).

These six threads are woven through the fabric of practice as understood in this thesis.

It is important to note that turning the research focus on practice does not imply a turning away from, or abandonment of, theory (Eikeland 2007) but, rather, suggests a way of using theory to look more closely at professional practice, which in this study takes place in the complex context of interagency DFV work. A focus on practice enables a way of thinking about interagency working that does not privilege either individual minds and actions, or social structures, systems and discourses. This focus enables an important shift in thinking about working together because it takes account of the entangled nature of the multiple constituent elements of interagency collaboration. Section 3.3 elaborates on how theory is deployed in this thesis.

3.2.2 What practice-based approach provides

The term 'practice-based theory' is often used as an umbrella term encompassing a range of theoretical perspectives that reject a mentalistic view of knowledge and a mechanistic view of practice (Gherardi 2000, 2011). The value of practice-based studies, Gherardi (2012b) argues, is that they foreground connections and relationships, and separating boundaries tend to recede from view. They also provide a theoretical lens through which to view 'knowing' as more than a cognitive process and 'practice' as more than merely the procedural application of knowledge. In Gherardi's (2008) terms, practice is an 'in-between concept akin to "knowing while doing", 'between "habit" and "action", between "production" and "reproduction"' (Gherardi 2008, p. 523), a collective activity that is developed by doing and relating, as well as by thinking. In this view, practice-based studies 'represent a critique against positivist and cognitivist organizational studies' (Gherardi 2008, p. 355). This is an important advantage in an era when research approaches to interagency DFV work are becoming dominated by evaluative studies that seek to quantify effectiveness, as noted in Section 2.4. Moreover, Gherardi argues that using a practice-based approach to research illuminates how new practices may emerge at the boundaries between professions and organisations and how 'new knowledge may be produced and sustained (or hampered) by different forms of organising' (Gherardi 2009a, p. 355). Such an approach to researching professional practice is particularly

applicable to this study of interagency DFV working, because it accounts for, and makes visible, the many occasions when decisions are made by practitioners based on their collective and diverse practice wisdom and intimate knowledge of their local context. This highlights interagency practice as a responsive process of knowing-while-doing, rather than being directed by strict adherence to policy and protocol.

A focus on practice as a site of knowing theorises that 'knowing inherently transpires in, and through, sociomaterial practices' (Nicolini 2011, p. 604). While this makes knowing and practising ontologically equivalent, however, they remain 'analytically separate' (Nicolini 2011, p. 605). In other words, while 'knowing' and 'practice' emerge together, through practice-based research they can be analysed as related but distinctive points of departure. In this study, the focus of analysis is on practice; however, the conceptualisation of practice that is adopted encompasses this notion of the co-emergence of practice and knowing. Noting that many practices are very resilient, Nicolini (2013) also argues that they are often unquestioned, and that the value of a practice approach is that it exposes the inevitable work and effort that goes into making practices durable and taken-for-granted, as well as the possibility of doing things differently.

Deliberately using the verb form of 'practise' to highlight its performative nature, Antonacopoulou (2007) makes a compelling case for what she terms 'practise-centred' research. Arguing that such research invites an active engagement with complexity 'in the relational, interconnected, nested and perplexed ways in which it constitutes and defines the social' (Antonacopoulou 2007, p. 1), she notes that practise-centred research draws on multiple theoretical foundations. A common thread is a concern with connectivity and that perceived gaps (for example, between humans and non-humans, micro- and macro-dynamics) are bridged by a focus on 'the conditions that underpin these connections' (Antonacopoulou 2007, p. 3). Noting that tensions are frequently presented as problematic because of the dialectic logic in how they are represented, Antonacopoulou argues that tensions hold inherent possibilities if a 'trialectic

logic...reflecting flexibility and elasticity to bend in different directions like an elastic band' (Antonacopoulou 2007, p. 4) is adopted. This expanded elastic understanding of tensions (Antonacopoulou & Chiva 2007) is deployed in the chapters that follow, in relation to unravelling the workings of interagency collaboration.

Practice-based research, then, affords an opportunity to focus on the micro-dynamics of interagency working, while also examining the 'extra-individual' features (such as social relations and discursive representations) that shape professional practice (Kemmis 2005). Moreover, with its emphasis on connectivity and complexity, practice-based research offers a frame that captures the complicated world of interagency working as it is enacted in the contested space of DFV practice.

3.2.3 What a sociomaterial perspective highlights

Weaving through the 'practice turn' (Schatzki, Knorr-Cetina & Von Savigny 2001) in social theory, discussed above, there has been a corresponding 'sociomaterial turn' in studies of professional practice and learning (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011). Much of the earlier research on professional practice paid relatively little attention to materiality or to how the personal/social/material dimensions of practice relate to each other (Fenwick 2012b). Indeed, in many accounts while participation and communication are foregrounded, 'artefacts and other material aspects of practice remain theoretically in the background' (Zukas & Kilminster 2012, p. 203). Noting that 'recent work suggests that objects perform an active role that needs to be unpacked and better understood', Nicolini and colleagues (Nicolini, Mengis & Swan 2012, p. 613) suggest that sociomaterial analyses begin to address this gap.

Encompassing a range of theories and sensibilities, sociomaterial research approaches have become a large family grouping over recent years. In their exposition of emerging approaches to educational research, Fenwick and her colleagues (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011) group together complexity theory, Cultural-Historical Activity Theory (CHAT), ANT and spatiality theory

as examples of the current sociomaterial turn in workplace learning theory. Each of these four approaches offers a different yet complementary way of illuminating aspects of practice in the field of DFV work. While their theoretical origins and historical roots vary, Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk (2011) suggest that there are some broadly common themes and conceptual resources that these approaches offer. Firstly, they enable a relational account of practice, focusing on the connections among entities through which actions happen. Second, they decentre the individual human as the only source of agency. Third, they engage productively with diversity and multiplicity, recognising complex systems, overlapping activities and ambiguous practices. Fourth, they disrupt notions of context as fixed, understanding it as always moving, partial and constitutive of action. These themes are highly relevant to a study of interagency collaboration in the networked, technology-mediated and fluid world of 21st century workplaces.

Attending to the sociomaterial, as noted by Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk (2011), makes visible the mundanity of everyday life and invites consideration of the materially mediated and embodied dimension of practice (Fenwick 2012a). This approach to practice also affirms that it is both inherently material and social (Orlikowski & Scott 2010) and that sociomaterial configurations or assemblages (Suchman 2007) are mutually constituted entanglements (Barad 2008). The sociomaterial concept of assemblage allows researchers 'to look beyond the dualism of the social and the material without demoting the value of either' (Johri 2011, p. 211). Viewing practice through a sociomaterial prism thus enables a view of how material arrangements become entwined in and form part of everyday work (Fenwick, Nerland & Jensen 2012; Nicolini, Mengis & Swan 2012). Noting how practice involves non-animate actors, not just as background or contextual features, Zukas & Kilminster (2012) make the assertion that material artefacts are in fact 'centrally implicated in practice' (Zukas & Kilminster 2012, p. 200).

A study by Mellaard and van Meijl (2016) that investigated the enactment of domestic violence (DV) policy provides a rare example of the application of a

sociomaterial perspective to the field of DV. While this thesis has a focus on the enactment of practice, rather than policy, Mellaard & van Meijl's 2016 study illuminates the connections between policy and practice, providing an interesting counterpoint to the dominant narrative of policy being disconnected from practice. Asserting that attention needs to shift from how policies are developed to how they are enacted in practice, they underscore the point that as much attention must be paid to the material or the non-human part of policy as to the immaterial or human part. They outline the task of the researcher as being to trace the connections between these heterogeneous elements and to establish how the different networks and the practices that sustain them manage to co-exist. Deriving their insights from Mol (2002) and Law & Singleton (2013b), Mellaard and van Meijl (2016) paraphrase Mol conceptualising the code as 'a policy multiple' (Mellaard & van Meijl 2016, p. 2). This echoes my own conceptualisation of interagency practice as *practice multiple*¹¹ (Stewart 2014; see Appendix 1) which also draws on Mol's work and which is developed in the chapters that follow. The influence on the present study of Mol's (2002) thinking, particularly in relation to multiplicity, is discussed in Section 3.3.

3.2.4 Summary of Section 3.2

A practice-based research approach provides a broad overarching frame for this study because it affords a close engagement with the complexity of interagency DFV work, emphasising connectivity and highlighting the co-emergence of practice and knowing. It also focuses attention on the 'doing' of practice, revealing the work that is performed by multiple actors. A sociomaterial perspective emphasises that practice is both socially and materially constituted and usefully directs the research gaze to how material phenomena become entwined in (inter)professional interagency practice. This thesis takes up this sociomaterial perspective, starting from the assumption that material things (such as risk assessment forms, referral protocols, memoranda of understanding and electronic databases) interact with human practitioners in the enactment of practice in ways that shape the effects of these practices. This practice-based sociomaterial approach provides a much-needed new way of understanding

interagency collaboration, which has largely become taken for granted in the DFV field, as well as more broadly within the human services sector.

The next section elaborates the details of the study's conceptual framework, explaining the key theoretical and methodological concepts from ANT and the new material feminisms that are used in this thesis.

3.3 An ANT sensibility infused with new material feminist thinking

This section develops the conceptual and methodological framework for the thesis. First, it explains the value of adopting an ANT sensibility for understanding interagency DFV work. Next, an overview of key ANT concepts is provided, explaining how and why they have been used to inform this study. The rationale for drawing on new material feminism to further scaffold the framework and develop the analysis is then explained.

3.3.1 What ANT offers

As noted by Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk (2011), several theories have been advanced within the sociomaterial tradition. One of these is ANT. Gherardi (2000) identifies ANT as one of the strands of research that she calls 'practice-based theorising' (Gherardi 2000, p. 212) because it contributes to the ongoing conversation about the continuity between knowing and doing. It does this by illustrating 'how knowing is enacted in sociomaterial networks of human and non-human actants' (Gherardi 2012a, p. 200).

However, to call ANT a 'theory' is misleading on several counts. First, there is much diversity among ANT (and post-ANT) theorists and so to understand ANT as a unified way of thinking would be to misrepresent this diversity. Second, ANT is as much a methodology as it is a theory, 'a toolkit for telling interesting stories' (Law 2009, p. 142). As a deeply theoretical methodology, it is

probably best understood as a sensibility, a set of empirical interferences in the world, a worldly practice, or a lively craft that cherishes the slow

processes of knowing rather than immediately seeking results of closure.
(Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 485)

Emerging from post-structuralism in the early work of Bruno Latour (1986), Michel Callon (1986) and John Law (1992), ANT views relationships between things, concepts and people as potentially transient and in flux, in a constant process of making and remaking themselves and needing to be repeatedly 'performed' to prevent dissolution. Law & Singleton (2013a) argue that 'at its best it understands itself as working *in* the world to create analytical contexts; but also *on* the world, to articulate and press specific contexts and their politics' (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 485). Importantly, it does this by exploring 'the contingencies of power, generating tools to undo the inevitability of that power, while working on the assumption that other and better worlds are possible' (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 485). In the constantly changing and highly contested environment of interagency DFV work, ANT provides what Nicolini (2009) calls a 'powerful theory/method package' (Nicolini 2009, p. 1394) with which to unravel and analyse practice.

Key ANT concepts used in this thesis

Several key ANT concepts are used in this thesis. They are explained below.

'Actors'¹² in ANT terms are simply 'entities that do things' (Latour 1992, p. 241), 'whatever acts or shifts action' (Latour 1992, p. 259) in a way that makes a difference. These entities may be people or things.

'Actor-networks' are understood in ANT as precarious gatherings of actors (people and things), diverse and heterogeneous webs brought together and linked through performing certain functions. Networks link alliances among people and among things. They are in a constant state of becoming (and un-becoming, or dissolution) and so demand continual maintenance. Actor-networks become stabilised the more extensive they become. Importantly, actors and networks are mutually constituted, making the 'actor-network' reducible neither to an actor alone nor to a network alone. Importantly, 'network is a

concept, not a thing out there. It is a tool to help describe something, not what is being described' (Latour 2005, p. 131).

'Agency' is understood in ANT not in terms of intentionality but in terms of action, and is manifested only in the relationality of actors to each other, as a distributed outcome. Agency in ANT accounts is 'always presented as *doing* something, that is, making some difference to a state of affairs' (Latour 2005, p. 52).

'Blackboxing' (Callon & Latour 1981) happens when a network becomes so stable it is taken for granted and its complexity is simplified and obscured. Callon (1991) also uses the term 'punctualisation' in this context.

'Effects' are understood in ANT as functions of relationships within networks, products of the agency of actors, rather than linear outcomes of 'causes' (Latour 2005).

'Generalised symmetry' (Callon 1986) is the key concept that treats human and non-human elements on the same terms that is the hallmark of ANT, setting it apart from other sociomaterial approaches. In ANT, differences between animate and inanimate actors ought not to be presupposed, as they are generated in and through the networks of relations of which they are a part.

'Obligatory passage points' (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) are critical network channels, strategic points, through which actors must pass to be part of an actor-network. They are often designed by the primary actor(s), making them functionally indispensable to the network.

'Trial of strength' (Callon 1986) is when an actor directly confronts another actor, threatening to destabilise a network, showing that domination is always contestable.

'Translation' (Callon 1986) is the core concept of ANT, and refers to a process in which network elements are changed or transformed. In this sense, it also refers

to the formation of a network, 'the active process of establishing relationships that induce multiple entities to co-exist' (Nicolini 2011, p. 605).

ANT is sometimes referred to as the 'sociology of translation' (Callon 1986), foregrounding the significance of this concept. Translation is contingent, local and variable. Importantly for this thesis, it offers a way of thinking about practices as what happens when assorted entities come together and connect (and disconnect), changing one another in the process of forming (and breaking) links. The concept of translation also provides a way of exploring how power dynamics affect alliances and how translations that are to succeed must be made compatible through a process of what Horowitz (2012) calls 'translation alignment' (Horowitz 2012, p. 810). This thesis employs the version of translation that was most clearly articulated by Callon (1986), which differs slightly from the term as used by Latour (1986). Callon's (1986) use of the term hinges on the notion of power struggles; power residing within networks and therefore contingent on the persuasion (or coercion) of others to pursue compatible goals (Horowitz 2012).

Callon (1986) elaborated translation in terms of 'four moments' as follows:

- *Problematization* is the first moment, in which a problem is defined and relevant actors define how to address the problem, thereby becoming necessary to the solution. Achieving this solution is the goal of the three subsequent moments.
- *Interessement* is the second moment, in which the actors that have been established as primary actors recruit other actors into the network, thus establishing a system of alliances.
- *Enrolment* is the third moment, in which the roles of all the actors are defined and formally assumed and a series of 'multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks' (Callon 1986, p. 211) are enacted.

- *Mobilisation* is the fourth and final moment, in which the primary actors become spokespersons for others and try to mobilise them into action, thereby rendering the translation successful.

Callon's (1986) concept of translation is central to the analysis of interagency work in this study. Each of the four moments of translation is used as a way into analysing the enactment of the interagency practices studied. This is explained further in Chapter Four.

ANT as a methodology

Offering a finely-tuned analysis of the micro-negotiations that occur at nodes of connection in a network, ANT can trace the ways that elements come together and hold together, or fall apart, by simply 'following the actors' (Latour 2005, p. 12). It can, for example, expose the translation of official centralised policy into local enactments, illuminating the role of such things as interagency agreements, referral protocols and even geographic proximity of services to each other. Analytically disentangling these threads of connection through an ANT tracing can pinpoint the most opportune points for intervention and practice change, signalling places and ways for 'working in and on the world', as Law & Singleton (2013a) would have it. This point is taken up in Section 10.4, in the discussion of implications of the study findings.

ANT-derived analyses tend to focus on 'how' questions, which is why ANT may be regarded as less a 'theory' *per se*, and more a methodological stance, 'a way to make sense of and draw nearer to the phenomenon' (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011, p. 95); a 'material semiotic' approach (Law 2009) that explores how knowledge is generated and spread. This sensibility towards knowledge production synchronises well with the practice-based approach to 'knowing-in-practice' (Gherardi 2008, 2014; Gherardi & Strati 2012) adopted in this thesis.

ANT has been taken up in a diversity of ways by researchers, and several empirical studies amply demonstrate its versatile capacity to illuminate

multiplicity in disparate worlds of work and learning (see, for example, Mulcahy 2012; Nespor 1994; Singleton & Michael 1993). The notion of multiplicity is key to the conceptualisation of interagency DFV work advanced in this study because it offers a means to unravel the complexity and variable effects of different enactments of practice.

One study particularly has resonance for my own research. Annemarie Mol's (2002) *The body multiple: ontology in medical practice* looks at the diagnosis and treatment of an ordinary disease, atherosclerosis, in an extraordinary way. At first glance, this ethnography-of-a-disease may appear to have little in common with a study of DV interagency work. However, it is in Mol's (2002) linked method and conceptual approach that the parallels lie. By focusing on enactment, Mol argues, a shift is enabled 'from an epistemological to a praxiographic inquiry into reality' (Mol 2002, p. 32), the term 'praxiographic' denoting an ethnographic exploration of practice and a focus on 'enacting' leaving open 'who or what the actor is' (Mol 2002, p. 143). Attention thus shifts from philosophy of knowledge to knowledge practices, and from humans-only to humans-plus.

Mol's treatment of difference and multiplicity is highly relevant to the present study. While she suggests that differences need to be taken seriously, she also cautions that they ought not to be viewed as 'problems', nor 'flattened out onto a spreadsheet', but rather 'staged in a theatre of discords' (Mol 2002, p. 174). Through Mol's eyes, diversity is not seen as 'a pluralism that fragments society into isolated individuals, but as a tension that comes about inevitably from the fact that we somehow have to share the world' (Mol 2002, pp. 114–5). Her claim that more than one does not *have* to mean fragmentation into many is captured in her combining of a singular noun with a plural adjective, in the phrase 'body multiple'. This is where her work resonates with my own. Just as different medical specialists may enact their treatment of the same disease without fragmenting the patient, so also are the interagency differences that are frequently played out in DFV work to be expected, without practice having to fracture the experience of the victim/survivor. Mol's way of looking at the body

as it is enacted (by the medical system) results in seeing it multiply into more than one. Significantly, however, in this enactment the patient remains singular, as a range of different medical practices, attending to different bodily systems, are coordinated and distributed around her/him. What it is to 'hang together' becomes a question to be opened for study. Using Mol's method and adapting her conceptualisation of multiplicity, this thesis demonstrates how DFV interagency practice emerges as a 'multiple phenomenon' involving not only many different professional perspectives, but multiple co-existing realities.

While all sociomaterial approaches shed light on the intimate relationship between humans and the material environment, it is ANT's understanding of practice as enacted through multiple material connections that makes it especially suitable for this study. For it is what happens at these 'connections-in-action' (Gherardi 2012b, p. 221), where entities work upon one another to 'translate' or change them to become part of a network of coordinated actions, that is at the core of interagency working. An ANT focus thus frames the research study away from 'examining *factors* to explain differences, to exploring *actors* enacting those differences through symmetry, translation and other ANT concepts' (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a, p. 69).

Through ANT eyes, the view of interagency DFV practice is not the grand panoramic policy vision of a 'seamlessly integrated system' in which all the parts flow smoothly together. Instead it is the work that is seen, the work that is done, not only by human actors, but also by materials, objects, artefacts and environments. ANT thus provides both a valuable conceptual frame and a methodological sensibility for a study of professional practice (Fenwick & Edwards 2010b; Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011). This enables interagency DFV working to be seen in a new way. Unlike other sociomaterial approaches, ANT offers a method of mapping relations that are simultaneously social, material and semiotic. ANT's refusal of a 'rigid separation between the material and immaterial, human and non-human' (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011, p. 109) shows how different actors are dominant at different times in moving sites

of power. Interagency alliances and coalitions are always fragile and subject to change, especially in shifting political landscapes. It is important to be able to see how practices manage to hang together under such conditions. An ANT view also sheds new light on the (inter)professional learning that takes place as an 'effect of the relational interactions' (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a, p. 22) in actor-networks involved in interagency DFV work. Further, it is ANT's recognition that there are not simply multiple perspectives in the world, but that we co-exist in multiple worlds that often overlap in the same material spaces (Fenwick, Edwards & Sawchuk 2011, p. 106). This is a key to understanding some of the challenges and tensions of interagency work, particularly as it is enacted in the contested area of DFV.

However, ANT is not without its limitations, nor its critics. Critiques of ANT began to emerge in the early 1990s and have continued into the post-ANT era. There are four main strands of critique of ANT (Walsham 1997). First, and perhaps most contentious, is the concept of 'generalised symmetry' (Callon 1986). Interpreting this as making humans and non-humans equal has led some critics to the view that ANT reduces people to the status of things (Pels 1995) and over-emphasises the importance of non-humans relative to humans (Whittle & Spicer 2009). However, ANT proponents counter that this is a misinterpretation of generalised symmetry and that the issue is not about the relative *value* of humans and non-humans, but about their *agency*. Importantly, agency, in ANT terms, depends on how networks are performed and is not an intrinsic attribute or quality of actors. Moreover, as Walsham (1997) points out, 'in this age of hybrids and blurred and negotiable boundaries' (Walsham 1997, p. 476), the concept of generalised symmetry is a useful analytical device.

The second strand of critique centres on how the ANT methodology emphasises the importance of detail and generates masses of description that don't necessarily lead anywhere. The issue at stake here is how researchers decide which actors to focus on and follow in analysis (Miller 1996; Strathern 1996). The

challenge for the ANT researcher, then, is how to be reflexively selective in deciding where to cut the networks for analysis.

Another criticism that has been levelled at ANT is that it provides for limited analysis of social structures (Habers 1995; Reed 1995) and that, because it addresses the local and the contingent, it ignores broader social structures that impact on the local (Passoth & Rowland 2010). The ANT response to this criticism is to reject the micro/macro distinction (Callon & Latour 1981), asserting that the same tools can be used to move between levels of analysis as ‘the macro is neither “above” nor “below” the interactions, but added to them as another of their connections, feeding them and feeding off them’ (Latour 2005, p. 177).

Finally, and of most relevance for the present study, is the criticism that ANT is apolitical (Saldhana 2003), or amoral (Winner 1993), because it doesn’t challenge power structures and social inequities, merely describes them. Significantly for this thesis, feminists have been vocal among the critics of ANT (see Wajcman 2004). Defendants of ANT have responded that an apolitical stance is not a necessity of the approach (Bijker 1993) and that studies can be produced to highlight how the networks of the powerful impact on those of the less powerful (see Star 1991). Latour (2005) asserts that ANT has always been political in the sense that an ANT analysis opens space for interrogating power relations and how things might be otherwise. Because ANT understands power as an effect rather than a cause (Latour 1986), describing the networks enables an understanding of how power accrues. Moreover, the use of key conceptual resources from ANT does not preclude an analysis that engages with the political implications of the phenomenon under investigation. Indeed, as this thesis will show, it offers a solid empirical base from which to debate moral and political issues, in this way contributing to making a difference.

Following Quinlan (2012), I suggest that it is possible to imagine and enact a feminist ANT and that the way to proceed in this endeavour is, as Quinlan suggests, to focus on three methodological questions. These are: ‘Where does the analysis start? What can be seen once the research has begun? What about

politics?’ (Quinlan 2012, p. 1). These questions will be addressed in relation to the present study in Section 3.4, where the research design and approach to data analysis is addressed. However, before embarking on the description of the methodological and analytic process, it is necessary to introduce the third element of the conceptual framework for this study: the new material feminisms. The following sub-section discusses why and how key concepts from new material feminist thinking have been deployed.

3.3.2 Adding new material feminism to an ANT toolbox

As noted in Chapters One and Two, much research has been conducted in relation to the challenges of addressing DFV. A substantial contribution to this body of literature has been made by feminist theorists and researchers who have focused on structural inequalities, highlighting patriarchy and capitalism as central to understanding women’s oppression (see, for example, Delphy 1984; Hennessy 1993). Feminist analysis has centred not only on gender and class differences in relation to access to power and resources, but also on the intersection of gender with culture and race (Bograd 1999; Sokoloff & Dupont 2005). This theorising and the research it has generated have contributed greatly to deepening insights into the material realities of women and children who experience DFV. However, as Stacey Alaimo and Susan Hekman (2008) argue, a new way for feminists to engage with materiality is emerging: a way that enables exploration of materiality in all its multifarious forms, a way that expands the vistas for feminist research. They call this new way the *material* feminisms, sometimes dubbed the ‘new’ material feminisms to distinguish them from the more familiar *materialist* feminisms (often based on a Marxist perspective).

Claiming that ‘postmodernism has not fulfilled its promise as a theoretical grounding for feminism’, Alaimo & Hekman (2008, p. 2) argue that ‘postmodern feminism has retreated from the material’ and that this retreat ‘has had serious consequences for feminist theory and practice’ (Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p. 3). A focus on discourse, they contend, has relegated all things material (including women’s bodies) to the sidelines of feminist scholarship, and made it ‘nearly

impossible' for feminism to engage with science/technology in productive or innovative ways, leaving open only the 'well-worn path of critique' (Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p. 4). It is not surprising, then, that calls for a new engagement with matter/materiality have come initially from feminist science studies, exemplified particularly through the work of Donna Haraway (2004) and Karen Barad (2003, 2007, 2008). This emerging group of feminist scholars is attempting to move beyond discursive construction to grapple with materiality, as they seek to define 'a new way of understanding the relationship between discourse and matter that does not privilege the former to the exclusion of the latter' (Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p. 6). Alaimo & Hekman (2008) argue that this 'material turn' in feminism 'opens up many fundamental questions about ontology, epistemology, ethics, and politics' (Alaimo & Hekman, 2008, p. 7). Redefining human relationships with the material world, new material feminists are exploring the interactions of history, culture, discourse, biology, and technology, without privileging any one of these elements. This promise of a new approach to theorising the interactions between materiality and semiotics, power and bodies and the human and more-than-human suggests itself as a potentially fruitful way to unpack the ethical and political dimensions of interagency DFV working. Used in combination with the ANT resources discussed above, Barad's (2003, 2007) new material feminist notions of 'agency', 'agential realism', 'intra-action' and 'diffraction' provide useful conceptual lenses. These are explained below.

Agency and agential realism

The concept of 'agency', described by Jackson & Mazzei (2012a) as one of Barad's key 'schematic cues', undergirds her posthumanist perspective. For Barad, agency is distributed, 'attributable to a complex network of human and nonhuman agents' (Barad 2007, p. 23). Jackson & Mazzei add that agency is 'an enactment, not something that an individual possesses' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 114). This accords with an ANT understanding of agency as the ability to act. However, Barad goes a step further in her theorising. Inspired by Niels Bohr's quantum physics, Barad's agential realism holds that the world is composed of

phenomena, 'differential patterns of mattering' (Barad 2007, p. 140), ontologically inseparable agencies. Put simply, things do not precede their interaction with other things, but emerge as 'objects' through these relationships. By directing attention to the 'intersection of the 'real' and the 'socially constructed'' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 114), agential realism thus allows for complex and nuanced understandings of how phenomena emerge.

Phenomena are produced by what Barad (2007) calls 'apparatuses'. These are not simply assemblings or networks of humans and non-humans (as in ANT) but, rather, are the very condition of possibility of humans and non-humans in their materiality. Apparatuses produce meanings and material beings while excluding the production of others. So, for Barad (2007), what it means to come to matter is always material-discursive, and practices of mattering have ethical consequences. For this reason, Barad suggests that agential realism is useful for *any* kind of feminist analysis, even if there is no obvious or apparent connection with science. Because nothing is inherently separate from anything else, to study phenomena, temporary 'agential cuts' need to be made to artificially separate out the entangled threads and observe what is going on. Making these 'agential cuts' is a way of analytically (not ontologically) separating elements. It is less about trying to force entities apart, and more about using a magnifying glass to look very closely, thereby seeing their entanglement (Kautz & Jensen 2012). This way of looking at knowledge establishes a framework for considering how some things are more easily rendered visible and others are easier to ignore, or to 'not see'. In the context of the present study, the apparatus of the statutory child protection system, for example, is shown to produce the phenomena of 'good' and 'bad' mothers, through the interconnections among legislation, policy, parenting discourse and gender-role stereotyping, while fathers (even if abusive) tend to be rendered less visible in the child protection system

Intra-action

Barad's (2003, 2007) notion of 'intra-action' refers to the mutual constitution of entangled agencies. Making a crucial distinction between 'intra-action' and

‘interaction’, Barad argues that the former implies a degree and type of entanglement in which entities co-emerge, whereas the latter simply describes a relationship between two separate bodies that exist independently. This distinction is highly relevant to the theorisation of interagency DFV work developed in this thesis, as ‘interaction’ deflects responsibility, while ‘intra-action’ distributes responsibility among constituent entities.

In defining what she calls ‘posthumanist performativity’ (Barad 2003, 2008), and articulating how matter comes to matter, Barad contests the construction of materiality as ‘either a given or a mere effect of human agency’ (Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p. 145). Incorporating the human and the non-human, the cultural and the natural, the discursive and the material, while at the same time challenging these dichotomies/dualisms, Barad shows that agency is enacted in diffuse and complex networks of relations, through the process of ‘intra-activity’.

On an agential realist account, ‘we do not obtain knowledge by standing outside of the world; we know because “we” are *of* the world’ (Barad cited in Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p147) and ‘the knowledge that is too often missing and is often desperately needed is at the intersection between things and people’ (Tuana cited in Alaimo & Hekman 2008, p. 189) This conceptualisation of knowledge production serves to narrow an analytic focus on the intersections of things and people, where matter and discourse intra-act in interagency DFV work, as a site of interagency practice. Congruent with practice-based theory, the agency of the material in the production of knowledge becomes a key focus, enabling exploration of how material artefacts produce what is ‘known’ about DFV and shape responses to victim/survivors. A focus on material agency sheds light on how, for example, a gender-neutral risk assessment tool intra-acts with a gender-neutral discourse around DFV which, in turn, produces genderless victims, leading eventually to the disappearance of gender-specific services, such as women’s refuges, as has recently happened in New South Wales.¹³

Diffraction

Another important Baradian concept taken up in this study is 'diffraction' (Barad 2003, 2007, 2008, 2014), which is contrasted to the traditional qualitative research methodology of 'reflection'. Barad takes her metaphor from physics, explaining diffraction as what happens when waves pass through an obstruction or opening and are spread differently from how they might otherwise be spread. Reflection connotes 'themes of mirroring or sameness', whereas 'diffraction is marked by patterns of difference' (Barad 2007, p. 71). As a methodological practice, Barad (2007) argues, diffraction allows insights to be read 'through one another' (Barad 2007, p. 71). Importantly, a diffractive analysis moves researchers away from habitual normative accounts based on discursive readings that often fail to account for intra-actions. Describing the process of diffractive analysis, Jackson & Mazzei (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b) explain how they 'plug Barad' into their own data to read their interviews as enactments or performances, rather than as descriptions or representations. This helps to explain why coding as an analytic process is problematic for an ANT analysis: taking words at face value fails to account for how discursive constructions intra-act with material conditions. In this view, 'we cannot separate the discursive practice from its production in the material. Nor can we fail to take into account its material effects' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, pp. 127-8). Words are 'speech-acts' that are both discursive and material. A diffractive reading therefore is not about what is told, or experienced, but 'about the ways in which what is experienced is formed in the intra-action between the material and discursive' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 130). Reading data diffractively, Jackson & Mazzei (2012b) suggest, means trying to 'fold these texts into one another, in a move that 'flattens out' our relationship to the material' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 131).

Taguchi (2012) describes diffractive analysis not only as an alternative to conventional interpretive/reflective analysis, but as a transgressive methodology that is 'both feminist and political' (Taguchi 2012, p. 272), making it 'not only a lively affair, but one that troubles dichotomies' (Barad 2014, p. 168). Holding

Barad's concept of 'intra-activity' as central to a diffractive analysis of her interview data, Taguchi describes it as a process in which the researcher is 'installed in' the data, rather than positioned outside at a distance from it. Reflecting Barad's notion of onto-epistemology, 'knowing-in-being', Taguchi maintains, 'constitutes a feminist resistance and subversiveness' (Taguchi 2012, p. 278). This pulling-apart of data to 'imagine what newness might be incited from it' (Taguchi 2012, p. 270) entails seeing difference as it 'emerges as an effect of connections and relations within and between different bodies, affecting and being affected by each other' (Taguchi 2012, p. 269). 'Plugging in' material feminist theory to data, Taguchi & Palmer (2013) suggest, enables a focus on the entanglement of multiple performative agents (including themselves as researchers) in various material-discursive practices. In Section 3.4 of this chapter, an example is provided of how I conducted my diffractive data analysis.

Materiality is thus reclaimed by new material feminism as a site of legitimate critical enquiry, a way into engaging with pressing political questions. Barad suggests, for example, that changing topologies of power' (Barad 2007, p. 223) are exhibited in such mundanities as the arrangements of office spaces where 'the discursive constructions of organisational power are presented materially ... in ways that may function to intra-actively shape relations' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 134). In a striking example of new material feminism's capacity for engagement with crucial ethical questions, Barad (1998) examined the foetal sonogram/ultrasound as a (literally) graphic illustration of the interface between the scientific, technological, political and human: women's pregnant bodies become the site for redefining both 'life' and 'rights'. To borrow Pickering's (1999) term, they are all 'in the mangle' together, and the practice of foetal imaging has material, political and ethical ramifications. In the context of DFV, the abused female pregnant body acquires additional dimensions as it emerges from a zone of intra-activity of gendered notions of 'bad mothers', 'good enough' (or invisible) fathers and family law court judgements about the importance of 'shared parenting'. This is one of the key ethical/political issues that is at the

heart of interagency DFV work that will be discussed in subsequent chapters of this thesis, and is introduced via a vignette at the end of this chapter.

The new material feminists thus reach beyond feminism's modernist roots to re-interpret issues of social inequality as material power relations that are gendered, classed and racialised. Moreover, recasting agency as 'a matter of intra-acting' (Barad 2007, p. 112), enables new explorations of interagency work, in which 'agency' is not merely part of a passive descriptor of a type of work (as in 'interagency work'), but an active performance in which the doing of power is made explicit.

3.3.3 Summary of Section 3.3

The conceptual framework and linked methodology for this research assembles several concepts that combine to illuminate not only *how* interagency DFV work is enacted, but also the *effects* of these enactments. ANT offers both valuable conceptual resources and a methodological approach, supplying the second element of the framework. 'Following the actors', human and otherwise, through the processes of translation will show how networks are (per)formed and how the effects of practice can be traced. Mol's (2002) thinking about multiplicity without fragmentation offers the concept of the multiple phenomenon, singular but multiple at once. Finally, the third element of the theoretical framework is provided by the new material feminisms. Barad's (2007) onto-ethico-epistemology suggests a way to highlight the ethical and political dimensions of interagency DFV work in practice, considerations that are arguably not always foregrounded in standard ANT analyses.

3.4 A praxiographic study of interagency DFV work

This section describes the present study, demonstrating how the overall approach and the theoretical and methodological framework described in the previous two sections is appropriate to the research questions posed in Section 1.2. The research design is elaborated, describing the fieldwork site and the participants, ethics approval processes and ethical considerations, as well as the

methods used to generate, manage and analyse data. To explain the process of data analysis and to illustrate how diffractive analysis is different to reflective analysis, two readings of the same piece of data from the study are provided.

3.4.1 An ethnographic approach to the study of practice

Following Mol (2002), the research was designed as a 'praxiographic' study; that is, an ethnographic study of practice that broadens the focus of investigation beyond the 'ethno' (human) participants. The enactment of interagency DFV work was explored through close observation of one local integrated strategy in practice. An ethnographic approach was adopted because the phenomenon under study required close observation of practice *in situ*, necessitating a degree of immersion of the researcher in the work lives of the participants (Hammersley & Atkinson 2007). While not disregarding concerns raised by some feminist researchers in relation to ethnography's potential to exploit participants (see Stacey 1988), or to the inherent tensions of conducting feminist ethnographic research against/within the postmodern 'crisis of representation' (Lather 2001), it can be argued that the shifting nature of ethnography has created space for a more reflexive ethnography (Bagley 2009).

Moreover, Mary Hamilton's (2010) assertion that ethnography is the 'preferred methodology' of ANT highlights the importance of 'the narrative/story', making ethnography 'part of a motivated methodology for attending to the backroom workings of social technologies in the making' (Hamilton 2010, p. 2). In Hamilton's terms, the application of ANT concepts to empirical examples becomes 'a conversation between theory and data' and as such is a 'promising approach to use for tracking and understanding' phenomena occurring in an 'unstable, dispersed and heterogeneous social-cultural field' (Hamilton 2010, p. 2), such as interagency DFV work. Describing ethnographic fieldwork as embodied material practice, Hopwood (2013) installs the researcher firmly in 'the story', contributing to a shift away from seeing the ethnographer as an objective, disinterested (and disembodied) observer/bystander. Picking up on the theme of the materiality of fieldwork, Sara Childers (2013) describes fieldwork as 'an

affective event in which theory and methodology become ‘mutually constituted material-discursive processes’ (Childers 2013, p. 605).

3.4.2 Location and description of the research site

The location of the study was an outer metropolitan suburb of Sydney, New South Wales, Australia. ‘Westville’ (not the real name of the area) is a socioeconomically disadvantaged and highly culturally and linguistically diverse area. It also has one of the highest recorded rates of DFV in the state. Approximately ten years prior to this research, in response to high levels of violence, substantial state government funding was injected into the area. Following extensive community consultation and much robust discussion and negotiation about how the money should be allocated, a local integrated DFV response strategy was developed collaboratively by key service providers. Although it had undergone changes over time and all the original funding had been expended, the strategy was still in operation over a decade after its inception, thus suggesting itself as a research location that would yield valuable insights about integrated DFV interagency work. The decision to locate the study in one site only, rather than in multiple sites, is based on the ANT notion that it is only ever possible to study events unfolding in a *specific* place, not ‘out there’ in the ‘macro big picture’. In this sense, the research site is always ‘micro’ (Mol 2002, p. 179) and the micro-study site contains all that is needed for an ANT-inspired analysis. Put another way, ‘the macro is *inside* the micro’ (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 493).

The Westville DFV strategy was a partnership between the government and non-government organisations involved in service provision to those affected by DFV in the Westville area. At the time this research was conducted, there was a multi-partner agreement (MPA) in place with eight signatory organisations: four government agencies and four non-government organisations (NGOs). The government agencies were the regional offices of the Department of Community Services (CS)¹⁴, of which the local family violence service (FVS) was a part, NSW Health (Health) and the Department of Corrective Services (DCS). The NSW

Police Force was represented by the Local Westville Police Station. The NGOs were a women's support service that hosted a Safe at Home (SAH) program, a women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS), a women and children's counselling service, and a generalist family referral service (FRS).

The objectives of the Westville DFV intervention strategy, as set out in its Strategic Framework, were to decrease the local incidence of DFV and to improve the outcomes for those affected. The strategies outlined to achieve these objectives were to

- increase access to services;
- establish a coordinated, collaborative and sustainable response;
- increase capacity within the local service system;
- strengthen community capacity through promotion of prevention activities; and
- monitor and refine models of service delivery.

The strategy was described as an integrated service response with five key components. However, only two components were fully operational at the time of the research. The largest component was a dedicated family violence service, officially part of the Department of Community Services (CS), but located physically in a different building, close to the shopping centre, to make it more community-friendly and accessible. This was supported by and embedded within a partnership model, which aimed to create an interagency culture based on the principles of collaborative practice. This interagency partnership approach was reflected in the governance arrangements, which were two-tiered. The first tier involved a high level executive group made up of representatives from the three auspicing bodies (Community Services, Health, Police). This group was responsible for endorsement of key decisions and financial delegations. It met infrequently on a needs basis after the original funding had been expended and did not meet at all during the time of fieldwork. The second tier of governance involved an active leadership group that played an advisory role to the tier-one group and had operational responsibility for the implementation of the strategy.

This group met monthly and membership comprised director-level representatives (or their delegates) of each participating organisation, including, but not limited to, the official signatories to the MPA. Several interagency working groups had emerged from the main leadership group. Much of the work of the integrated strategy took place in these working groups, and this was where interagency practice could be observed in action.

3.4.3 Historical context

As noted in Chapter One, at the time this research was conducted, there was considerable change occurring in New South Wales in relation to DFV service provision. In response to recent reports (Audit Office of NSW 2011; NSW Parliament 2012) that had identified an urgent need for a better coordinated and integrated system in New South Wales, the New South Wales Government was embarking on an ambitious process of substantial reform to the service delivery system. While the need for such reform was generally undisputed among both service providers and service users (New South Wales being seen by many in the DFV sector as lagging behind most other Australian states in terms of coordination and integrated DFV service delivery), there was also a high level of anxiety in the sector about how the proposed reforms would be implemented. The key elements of the reform agenda included a shared policy definition, shared minimum practice standards across all services, an electronic common risk assessment tool to be used by all agencies that were expected to participate in local multi-agency safety assessment meetings. These components were to be supported by new information-sharing arrangements (legislative change accompanied by interagency protocols) and a centralised referral point (a web-based platform/database) intended to funnel referrals to local coordination points. It is worth noting that, apart from the state-wide referral database, the key elements of the proposed 'new approach' were already present in the Westville local strategy (as indeed they were in several other small-scale local initiatives in New South Wales), substantiating the ANT notion of the global being within the local.

Alongside this process, another government reform process related to the provision of homelessness services was occurring, and there were concerns (subsequently shown to be well-founded) that some women's services (specifically women's refuges) would lose funding because of the competitive tendering process. Ongoing delays in the announcements of the outcomes of these parallel 'reform' processes exacerbated anxiety among service providers. This climate of uncertainty was evident among service providers in Westville, who nevertheless continued with 'business as usual' throughout the duration of the study, despite the insecurity of their funding (a key non-human actor) and the uncertainty surrounding future service provision.

3.4.4 Ethics approval

Ethics approval for the study was granted by the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee (approval number 2012-272A). Ethics clearance was also required, and granted, from NSW Health. Additionally, letters of approval to participate were required from all participating organisations. This entailed approaching ten separate organisations to negotiate access and gain the required approvals. The multi-lateral process of gaining approval from two ethics committees and negotiating multiple letters of agreement to participate is evidence of the complex negotiations that are part of interagency working.

Once all the letters of approval had been obtained, the process of contacting individual participants began. The senior managers of each agency were asked to nominate the most appropriate staff within their service to participate. Operational (middle) managers, as well as frontline practitioners, from each of the participating services were recruited and all participants were actively involved in the implementation of the local integrated DFV strategy. Individual participants were initially contacted by email and, if they agreed to participate, were followed up by telephone and sent a Participant Information Sheet and Consent Form (see Appendices 2-5 for Participant Information Sheets and Consent Forms). Only service providers were recruited to participate in the study; no service users were approached and no client records were accessed. All

the names of participants have been changed, including those of clients referred to in case studies.

Given the sensitivities in general around research relating to DFV, and the specific sensitivities about funding uncertainties and the potential local ramifications of the unfolding government reform process, I was aware that there may have been some reluctance among the Westville service providers to participate in the research. However, little hesitation was encountered. Indeed, the reverse was true. The key service providers were keen to participate in the study because they saw it as an opportunity to discuss both the perceived advantages of their integrated model and their concerns about its shortcomings. It was perceived to be an advantage that, while I was an 'outsider' in terms of not working in the local area, I was also an 'insider' in relation to my knowledge and experience of the sector. Nevertheless, to allay any unexpressed concerns, it was emphasised that this was *not* an evaluative project and that the findings were *not* going to be handed over to any government bodies to be used in funding decisions, assuring participants that my research interest was in *how* they worked together, and not whether they were meeting their Key Performance Indicators. I clarified that I would protect their privacy and confidentiality as far as possible by changing the name of the local area and not using participants' real names in any published material. Mindful of the principles of informed consent, non-maleficence and doing no harm to participants, I did, however, note that I would need to identify participants by profession and organisational affiliation because of the nature of the study. No-one objected to this, and the only barrier to participation that emerged was time constraints, as all participants were working in agencies that were under-staffed at the time.

3.4.5 Fieldwork and study participants

Fieldwork took place in the six months between January and June 2013. Twenty-one field visits, each of half to full days, took place over this time, generating 186 pages of field notes and a further 135 pages of transcription of 20 interviews and 17 meetings. In addition to the numerous non-human participants, 36 human

participants were involved in the study 21 frontline practitioners and 15 operational managers. Participants were employed in a range of government and non-government agencies, across the span of health, human services and legal and criminal justice system (CJS) sectors that had a role to play in responding to DFV. Every agency that participated in the local Westville intervention strategy was represented in the study participants.

3.4.6 Data generation methods

The principal data generation methods were focused workplace observation (including practitioner-shadowing) and semi-structured interviews. All interviews and meetings were audio-recorded and then transcribed with the aid of voice recognition software. Key documents and artefacts were also examined, with a view to understanding them as actors in the interagency networks. These included the multi-partner agreement (MPA), referral protocols, flowcharts and procedural guidelines, risk assessment tools, case-plans, reporting templates, referral intake forms, victim support cards, client contact sheets and action spreadsheets.

Observations

Corbin & Strauss (2008) note that 'observations put researchers right where the action is, in a place where they can see what is going on' (Corbin & Strauss 2008, p. 30), and, as such, it is the pre-eminent ethnographic data collection method, a method that is subtle and intrusive at the same time (Simpson & Tuson 2003). In this study, observation took various forms. Workplace observation involved focusing on what was happening in the workplace around me. This included observation of meetings that I attended. Participant observation focused more specifically on the practitioners within the context of their workplaces. This included shadowing key frontline practitioners for half-day periods.

Positioning myself as an observer-participant meant that my presence as a researcher was made overt to participants. While I was aware of the problem of participant reactivity, this positioning resulted in a more authentic engagement

than if I had positioned myself as an observer only, an outsider who had no knowledge or experience of the work being undertaken by the practitioners in the study. I am also aware of my own partiality as a researcher, however (see Section 1.3), and the attendant risk of researcher bias (Flick 2009), posing threats to the validity and reliability of the research. To mitigate these risks, field notes were taken during observations and more extensive notes were written up as soon afterwards as possible.

This study took up Flick's (2009) broad framing of participant observation which includes visual observation, document analysis, interviewing, direct observation and introspection (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011, p. 465). In this study, observation involved a process of moving from descriptive observation (orientation to the fieldwork site) to more focused observation (narrowing the focus on those processes most relevant to the research purpose and questions), and finally to selective observation (looking for evidence for what was identified in the previous step). Step one of participant observation involved recording general observations and reflections in a fieldwork notebook, and included quick impressionistic jottings as well as details of participants' roles and responsibilities and the nature of their workplaces. Step two entailed focused workplace observation, using an observation sheet/checklist with guidelines to direct observation of each activity, derived from those suggested by LeCompte & Preissle (1993) and Moyles (2002) (see Appendix 6 for Observation Guidelines Sheet). The third level of observation involved selectively focusing on how these elements combined in the process of working together. This entailed honing in on the intersections of people and things to observe what happened at these network nodes.

Observations took the form of attending a range of interagency meetings and joint activities that were integral to the overall strategy, as well as shadowing key practitioners in their daily work, with a view to understanding their varied roles and perspectives on interagency work. Shadowing, to which Latour (2005) refers as 'clumsily loaf[ing] around' (Latour 2005, p. 27), provided unique insights into

the day-to-day work of practitioners, adding layers to the complex and often perplexing picture of interagency DFV work. As a research method that can articulate the taken-for-granted (McDonald 2005), shadowing is also well-suited to an ANT-based study, as it contextualises individuals as embedded in the networks of activity of which they are a part (Czarniawska 2007). Observing interagency meetings and events focused attention specifically on the work that was being enacted, accounting for time and space considerations. Noting the number, range and type of actors participating, as well as the 'sayings and doings' (Schatzki 2006) and 'relatings' (Kemmis et al. 2012) that were prominent, built up detailed data for analysis.

While all forms of overt observation run the risk of altering the behaviours of the observed, the observer (or 'Hawthorne') effect need not necessarily be seen as an insurmountable problem (McDonald 2005). Various data-collection strategies were used to mitigate this. These included checking with participants regarding how 'normal/average' their day had been, noting how often participants' comments on the researcher's presence occurred in the data, and discussing these openly and directly with participants (McKernan 2000).

Interviews

To build rapport with participants and to contextualise the observation data, semi-structured (Bogdan & Biklen 1992) in-depth (LeCompte & Preissle 1993) interviews were also conducted. Patton's (1990) interview guide approach was adopted; this allowed topics and issues to be covered to be specified in advance and the interviews to be conversational and situational (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011). Appendix 7 contains the Interview Guide. The topics for exploration included the interviewee's version of the story of development of the Westville integrated strategy, the roles and functions of the various interagency partners, the nature of interagency working and whether/how it was different to regular single-agency work. I was also interested in exploring what participants saw as work practices and activities that were specific to interagency work, and whether and how interagency work helped to address the most pressing

problems in relation to DFV. Finally, I asked participants what they thought had been useful in terms of helping them to learn to work together collaboratively. Eighteen individual and two group interviews, each of at least one hour's duration, were conducted. The decision to conduct group interviews was, in part, motivated by practical considerations (Bogdan & Biklen 1992), being a quicker and more convenient way to bring together busy practitioners and managers with a minimum of disruption to their work schedules. However, I was also interested in gathering together representatives of the various agencies and collectivities who had been working together for some time for a common purpose and discovering where it was important that everyone concerned was aware of what others in the group were saying (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011).

3.4.7 Latour's four notebooks method

One of the challenges of adopting an ANT approach is that, unlike in more conventional approaches, there is a distinct lack of detail or direction in relation to methods (Wright 2016). Latour (2005) offers the suggestion to researchers to keep four different notebooks (manual or digital), 'in keeping with the logic of our interest in textual reports and accounting' (Latour 2005, p. 134). However, he provides only brief detail about the purpose and function of each of these notebooks. Nonetheless, in the absence of another way to proceed, his advice was taken up in the present study.

The first notebook Latour describes as 'a log of the enquiry itself', a place to document 'appointments, reactions to the study by others, surprises to the strangeness of the field, and so on' (Latour 2005, p. 134). Three small notebooks were filled with these kinds of details. Dates, times and locations of interviews and observations were later transferred to an Excel spreadsheet as a way of managing the data electronically.

Notebook two, Latour suggests, 'should be kept for gathering information in such a way that it is possible simultaneously to keep all the items in a chronological order and dispatch them into categories which will evolve later

into more and more refined files and subfiles' (Latour 2005, p. 134). Two more notebooks became repositories for field notes. The decision not to enrol a Computer-Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis Software package into the research actor-network made sorting of field notes into categories, and subsequent analysis, especially challenging¹⁵. This process is explained in Section 3.4.8.

The third notebook was reserved for '*ad libitum* writing trials...continuous sketches and drafts...ideas, paragraphs, metaphors, and tropes' (Latour 2005, p. 134). The notebooks used for this purpose became a digital folder of detailed pre-writing which subsequently were shuffled and reshuffled into an order that became chapter prototypes for this thesis. This is where I tested out how I accounted for, described and deployed what the investigation was uncovering, translating the research questions into ways of working with the data.

The fourth type of notebook, Latour advises, is to 'register the effects of the written account on the actors' (Latour 2005, p. 135). While this fourth set of notebooks might not have precisely performed the function suggested by Latour in this study, they were, nonetheless, important actors in the research process. This was where reflections on the writing/analytic process were recorded, noting insights and queries that continued to arise long after the fieldwork had been completed.

3.4.8 Data analysis

Using the four notebooks described in Section 3.4.7 as reference points, data analysis proceeded as an iterative, back-and-forth process (Teddlie & Tashakkori 2009). Adhering to the principle of *fitness for purpose* (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011, p. 537) in qualitative data analysis, the process began with deciding what the analysis was intended to achieve.

In this study, the purpose of analysis was to describe and explore. It began by taking a wide-angle lens to the data, then by 'sifting, sorting, reviewing and reflecting on them, the salient features [began] to emerge', providing the 'agenda

for subsequent focusing' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2011, p. 539). In this way, data was selected and thus reduced (Miles & Huberman 1994), while at the same time, its 'bulk, density and complexity' (Gibbs 2007, p. 4) was increased, as more text was created in the form of further notes, summaries, memos and reflections. As this process unavoidably entangled the data with my interpretation of them, it also raised the twin issues of the validity and reliability of qualitative data analysis, or, more appropriately, the overall 'trustworthiness' of the study (Shenton 2004). Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) stress the importance of reflexivity in addressing this dilemma in qualitative data analysis. Noting that reporting is never neutral, Hammersley & Atkinson (2007) remind researchers of the importance of remaining self-conscious as authors; that the chosen mode of writing renders the analysis another text, a concocted interpretation.

In addressing the issue of the rigour of the data analysis, I take up Guba's (1981) four criteria for assessing the trustworthiness of the findings: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. On all four counts, the data analysis process adopted in this study was thorough, leaving a careful audit trail of evidence (Golafshani 2003). In Chapter Ten, the concluding chapter of the thesis, these criteria are revisited in critically reflecting on how the study was conducted, providing an account of how each of these criteria were addressed (see Section 10.6).

Quinlan's (2012) three methodological questions raised for a feminist ANT analysis are addressed here in relation to the present study.

Where did the analysis start?

In this study, the analysis started with a focus on practice, as conceptualised in Section 3.2. As practices were taken as the units of analysis, the first stage of analysis involved identifying the key interagency practices that were evident in the data. Immersion in the empirical data collected involved reading and re-reading of field notes, transcripts and documents, and listening and re-listening to recordings of interviews and meetings. This led to sorting the raw data into

tangible bundles that seemed to hang together naturally. This process identified several different practices. These became the initial working basis for analysis. However, as analysis proceeded, four of these interagency practices became the focus of the findings. These four practices (discussed in Chapters Five to Eight) were selected based on the richness of the data they generated, and the extent to which this data enabled me to address the research questions. They do not represent interagency DFV work in its entirety.

Analysis proceeded through three levels in which writing was the vehicle, as well as the thinking tool. The first level/stage entailed atheoretical description, leading to interim/pre-writing. This was followed by description through a sociomaterial lens, using key theoretical concepts from ANT and new material feminism. Dot-points on PowerPoint slides were expanded into paragraphs. As key concepts began to emerge, each practice was reanalysed through these concepts. The final level/stage of analysis involved articulation of preliminary claims made possible by the preceding two levels of analysis. The focus became sharper, and paragraphs were refined into an emerging argument, substantiated by selected data excerpts.

In ANT-based studies, the methodology typically ‘is not predetermined and imposed upon the site, but is largely directed by what emerges at the site’ (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a, p. 154). What emerged at Westville was a tangle of connected and overlapping interagency DFV practices and the actors that beckoned to follow were many and heterogeneous.

Law and Singleton note that

when we describe a scene we make choices — mostly implicit — about what we’re going to describe and what we’re going to leave out. About which actors to follow and which to leave be...and those choices partly depend on our own agendas, political, theoretical, personal’. (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 495)

As outlined in Section 1.3, my long history as a feminist practitioner in the DFV sector makes my own agenda in this research explicit. I chose particularly to follow the victim/survivors and the actors that were part of the ‘webby relations’ (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 490) that connected them to others in the networks that enacted interagency DFV work.

To follow these actors and to observe what was to emerge in and through these practices (discussed in Chapters Five to Eight), I installed myself in the sites of their enactment. Adopting Laws’ (2004a) suggested approach to data generation, I ‘looked down’ and focused on the myriad specific and mundane details that were part of the enactment of practice. This is an approach characterised by Kwa (2002) as ‘baroque’, which is contrasted to a ‘romantic’ approach that ‘looks up’, trying to achieve a patterned overview of the whole picture, transcending the concrete and abstracting data to construct explanations.

What could be seen once the research had begun?

As noted, my researcher gaze was attuned early in the research process to the concept of practices as instantiations of how people and things assemble and hold together. From this focus on practices, networks became visible and the bundles of associated data began to coalesce into distinct (yet overlapping) interagency practices that connected diverse practitioners and their organisations. The structure of the thesis thus emerged relatively early in the data analysis process. As the threads of the argument were spun, key differences and similarities among the interagency practices emerged. What they had in common was that they involved multiple entanglements of people, things and discourses; what was different was the effects of their various enactments.

Focusing less on the *why* and more on the *how* of practice, this approach to data analysis began to open the ‘black box’ (Callon & Latour 1981) of interagency DFV work, enabling it to be examined as it emerged in real-time and real-place, among a series of heterogeneous assemblages and relations. In this process, the continuous effort that was needed to develop and sustain interagency practices

was made visible, and the effects of integrated responses, particularly in relation to victim/survivors, came more clearly into view.

As explained in Section 3.3, the approach taken to data analysis in this study is based on Barad's (2007, 2014) notion of diffraction. To demonstrate what this entails, two readings of one data excerpt drawn from my fieldwork are offered, illustrating the difference between a 'reflective' analysis and a 'diffractive' analysis. These are not necessarily suggested as 'alternative' analyses, as they do not stand in contradiction to each other. The suggestion is, rather, that the second reading 'incites' something new (Taguchi 2012), enriches and 'complexifies' the first analysis. In this way, facets and effects of interagency DFV working that have been hitherto under-exposed are illuminated.

The following excerpt is drawn from observation of one of the four interagency practices that constitute the four findings chapters of this thesis (Chapters Five to Eight). This is the practice of Integrated Case Coordination, which is examined in detail in Chapter Seven. The excerpt is a composite case compiled from field notes and transcripts of the case coordination meetings, presented here as a short narrative which is then used to illustrate the process of diffractive analysis and differentiate it from reflective analysis. Yvonne and Gary are fictional characters.

A Data Story: Gary, Yvonne and the high-risk birth alert

The Integrated Case Coordination team is discussing case number six (Yvonne & Gary), deciding whether it is time to 'suspend' the case, and remove Gary from their 'active list' of High Risk Offenders (HROs). The manager of the family violence service (FVS) reports that she has received an update from the Community Services (CS) manager saying that there had been 'no major changes'. The police officer reports that the Apprehended Violence Order (AVO), an order made by the court to protect the victim, has expired and they haven't pursued the charges because Gary is in custody. The Department of Corrective Services (DCS) manager clarifies that Gary has 'outstanding matters in the District Court' to do with drug charges, possibly related to his 'bikie gang

connections'. The police officer replies 'Yeah, for manufacture and supply a prohibited quantity...but for some reason our system doesn't update with District Court details'. He checks on the police database and reads aloud from the screen: 'The AVO matter went to court but she didn't turn up...and so then, yeah, they dismissed it, so there's no AVO'. The FVS manager sighs and says 'So, the DV seems to have kind of disintegrated, well not the actual DV, but the case, because there's no AVO, no charges, the kids are in care and he's in custody'. The police no longer have a role to play as there is no protection order for them to enforce and no further charges against the offender to prosecute. The CS manager notes that Gary is likely to be in jail 'for quite some time'. The child protection case worker adds that although the children are currently in 'temporary care', the DCS is pursuing a 'no restoration order' so that the removal of the children from the parents will become permanent. Yvonne is pregnant and soon to give birth to her fourth child. The FVS manager asks the child protection case worker if Yvonne is aware of the 'high-risk birth alert'. The case worker replies that she has 'been told'. The police officer asks 'How does that work?'. The case worker states that they inform all the major hospitals in the area that 'this is a baby at high risk' and 'they have to tell us if she delivers at their hospital and then we, um, then we go in and remove the baby'. A heavy silence descends, momentarily, on the room. The FVS manager, who is chairing the meeting, glances at the clock on the wall. They have four more cases to review. They decide to 'suspend' this case and move on the next one on the list.

Reading 1: A reflective analysis

A standard qualitative reflective analysis of this excerpt would position the humans as dominant in this story. The practitioners were doing their jobs, locking up villains and removing children at risk of significant harm. The analysis would be grounded in a normative, discursive reading of what was going on. Focusing on words as signs, I would have drawn on feminist critiques of child protection practice in the context of DFV as 'mother-blaming'. I might also have drawn attention to the dominance of the 'law and order' discourse that privileges the police/legal response to DFV. I would talk about how 'risk

management' discourse has influenced how 'accountability' is understood and enacted, how the language of child welfare has been harnessed to function as a unifying discourse that directs action. Coding categories, arranged in hierarchical trees, would have been developed to apply to instances of discursive clashes and moments of convergence.

Indeed, confronted by the sheer mass of data generated from the fieldwork, and to wrest control and impose some order, I initially attempted to develop coding categories. However, not long into the coding process, it became apparent that this approach was unlikely to turn up anything new. Focusing on the macro, big picture, and trying to find patterns/themes in the data, led to trying to reassemble my narrative to fit these categories. Had my analysis continued in this way, my write-up would more than likely have reproduced familiar and well-worn themes about interagency DFV work: the difficulty of working together with different priorities; the need for systems to 'talk to each other'; the challenge of balancing perpetrator accountability, victim protection and child welfare; the time and workload pressures on practitioners. Whether positioned as an outsider-observer looking in, or an insider-observer looking around from within, I would still have been an observer, my mission to hold up a mirror to reflect what was seen and offer an interpretation of this. I would have been relatively blind to the non-human participants in the action that was unfolding, other than to see them as tools used by humans, or as elements in a passive backdrop, a context against which practice is enacted.

This initial foray into the world of coding provided a sense of what I would later read in Jackson & Mazzei's (2012b) *Thinking with theory in qualitative research: viewing data across multiple perspectives*, which became a key methodological text informing this thesis. Jackson & Mazzei assert that 'coding takes us back to what is known, not only to the experience of our participants but also to our own experience as well...[locking] us into more of a territorialized place of fixed, recognizable meaning' (Jackson & Mazzei 2012b, p. 12).

Reading 2: A diffractive analysis

Karen Barad's (2007) work on diffraction provided a way of conducting 'post-qualitative data analysis' (Lather & St. Pierre 2013). Reading data diffractively enabled me to see multiple layers and dimensions to the practice that was being enacted. Paying attention to the range of actors — human and non-human — that participated in the enactment of Integrated Case coordination, my focus became multiple. Discourse was still 'there', still visible, but I also began to see how discourse was connected to matter; not only connected, but co-constituted. Jackson and Mazzei (2013) use Deleuze and Guattari's (1987) term 'plugging in' to describe the process of what they call 'thinking with theory'. Instead of hierarchical coding trees, what began to emerge was a rhizomatic formation that led in multiple different directions.

In the analysis of the excerpt above, deploying Barad's concept of diffraction, I threaded various texts through each other to produce a more disrupted reading of the data. Feminist scholarship on gender-based violence filtered through the text of the transcript of the meeting, while Barad's (2003, 2007) concept of intra-action, ANT concepts of translation and network effects wove their way in and out. Following Mazzei (2013a, 2013b) and trying to read these texts through, with and in relation to each other helped to develop a way of thinking with data and with theory, simultaneously. The process may be likened to viewing the data through a multi-focal aperture, slipping different theoretical lenses in and out of the analytical frame, as suggested by Nicolini (2009). Eventually, the window into the data became more like a prism or a crystal, and the picture that emerged was multi-faceted.

What about politics?

Taking a diffractive analysis approach to the data, and marshalling the conceptual resources afforded by both ANT and new material feminism, enabled the political and ethical ramifications of the enactments of interagency practices to be highlighted. Making visible how the various actors were assembled in the

networks that were activated facilitated commentary on who and what was entangled. This, in turn, exposed the differential effects of different patterns of enactment amid shifting power relations.

In the analysis of the story of Yvonne and Gary, the matter of 'the high-risk birth alert' protocol and the 'no restoration care order' can be seen to have intra-acted with child protection discourse to constitute a 'knowing' about what makes an 'unfit mother'. Simultaneously, the matter of Gary's drug charges can be seen to have intra-acted with his bikie gang connections and the associated narratives around criminality, to constitute him as a 'high risk offender' (HRO). However, the material effects of his incarceration rendered him no longer a risk to his partner. Despite the offender being in jail, and likely to remain so 'for quite some time', it appeared that the decision had already been made to remove the victim's baby at birth and to ensure that her other children, who had already been removed, were not restored to her care. Here there is evidence of the effects of prior negotiations having occurred. Enacting the practice of 'permanency planning', the Children's Court had been enrolled into the child protection authority's network. Similarly, local hospital staff had also been enrolled, mobilising the 'high-risk birth alert' provision of the child protection legislation. Legislation designed to protect children was thus translated into a mechanism of punishment, translating the victim into an unfit mother. Through the prism of diffraction, it is possible to see how the material reality of an abused woman's pregnant body intra-acted with risk management discourse to constitute a victim who was held responsible for her children's safety and, found to be failing, was to be punished with their permanent removal from her care. In ANT terms, the victim/survivor had been translated by the practice of high risk management into a potential risk to her unborn child, while the offender had been translated into a 'managed risk'.

Drawing on the insights that come from working with a range of conceptual resources, and bringing a feminist sensibility to the analysis, began to capture the

nuanced complexity of the phenomenon being explored, while not losing sight of its political relevance.

3.4.9 Summary of Section 3.4

This section has described and justified the research design, establishing the study as taking a praxiographic (Mol 2002) approach. The research site was described in terms of its sociodemographic location, and the historical context for the integrated DFV response under investigation was provided. Ethics approval processes were outlined. The study participants were profiled in terms of their organisational/service settings. Fieldwork techniques and data collection methods were clarified, Latour's (2005) four notebooks approach was described and the diffractive data analysis process was unpacked and illustrated, showing how this involved maintaining a feminist politic.

3.5 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has discussed the three interlinked elements of the conceptual and methodological framework for the research and described the present study, to which this framework is applied.

It has argued that a practice-based sociomaterial research approach, informed by ANT, and diffracted with insights from new material feminism, provides both a conceptual frame and a methodological stance that enables a new view of interagency DFV work. I propose that this way of seeing and analysing better accounts for complexity than current dominant ways of thinking about this work, because it offers a way of mapping relations that are simultaneously social, semiotic and material, and that foregrounds the integral, but often overlooked, role of materiality in professional practice. It also allows a productive engagement with multiplicity, actively connecting with the material world in which contemporary workplaces are embedded.

A case has been made for taking an ANT perspective, as this shifts the focus of enquiry from outcomes to processes and decentres the individual human as the only source of agency. Moreover, ANT's refusal of separation between the

material and immaterial, human and non-human also shows us how different actors are dominant at different times in shifting power relations. This way of looking sheds new light on the relational effects of the actor-networks involved in interagency DFV work. Mol's (2002) concept of the 'multiple phenomenon' is especially useful to the analysis as it foregrounds the way in which multiplicity is enacted in professional practice in the context of interagency DFV working.

Layering the analysis with insights from the new materialist feminist thinking adds value to the argument, connecting a feminist perspective with an engagement with materiality. Barad's (2008) theory of agential realism enables an analytic focus on the intersections of people and things, reflexively also taking account of my own intra-activity with all elements of the research process. Borrowing from Childers (2013), I suggest that my methodology becomes 'an onto-epistemological practice...a way of seeing the world...that infiltrates and complicates my analysis of everything' (Childers 2013, p. 607), a 'sort of promiscuous, nomadic feminism [that] never ceases to circulate, infiltrate and reorganise boundaries' (Childers 2013, p. 608).

In the second part of this thesis, the findings of the study are described, the outcomes of the analysis reported, implications discussed and the original and significant contributions made by the study become evident.

¹¹ The term '*practice multiple*' is italicised to denote that it is a neologism with a technical meaning, whereas the term 'multiple practices', while also used in a technical sense in this thesis, is a term in common usage.

¹² In ANT, the term 'actor' is distinguished from the term 'actant', the former being 'an actant endowed with a character' (Akrich & Latour 1992, p259), while the latter is the thing itself in its unspecified form (e.g. a small round flat piece of metal is an actant which becomes an actor once it is a coin). In this thesis, the term actor is used throughout, as all the key actors that are followed have competences attached to them.

¹³ Following government changes to funding allocation for homelessness services in NSW, only 14 of the state's 78 feminist-run women's refuges remained either still open or operated by women following the 2014 'Going Home Staying Home' reforms (Summers 2016). DV NSW (the women's refuges advocacy group), note that 75% of women's refuges were transferred to large faith-based charities that provide shelter to both men and women.

¹⁴ During the time of the research, the ‘super-department’ of the NSW Family & Community Services was created. This incorporated Community Services, Ageing, Disability & Home Care and Housing.

¹⁵ This is not to say that it is not possible to conduct an ANT study using CAQDAS – see Steven Wright’s (2016) exploration of this using ATLAS.ti.

Part II

Chapter Four: Analytic Approach

This chapter introduces Part Two of the thesis and recapitulates the use of Callon's (1986) four 'moments of translation' (discussed in Section 3.3) to analyse the four interagency practices selected for close examination. The diffractive analysis process (also discussed in Section 3.3) is briefly reviewed here, and the new conceptualisation of interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) work that emerged from this analysis is introduced.

Part Two comprises six chapters. The first four discuss the study findings in relation to each of the interagency practices examined. As noted in Chapter One (Section 1.2), these practices were chosen specifically because they are key elements of integrated DFV responses, especially in frontline service delivery, where interagency collaboration and coordination impacts most directly on victim/survivors.

Chapters Five to Seven are each structured in a similar way, taking the first three of Callon's (1986) four moments of translation as the focus for analysis of practice. Each chapter begins with a generalised account of the practice to contextualise the findings. This is followed by discussion drawing out the key features of the practice, using selected data excerpts generated from fieldwork. Subsequent sections explain the enactment of the practice, first in multiple practices mode and then as *practice multiple*. This is followed by a consideration of the effects of the different enactments in relation to victim/survivors. Chapter Eight uses all four moments of translation to focus the analysis and thus is structured slightly differently, thereby progressing the discussion.

As outlined in Section 1.4, Chapter Nine synthesises and theorises the findings, pulling together the threads of discussion woven through the preceding four chapters and fully articulating the new conceptualisation of interagency DFV work advanced in this thesis. Chapter Ten brings the thesis to a close, formulating

answers to the research questions and highlighting the contributions made by this study.

4.1 Callon's (1986) four moments of translation

As discussed in Section 3.3, Callon's (1986) four 'moments of translation', or stages of network formation, are deployed as analytic devices to examine each of four interagency practices in turn. This is not to suggest that each practice is *equivalent* to one of the four moments, as all four moments may transpire in one practice (as demonstrated in Chapter Eight), but, rather, to highlight that interagency collaboration is an ongoing process of network formation. Framing the chapters in this way thus foregrounds the significance of the actor-network theory (ANT) concept of translation as 'a way to think about how things come to be and how they change' (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a, p. 5). It also makes visible the agency of the actors involved in working together in responding to DFV, and shows how power is enacted and legitimised through their associations.

Table 4.1 sets out the ways in which the four moments are used to analyse the interagency practices discussed in Chapters Five to Eight.

Table 4.1: Using Callon’s four moments of translation in analysis

1. <i>Problematism</i>	Chapter Five – Interagency Referral As the first moment of translation, this is when some actors made themselves indispensable to solving the problem identified and different problematisations of the practice emerged.
2. <i>Interessement</i>	Chapter Six – Court Support Unpicking this practice through the lens of the second moment of translation enabled attention to the various strategies employed by actors to draw others into their networks and keep allies in place.
3. <i>Enrolment</i>	Chapter Seven – Integrated Case Coordination Taking the third moment as the focus here showed how various actors were either successfully enrolled (or resisted <i>enrolment</i>) into each other’s networks, and into the emerging interagency network.
1. <i>Problematism</i> 2. <i>Interessement</i> 3. <i>Enrolment</i> 4. <i>Mobilisation</i>	Chapter Eight – Monitoring and Review Analysing this practice using all four moments of translation revealed how the four stages of network formation unfolded within the enactment of one practice. Attention was paid to the fourth stage, <i>mobilisation</i> , to show how the interagency network only became stabilised when spokespersons were deemed representative of their constituencies and actors further along the various individual agency networks were to be mobilised into action.

4.2 Review of analytic process

In Section 3.3, the concept of ‘diffraction’ (Barad 2007, 2014) was introduced and ‘diffractive analysis’ was explained as integral to the methodological approach adopted in this study. Here, the analytic process is reviewed briefly. Diffractively reading the data involved informing the analytical questions with key concepts and then engaging in a process of threading, or ‘plugging’, data into theory (Jackson & Mazzei 2013), rather than layering a set of codes or theoretical concepts onto the data.

As practice was the entry point to the world of interagency DFV working, the analysis began with separate scrutiny of each interagency practice observed. This was not to ignore their relatedness, but because some ‘agential cuts’ (Strathern cited in Mol 2002, p. 82) were required in the networks that performed these practices. This involved taking a magnifying glass to the points of intersection between things and people, the often-neglected places in joined-up interagency DFV working. This narrowing of focus was also a strategy for dealing with what

Kate McCoy (2012) calls the sheer 'too-muchness' (McCoy 2012, p. 767) of multiple data sources. From initial analysis, prominent features emerged in relation to each of the interagency practices examined. Further diffractive analysis resulted in these features aligning in clusters of qualities that began to characterise two distinct, yet entangled, modes of practice.

4.3 Multiple practices and *practice multiple*

The contention advanced in this thesis is that interagency DFV work is enacted by multiple actor-networks performing multiple practices and that, together, these practices constitute a complex 'texture of practices' (Gherardi 2012b, p. 15). These may be enacted separately, as loosely-connected multiple practices, or they may be enacted as what I call *practice multiple*, in which multiple threads are tightly woven together in a singular practice. These different enactments affect the texture of the resulting 'wraparound' service provision, as well as their effects in relation to victims. What distinguishes the latter from the former type of enactment is that, in the performance of *practice multiple*, while the texture may be 'lumpy', the weave tends to be tight, the tension taut, and the victim is centred as a focal node in the interagency actor-network. In multiple practices, while the texture may be smoother, the weave tends to be looser (often with large holes), and tension slack between the service providers, who frequently become the focal nodes in their own single agency actor-networks. This effects a displacement of the victim from the centre to the margins of the service provision. In Section 9.4, the distinction between multiple practices and *practice multiple* is elaborated, and the conceptualisation of interagency DFV work as 'textured' practices is explained.

Using key conceptual resources from theorists in practice theory, ANT, after-ANT and the new material feminisms, the tangled threads, contradictions and co-constitutions inherent in the complex phenomenon that is interagency DFV collaboration were prised apart. Viewing each practice through these conceptual lenses, and then threading the data back into theory, produced something new, a novel understanding of interagency DFV work and its challenges.

In the chapters that follow, a range of data excerpts, selected from field notes, interviews and meeting transcripts, are used as empirical reference points to illustrate the developing argument. These 'data stories' (Lather 1991) are not, however, meant to be representative of all interagency DFV practices, nor are they 'realist' openings into the worlds of the various practitioners. They are used to trace the terrain on which multiple practices and *practice multiple* are enacted as two entangled modes of working together in interagency DFV work.

Chapter Five:

Interagency Referral – Establishing the Primary Actors

Problematization possesses certain dynamic properties: it indicates the movements and detours that must be accepted as well as the alliances that must be forged...[it] describes a system of alliances, or associations, between entities, thereby defining the identity and what they "want". (Callon 1986, p. 203)

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the practice of Interagency Referral, the first of the interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) practices examined in this thesis, is described and analysed. This practice responds to the problem of high numbers of victims with wide-ranging and diverse needs that no one service provider alone could meet. In this chapter, attention is paid to *problematization*. This is the first of Callon's (1986) four 'moments of translation', the first stage in the process of network formation, in which a problem is defined and a set of relevant actors determine how to deal with it, thereby making themselves indispensable.

5.2 Description of the practice

The empirical account of observed Interagency Referral practice draws out the prominent, more stable, features that are most pertinent to the theoretical foci of this study. Specifically, this account is constructed from data gathered from observations of four Interagency Referral meetings, three interviews with key staff and many informal discussions with practitioners over the course of fieldwork.

The practice of Interagency Referral occurred in a meeting held every weekday morning at the Westville police station. It involved reading and 'allocating' the referral forms completed by police officers attending domestic violence (DV) incidents. The 'yellow card', a small pocket-sized card, was offered by the police to victims at callouts. Accepting the card signified that the victim/survivor had consented to their details being passed on to a support service that would contact them within 24 hours.

The referral intake forms contained minimal information, mainly details such as victim's name, gender, date of birth, address, whether children were living at the nominated address, relationship to the alleged offender, 'Person of Interest' (POI), whether there was an Apprehended Violence Order (AVO) in place, and whether there had been previous contact with police. Importantly, there were two boxes at the top of the form, one of which needed to be ticked to indicate whether a yellow card had been 'accepted' or 'declined'. Only the 'accepted' intake forms were to be 'allocated' to a support service (unless there were children involved and/or there were 'serious concerns for safety', in which case the adult victim's wishes were over-ridden by legislation¹⁶).

Accompanying the intake form was a checklist for 'type of incident' with five available boxes ('verbal', 'assault', 'breach AVO', 'malicious damage', 'weapon used'). There was no other space on this form for more detail. At the bottom of the form was a section completed by the case worker 'allocating' the referrals, indicating which local service(s) should receive the referral, action taken and the 'type of DFV' (that is, intimate partner violence or violence involving another type of family relationship).

Five local services were signatories to the Multi-Partner Agreement (MPA) and the Interagency Referral protocol: the family violence service (FVS), the women's Safe at Home (SAH) program, the women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS), the generalist family referral service (FRS) and the youth health service (YHS). Some of these were part of government agencies and some were community-based non-government organisations (NGOs).

A police narrative, completed by the officer in charge attending the incident, was attached to some forms. This narrative contained more detail about the situation, noting whether any children were involved. Information-sharing provisions within the child protection legislation allowed the non-police case workers access to this information (*Children and Young Persons (Care and Protection) Act 1998* — Part 16A), providing they did not remove the narrative from the police station and it was shredded after they had taken notes.

The process of allocating referrals usually took an hour, depending on the number of forms. In general, there was a police officer (the DV team leader) present, as well as two non-police case workers, one from the FVS and one from the women's SAH support program. The case workers sorted through the referral intake forms, placing them in separate piles, to be allocated to the most appropriate service. Their decisions were in principle guided by a flowchart, but in practice this was rarely used (except as a reference for brand-new workers), as the experienced workers were familiar with each other's eligibility criteria. In any event, as the key casework service, the FVS generally took a lead role in decision-making about referrals.

During the allocation process, the case workers would sometimes ask the police officer to check details on the police database, if the form was incomplete. Once all referral forms had been sorted and allocated, photocopies were made and placed in a folder that remained at the police station. The women's SAH support worker took the referrals for her service and the FVS worker put the others into separate folders, marked with the names of the other agencies that were signatories to the protocol, to be picked up later in the day. Sometimes, the FVS worker would take the referrals for the YHS and drop them off in person as it was located close to her own office. The referrals for her own service would be entered in the service database when she returned to her office. If any of the support agencies had had previous contact with the victims/survivors who had been referred to them, their own databases would provide additional contextual detail as background to the most recent incident.

Diverse actors were assembled here. Referral forms ('police intake forms'), victim support cards ('yellow cards'), DV legislation and child protection legislation, interagency agreements and protocols, flowcharts, police narratives, risk factor checklists and databases all played their part, enmeshed with police officers and support workers. Each of the support workers also participated in their own service's actor-networks, as well as participating in the Interagency Referral actor-network. All these networks were also entwined with the local police area

command actor-network, which was part of the vast state-wide police force network.

5.3 Discussion of findings

The practice of Interagency Referral was enacted through a shifting between practitioners working separately and working together. However, this was more than a simple movement of coming together and then moving apart. On closer examination, and viewed through the conceptual lenses afforded by actor-network theory (ANT) and new material feminist thinking, more complex patterns and effects became visible.

Enacted in multiple practices mode, Interagency Referral was largely a neat and tidy performance in which the problem was predominantly cast as how to manage the increasing volume of different victims. Enacted this way, the practice was characterised by the following features:

- categorising,
- classifying,
- prioritising, and
- quantifying.

On the other hand, enacted in *practice multiple* mode, Interagency Referral was a more entangled, less linear practice, characterised by different features. Here the problem of referral was framed in terms that centred more on victim/survivors' needs, rather than on service providers' concerns. What emerged was a way of working together that moved beyond the constraints of categories, classifications, priority risk factors and quantification. The enactment of Interagency Referral in this mode resulted in a more integrated process that involved:

- seeing beyond the boxes on the form,
- cross-checking information,
- sharing referrals, and

- assessing victim risk.

5.4 Features of practice as multiple practices

The following instances, captured in the data, show how the enactment of Interagency Referral as multiple practices was a relatively straightforward process. While collaboration was a stated aim in the interagency protocol, efforts were made to maintain clear boundaries between agencies. Referrals were categorised by type of violence, victims were classified in relation to consent to contact, and cases were prioritised based on a list of factors determined by the police. Keeping track of the numbers of referrals going to each service was important, to ensure as even a distribution as possible.

5.4.1 Categorising

Categorising was a visibly prominent feature of Interagency Referral enacted in multiple practices mode, as illustrated in the following excerpt from field notes:

I am attending my first Interagency Referral meeting. I notice that the first step in the process of 'allocating referrals' involves scanning the referral form and the attending police officer's narrative (where one is attached) for certain key words that function as initial signposts, suggesting categories which point to the 'most relevant' agency. Much of the time there is less of a sense of 'working together' than there is of working separately, together on a joint project – this is played out in a material and embodied way as the practitioners, while seated in the same area, sit for most of the time with their backs to each other, huddled over their piles of referral forms, reading and taking down notes, or in the case of the police officer, sitting attached to his computer, eyes glued to the database screen. (fv3.o3)

In this meeting, the practitioners were operating in their own worlds for much of the time, reading the referral forms through their own service's practice lenses, asking themselves 'Is this our territory?' and working to the rules of their 'home' agencies; in effect 'producing' new clients for their agencies. Boundaries between agencies were clearly delineated, discussion was limited and there was minimal

interaction among the practitioners. There was no conflict or contestation; neither was there much 'integration' in evidence in this process of categorisation.

Because the victim was not present in an embodied form in this meeting, the referral form had an important job to do in standing in for her. Viewed in this way, the form was undoubtedly a prominent actor in the Interagency Referral network, but how well it managed to perform depended heavily on its relationships with manifold others, including the 'yellow card', the police narrative, the police referral priority factors list, the DV liaison officers and the case workers. It also worked in tandem with other actors, such as the 'referral eligibility criteria' of each service. Because these local service providers knew each other so well, their eligibility criteria were accepted and taken for granted as fixed. In ANT terms, they had been 'black-boxed' (Callon & Latour 1981), and had developed enough solidity to be what Latour (1987) termed 'immutable mobiles', able to 'act at a distance' (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a, p. 18), and perform as unquestioned delegates of their own networks. This allowed referral allocation to proceed in a relatively straightforward manner, ensuring that each service received the 'right' referrals.

The FVS worker explained the criteria for allocating the referrals, as specified in the protocol, as follows:

The women's housing program only takes women in intimate partner cases, and they must be over eighteen and want to leave the violence. The generalist family referral service gets the children under eighteen, and the 'verbals', so where the risk has been minimal, but there might be family law related stuff. And they only take referrals from certain postcodes. Young people between the ages of about fifteen and twenty, we allocate to the youth health team. And then you've got the court advocacy service, so we send all the new AVOs to them, but they don't do case management, they only do court support. And so, whatever is left over in terms of referrals, basically we get that. So, that's all the pre-existing AVOs, and the charges. We also get men, and any single women without children. (fv3.o3, lines 40-49)

The interagency protocol, working with the referral form, worked effectively to get the services to work together. As a powerful inscription device, it induced multiple entities to co-exist as signatories. Different eligibility criteria operated to keep the services separate (enough) from each other in their 'home' actor-networks to avoid 'turf wars' and duplication, while, simultaneously, enabling them to intersect (enough) to 'work together' in the Interagency Referral process. Categorising defined the problem of referral as one of directing referrals into the 'right' territory. It responded to the problem of 'which category of service provider is most appropriate?'

5.4.2 Classifying

The next feature of Interagency Referral enacted as multiple practices responded to the problem 'which type of victim is this?' and involved classifying victims based on whether they had consented to being contacted by a support service. An important actor here was the 'yellow card'. In the excerpt below, the case worker being shadowed was explaining the significance of the ticked box at the top of the referral form.

One of the first things that we look at on the referral forms is which 'yellow card' box has been ticked. All the 'accepted' ones go in one pile, and the 'declined' into another pile. The 'accepted' ones are automatically allocated. If the 'accepted' box is ticked, then there's some accountability there for us, we're obliged to follow up with her, we have a mandate to contact her, but if it's 'declined' then providing support is more difficult because we can only contact her under certain circumstances. (fv8.o16)

Here a ticked box at the top of a form has been translated into a 'mandate to contact'. The injunction of 'accountability' has been negotiated at this node in the referral network, in terms of 'inferred consent': if the victim accepted the card, a service provider was obliged to contact her within a prescribed time-period; if the victim declined the card, there was no obligation to contact (except in certain circumstances that overrode the victim's lack of consent, such as children being

at risk of significant harm). In Barad's (2007) agential realist terms, the yellow card and the ticked/unticked box on the form 'intra-acted' (Barad 2007), with the discourse of accountability and the notion of inferred consent mutually constituting each other. There was no consent and no accountability if the 'yellow card accepted' box had not been ticked. Importantly, different types of victim emerged from this co-constitution, this intra-activity: the 'good' compliant ones who 'accepted support/intervention' and the others, the difficult, non-compliant ones, who wanted nothing more to do with 'the system'. This classification thus served as an effective filtering device, thereby addressing the problem of how to decide which referrals were the most 'deserving' of help, including some victims and excluding others from the Interagency Referral network.

5.4.3 Prioritising

The third characteristic of Interagency Referral enacted in multiple practices is the prioritising of cases based on police imperatives. In the excerpt that follows, one of the FVS case workers was explaining the process for deciding which referrals received the most urgent response. The *problematism* here was related to the previous one of how to decide which referrals were the most 'deserving' of assistance; here, the problem was 'how do we allocate our scarce resources?'

Diane (the FVS worker) pulls out a sheet from the Interagency Referral procedures folder. 'This is a police referral priorities sheet that we sometimes use back at the office...the other services don't get access to this, only we do...so you can see here, it is a list of risk factors, so if they get one or more of these, then they would get an immediate response...and then down here [on the form] we would just kind of categorise it in relation to the issues, for example, out of area, children involved, partner still living in the home, and then what the decision was...'. (fv3.o3, lines 99–102)

In this excerpt, two issues stand out: first, the fact that the referral priorities sheet reflected police priorities, and second, that the FVS was the only non-police service provider that was privy to this information. In terms of network

formation, the alliance between the police and the FVS was thus stabilised from the outset. Together, they had established a way of addressing the problem of which referrals should take priority. Two criteria emerged as determining: availability of police resources and compliance with legislation.

Equal first among the risk factors on the checklist were 'narrative available' (code for 'there is a child involved') and 'five or more interventions' (code for 'we know this one well'). Also on the list were 'current AVO or charges' (code for 'we've already spent time on this one') and whether the 'victim is pregnant, has an infant under six months old or a history of miscarriage' (code for 'we have to act on this one because of child protection legislation'). This confirmed that, if there was a (potential) child involved and/or the case had already consumed substantial police time and resources, it was deemed 'high risk'. These priorities signalled not only the weight given to assessing risks to children (including unborn children), but also the importance of minimising the possible risk to police in terms of accountability for decision-making about priority cases. Assessment of risk to the adult victim (usually the primary victim in DV), appeared to be less of a focus here. (The issue of risk assessment is taken up in Chapter Seven, where the practice of Integrated Case Coordination is discussed.)

5.4.4 Quantifying

The last feature of Interagency Referral, enacted as multiple practices, discussed in this section is quantifying. This was a response to the problem of how to measure the success of the referral system.

While allocating referrals appeared on one level to be almost an administrative task, on closer examination, and through an ANT lens, it could be seen that there were also strategies and tensions at play here. The following observation from field notes alludes to the nuances involved in 'divvying up' the referrals.

I notice that there is a lot of talk about 'offloading' referrals, which seems to speak to the 'weight' of the case-loads. At the same time, I notice that there is also talk

of other services 'taking our work from us', suggesting that there are times when the load may be 'too light'. (fv3.o3)

Talk, when it did occur in this meeting, other than for clarification, fluctuated between suggestions that some services had 'too many' clients to deal with (if they were at capacity and/or short-staffed), while others were not receiving 'enough' referrals to justify their existence (if their funding bodies judged their caseloads to be too low, or they were seen to be 'not pulling their weight'). However, the numbers were framed; statistics were powerful actors here, with the potential to increase or decrease funding and influence resource allocation, and to make or break interagency alliances. For example, a high number of referrals from the police to support services was seen (by police) as an indicator of the success of this local interagency strategy. Numbers were garnered and turned into measures of throughput.

Indeed, counting numbers of referrals seemed at times to be a preoccupation in the enactment of Interagency Referral as multiple practices, suggesting itself as a way forward in the *problematization* of how to measure success. A spreadsheet had been enlisted to do the job of recording the numbers of referrals per month that went to the different partner agencies. Referring to this spreadsheet, the FVS that received 'whatever is left over in terms of referrals' had noticed a trend. The manager of this FVS explained:

We seem to be getting a lot more men referred to us now, since we've had this referral system in place, but with men we need to be very careful that we're not getting the other party, in other words where the woman is the victim but there's a cross-application situation, where he's claiming to be the victim. This is happening more and more often.... (fv3.o3, lines 47–50)

Here the referral form, intra-acting with the spreadsheet and with gender-neutral legislation, had effectively translated DV into a de-gendered phenomenon of 'DFV'. An issue of concern to many feminists (see Hester 2012; Murray & Powell 2009), this potentially set the FVS apart from some of the women-only services in

Westville. However, as the service that got all the 'leftovers' that didn't fit the criteria of any of the other services, the FVS was a 'catchall' service that had become indispensable, a pivotal node in the integrated interagency strategy. It also received more referrals than any other service and, while this was seen by some to confer advantages in terms of leveraging additional funding in an era of competitive tendering, it also had the effect of producing chronically unmanageable workloads for the practitioners, and long waiting lists for victim/survivors.

5.5 Features of practice as *practice multiple*

When referrals didn't neatly 'fit' the boxes on the form, there was a perceptible, yet subtle, shift, in the way of working together, a move towards a more entangled, messy way. Boundaries between agencies became more blurred and interagency differences were distributed, spread out. The allocation of referrals, while still guided by the form, tended to be based more on what the victim might need, rather than what the services had on offer, as the practitioners began to look beyond the boxes on the form. There was less 'ownership' of potential clients and especially challenging referrals were sometimes 'shared' between services, if this better served the interests of the victim/survivor. Prioritisation was based primarily on assessment of risk. This shift towards a victim-centred focus resulted from a different framing of the problems associated with referral. Rather than addressing the problem in terms of how to make the system work most efficiently for services, the *problematization* that allowed *practice multiple* to develop was how to make the system work best for victims.

5.5.1 Seeing beyond the boxes

Data analysis showed that *practice multiple* first began to emerge when the practitioners looked beyond the boxes on the referral form and acted outside of the constraints imposed by a rigid process of categorisation. This happened when the limitations of the referral form became starkly evident, when particularly complex cases refused to obediently fall in line under predetermined referral

criteria. Here the problem was seen in terms of the limitations of the referral form, rather than the volume of victims to be 'managed' by service-providers.

The following excerpt from field notes illustrates one such case where this shift occurred.

The manager of the FVS groans as she reads a particularly complicated police narrative involving a custody dispute between two Iranian sisters (who it appears are involved with the same man) about who is the birth mother of the child. The police DV team leader looks the case up on the police database and then comes over to the FVS manager to discuss it with her – the case is to be referred to the joint investigative response team (JIRT) to investigate allegations of child abduction. The federal police are involved in this one, as well as the Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC). The FVS manager invites the case worker into the discussion. They all seem to be struggling to find their roles in relation to this referral, trying to work out who is 'the victim' here and what to do when there is more than one victim.... (fv8.o16, lines 53–60)

The referral form had great difficulty performing here because the 'case' was multi-faceted, and didn't fit neatly into the prescribed categories. As a 'standardised form' it had the effect of 'pars[ing] practice into a limited range of static categories' (Nespor 2002, p. 375). In this situation, however, the categories had to be destabilised and decision-making had to move beyond agreement about which box to tick. Even with the additional information provided in the police narrative, there was insufficient detail to build a clear picture of what was happening. The focus in the narrative was on the dispute between the sisters, but there were implicit questions about the man involved, the offender, who was also the father of the child. It appeared that he had abducted the child, who was presumed therefore to be at risk and so was an urgent focus for action. However, the two sisters were also victims in this family scenario, and the practitioners recognised the need to assess their risks and establish what sort of support each of their services might contribute in this case. As the tangled and intersecting actor-networks became foregrounded, the complexity of 'allocating referrals'

became evident, making it possible for the practitioners to see and act beyond the limitations of the intake form.

5.5.2 Cross-checking

The next feature of *practice multiple* to emerge from the analysis involved a *problematization* of the referral form itself, a questioning of the assumption that the information it contained was always accurate and complete. A process of cross-checking for consistency and accuracy evolved and entailed a degree of investigation and connecting pieces of information that were located at different nodes along the various networks.

As noted, the yellow card exerted considerable agency in relation to victim support, because by accepting a card from an attending police officer, a victim was deemed to have consented to pro-active follow-up from a support service. A ticked 'yellow card accepted' box on the referral form strengthened the authority of the yellow card, as consent to pass on the victim's details was inferred when she took the card. When a 'declined' box was ticked, follow-up was more difficult. This situation had prompted the case workers to institute a cross-checking procedure whereby all the 'yellow card declined' forms were re-checked for possible errors or oversights that might create opportunities for contacting the victim.

In the excerpt below, the FVS case worker was looking through the 'yellow card declined' forms for cases where there were children.

In her cross-checking of the 'declined' forms, Jacqui (the FVS case worker) comes across one where the box relating to children has been ticked 'no'. However, she knows this family because the woman has been a client of their service previously; she knows that she is at high risk and she also knows that she has a child. She tells the Police DV team leader this and asks if she can read the police narrative in this case. She checks the referral form against the police narrative for any inconsistencies and she finds that the narrative does in fact refer to there being a child. She notes that there is a pre-existing AVO in place but that police did not

charge the offender with a breach, as they should have done. She asks the Police DV team leader to follow this up with the officer in charge. He notes the oversight and agrees. (fv8.o16)

Located at a node where the FVS network and the police network intersected, the case worker could connect pieces of information from her own service's database with information on the police database. Enlisting the support of legislation to enable this cross-checking, she identified that there had been an oversight on the part of the officer in charge, revealing that in fact this was a case that required urgent action, not one to be relegated to the no-further-action ('declined') pile. Couching the referral problem in such a way as to focus on the victim made it possible for *practice multiple* to emerge.

5.5.3 Sharing referrals

The third characteristic of *practice multiple* to emerge involved a loosening of agency boundaries, a reduction in the tendency for service providers to claim 'ownership' of referrals. The *problematisation* here became how to most effectively address the range of victim/survivor needs. When agreement was reached to 'share' a referral between services, the actor-networks became more ensnared with each other, in a move to negotiate complexity and utilise distributed expertise. When this happened, interagency differences were complementary, rather than conflictual or contradictory. Significantly, by resisting both compromise and closure, this was a move that served the interests of the victim/survivor, as well as the mutual interests of the services that participated.

In the following excerpt, the FVS case worker was explaining the circumstances that warranted 'sharing' a referral.

Well, for example, if there are charges or an AVO involving a young person as the victim, we would co-case manage with the youth service. So, we might allocate the referral to them initially and they would do the case management side of it and we would do the court support, because they often don't have the skills or experience in the legal side of things, and this works well for both services, and for the young

person, because their case is being managed by a service whose core business is working with young people. (fv3.o3, lines 40–49)

While the boxes on the form worked to separate the services from each other, as if they were discrete entities working separately with different client groups, there was in fact considerable overlap between them, as they pulled and pushed in intersecting actor-networks. While ‘sharing’ of referrals entailed an overlapping of the boundaries between agencies, exposing the limitations of services working in isolation from each other, it also made interagency differences more visible, but in a complementary, rather than a conflictual, way.

Expressing her opinion about the work accomplished by the referral form, the YHS manager elaborated on this point in an interview:

The Interagency Referral form...well, it doesn't give any of us enough information for our own services – which is why we need to work separately as well as together – but it does provide enough for the purposes of the interagency strategy – it works because we didn't get stuck on 'but we need to have this info for our service' – that's why it works for the purpose for which it was designed. It does mean a two-step process though, because then each service needs to collect their own data from the client, like as a health service, we need Medicare number, name of GP, etc., but these details are not relevant for police, so they wouldn't collect this info – so the form has been culled down so that it works across agencies, even if it's minimal information for some services. So, it's a step in the process, and then we each pick up the threads and fill in the gaps later, depending on what we need to do with and for the client. (fv14.i12, lines 111–122)

The action of sharing referrals foregrounded the entanglement of the various actor-networks, and the fact that individual service providers were not discrete entities operating in isolation, but connected assemblages existing in relation to each other. Recognising that the referral form could only ever elicit part of the picture about a victim/survivor and their circumstances, and that completing it could only ever be a step in the process of appropriate referral, was part of the

shift from multiple practices to *practice multiple*, a shift in which the client/victim became a focal actor, a central reference point.

5.5.4 Assessing victim risk

The fourth feature of practice multiple to emerge in the enactment of the practice of Interagency Referral was risk assessment. Crucially, the problem being addressed here was the difficulty of assessing risk in volatile situations, as the very slipperiness of the notion of 'risk assessment' was revealed. Once again, the limitations of the referral form, acting on its own, became evident, and the need to enlist other actors was vital.

The YHS manager spoke of the referral form in terms of a fit-for-purpose design, the purpose being to allocate referrals, neatly and cleanly (not to assess risk). For this reason, the information it had been designed to collect had been reduced to the bare minimum, no doubt to make it easier for the workers (especially the attending police). However, this was potentially risky for the victim, if the referral information was not read through other contextual data. Reducing complexity may have been expedient for the partner agencies in the local interagency strategy, however, the interests of the victim could easily be relegated to the status of secondary concern. The practitioners knew this, as evidenced by the YHS manager's comments in the previous excerpt. In the push-pull of interagency negotiations, the victim could easily become immobilised, caught like a fly in the sticky web of compromise, unless she could enlist others onto her side. This could only be achieved via the intermediary of a support worker, her advocate, working in partnership with her to assess her risk and plan for her (Davies, Lyon & Monti-Catania 1998; Robinson 2003).

In relation to risk assessment, the FVS case worker in the excerpt below stressed the need to trace the victim's story beyond, behind and around the tick boxes on the form, to gain a more nuanced and fuller appreciation of her situation.

You need to look very closely at these referrals and cross-reference them with other information, because for example it might say 'verbal only', but when you look at

this in the context of more detailed casefile notes, you might find that there have been serious threats made in the past, even though it might be recorded as just a 'verbal' on the form for this most recent incident.... (fv3.o3, lines 112–114)

This draws attention to how the classification and prioritisation of the referrals, discussed earlier, had implications for how risk was assessed. For example, at the police callout, if the violence was perceived as an isolated event, a verbal argument with threats and insults being the weapons of choice, it was likely to receive minimal attention. However, if, back at the police station with the FVS case workers, detailed file notes and other actors involved, the violence was viewed as a patterned process of intimidation and control with a long history, then it merited closer attention to risk assessment. This tension between the construction of DV as incident-based and understanding of it as context-saturated (see Wangmann 2013) was frequently a source of interagency conflict in Westville, particularly between the police and the services operating alongside the criminal justice system (CJS). However, when interagency differences were distributed, and not perceived in binary terms, police and case workers responded to their own realities of DFV in a way that created 'a place for the other reality inside their own — on their own terms' (Mol 2002, p. 104). Seen in this way, the police callout for a 'verbal' incident became another piece in a bigger picture of an abusive relationship, a piece that would contribute to an overall comprehensive assessment of risk to the victim.

This distribution of interagency differences in relation to risk assessment was especially prominent where services worked with men in relation to DFV. One of the FVS case workers explained that their funding agreement specified that they work with *all* victims (not only women) and that they were expected to work with 'the whole family'. While this had alienated them from some of the feminist services, it had endeared them to other services in the local area. The case worker's comments below illustrate how their funding agreement was entangled with their approach to risk assessment.

So, we do offer services to men, both victims and perpetrators of violence, but we try to keep it to a minimum, especially if they are known to us as partners of any of our clients. If their partner is not an active client, we might just do some basics, you know, refer them out for group work or family law support. We would just link them into other services, which in the long run usually helps the victim, because they, the women, often say 'if only he'd go to counselling' and then they find out it usually doesn't make any difference, and that's when many women decide to make the break. So, if we get a referral for a male and we feel it's important in terms of minimising risk to kind of know where he is at, we might offer him a service to kind of keep her and the kids connected to us and that way sort of speed things along a bit, because he might say 'look, I agree to the AVO and I want to go to counselling', so you know you've just got to be kind of creative and flexible; it's about doing whatever you need to do to keep her and the kids safe. (fv3.o3, lines 26–32)

While working with both victims and perpetrators was viewed by some service providers as becoming ensnared in a conflict of interests, potentially compromising the safety of victims, it was also a way of serving multiple mutual interests. In the preceding excerpt, professional judgment based on experience and grounded in a gender-based understanding of DFV was marshalled in the service of risk assessment, which then became integrated into the process of referral-making and referral-receiving, not separated from it. In assessing risk, the threads of connection were traced outwards, from the victim, and not the reverse, from the agencies to the victim.

5.6 Enactment of Interagency Referral

The enactment of Interagency Referral in multiple practices mode responded to the problems of fitting referrals to services, deciding which referrals required most attention, determining resource allocation and providing a measure of 'effectiveness' of the system. In this process, decision-making was concentrated in the hands of two key actors who had made themselves indispensable. While the small FVS managed to exercise substantial authority in the allocation process,

ultimately it was the referral form that functioned as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) in ANT terms. Put another way, the form ('the police intake form') had become a central channel through which all the relations in the network had to flow, making the police force critical to the Interagency Referral network. In general, victim/survivors needed to pass through the portal of a police 'callout' to be eligible to access support from the other services that participated in the integrated strategy. It was therefore not inconsequential that the Interagency Referral meetings always occurred within the precincts of the Westville police station. In ANT terms, the referral form is an artefact created to enhance the interests of police, effectively divesting them of responsibility for 'victim support', and translating all the entities with which it connected. This highlights the importance of the close alliance between the police and the FVS, an alliance that enabled the police to concentrate on the 'real' business of policing.

The performance of Interagency Referral as *practice multiple* responded to a framing of the referral problem as how to best match the needs of victim/survivors with available support services, based on an assessment of their risks. This entailed a challenging process of mining information sources other than the referral form, effectively translating the form into just another link in a chain of associations, not the all-important actor it was seen to be when Interagency Referral was enacted in multiple practices mode.

However, *practice multiple* was a relatively fleeting performance that tended to emerge only when referrals appeared to be especially complicated. Once these more complex referrals had been discussed and allocated, the services tended to retreat once again to enacting their own multiple practices, separately.

While both the police and the FVS continued to play pivotal roles as key actors in *practice multiple*, a wider range of actors became involved, entailing a reshuffling of priorities and relationships that resulted in a strengthening of the fragile interagency actor-network. The actors had managed to hold together, partially connected, as 'more than one, and less than many' (Strathern 1991, p. 35). They would repeat the performance the next day, consolidating the

associations, as network stabilisation is only ever achieved temporarily and transitionally (Latour 2005), in an unending process of becoming.

5.7 Relational effects for victim/survivors

In the performance of Interagency Referral in multiple practices mode, the focus on categorising and allocating referrals accordingly resulted in victims being constructed in a somewhat flat, unidimensional fashion, being fitted into categories that described fragmented aspects of their experience. Further classification of victims based on whether they had accepted or declined a yellow card had the effect of assembling victims as either 'good/compliant' (if they had 'accepted' the offer of support) or as 'bad/difficult' (if they had declined assistance). This contributed to a tacit acceptance of a hierarchy of victims, from most 'deserving' to least worthy of assistance and support. Prioritising referrals based on a list of factors that were not always directly related to the primary victim's safety had the significant effect of victims possibly remaining at risk during the referral process. Working hard to avoid treading on each other's turf, and ensure a fair allocation of referrals while keeping funding bodies satisfied, the service providers tended towards a focus on counting referrals. Efforts to 'spread the load' sometimes had the effect of inappropriate referrals being made. At other times, too many referrals were directed to one agency, producing long waiting lists for victims who needed a timely response. *Problematization* then, in multiple practices mode, marginalised the victim in the enactment of Interagency Referral.

In contrast, enacting referral as *practice multiple* led to the practitioners widening their focus beyond what was recorded on the intake form, and agreeing to 'share' referrals, to offer complementary services to victims. The effects of this were that DFV was constructed as a multi-faceted phenomenon and victims were seen in a multidimensional way that mirrored the complexity of their lives beyond the categories on the referral form. The process of cross-checking the forms against other information sources and manually checking for consistency meant that more victim/survivors were likely to receive a service, or at least have some

contact with a support service, and fewer were likely to fall through the holes in the system. Sharing referrals resulted in victim/survivors having more of their needs met than if one service only were to 'own' them exclusively. Recognising that their services could harmonise, rather than operate in discord, enabled agencies to provide responses that were more tailored to victims' needs. Assessing risk as part of the referral process meant that victim safety became the focus for practice. Victim/survivors' interests were thus foregrounded and assessing victim risk became a primary consideration in the enactment of Interagency Referral as *practice multiple*.

In summary, when Interagency Referral was framed as a solution to managing the problem of high volume of victims, the dominant mode of enactment was multiple practices. In this mode, referral risked becoming the goal, artificially disconnected from other interlinked practices, and indeed disconnected from the victim/survivor herself. In contrast, framing of the problem as how to ensure the most appropriate referrals for victims enabled *practice multiple* to emerge (even if only briefly). This mode facilitated a focus on referral and risk assessment as integrated elements of the one practice, intrinsically interlinked means to an end, the end being better outcomes for victim/survivors.

5.8 Concluding thoughts

Interagency Referral, the first of the interagency practices examined in this thesis, effected victims' entry to the entangled and entangling networks comprising 'the system'. Service eligibility criteria, geographical boundaries, referral forms, risk factor checklists, legislation (and more) all intra-acted, not only with each other, but also with practitioners' own professional judgment, experience and training. These intra-actions constituted different types of DFV and different types of victim, which in turn determined the degree and type of support/service that victims were to receive. Discussed with a focus on the first of Callon's (1986) four moments of translation, *problematization*, the enactment of the practice was shown to have been shaped by the framing of the problems associated with Interagency Referral. This in turn produced differential effects for victim/survivors.

This chapter has afforded a first glimpse into how systems of alliances and associations developed between the actors in forming the networks that participated in interagency DFV work in Westville. The police force, as first responders at the initial point of contact with victims, emerged as a primary entity, establishing itself firmly as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) in the Interagency Referral network. However, as the main coordinating agency in the local integrated strategy, the FVS also made itself an indispensable primary actor. Subsequent chapters of this thesis elucidate the relationship between these two key actors, as a source of productive tension, as new actors are introduced in the struggle for primacy in the unfolding story of interagency DFV network formation in Westville.

As noted, the practice of Interagency Referral began the process of constructing different types of victims, but this was no neutral procedural unfolding, as implied by the conceptualisation of 'streamlined referrals' as one point on a continuum of interagency engagement (Wilcox 2010a). Rather, it was a political activity with material consequences for victim/survivors. Most of those deemed to want help (as evidenced by their acceptance of the yellow card) were soon to be enrolled into the actor-network of the CJS, if they had not already been so enrolled. Agreeing to pursue legal protection entailed applying to the local court for an AVO. These were the 'good' victims, the ones regarded as doing the 'right thing' in 'helping the system to help them'.

This is the focus of the next chapter, in which the enactment of Court Support is explored through the lens of Callon's (1986) second stage of network-formation, *interessement*. Here other actors are recruited to assume roles in the various actor-networks and allies are kept in their places.

¹⁶ Part 16A of the *Children and Young Persons (Care & Protection) Act 1998* makes provision for this in NSW.

Chapter Six:

Court Support – Imposing and Stabilising Identities

Interessement is the group of actions by which an entity...attempts to impose and stabilise the identity of the other actors...To interest other actors is to build devices which can be placed between them and all other identities who want to define their identities otherwise. (Callon 1986, pp. 203–4)

6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes and analyses the second of the interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) practices examined in this study: Court Support. In this practice, new actors join those introduced previously. In this chapter, the concept of *interessement*, the second of Callon's (1986) four moments of translation, is used as the focus for analysis. Describing this second stage of actor-network formation as when an entity 'attempts to impose and stabilise the identity of other actors' (Callon 1986, p. 8), Callon (1986) noted that it also occurs when potential competing associations are interrupted, because 'to be interested is to be in between (inter-esse), to be interposed' (Callon 1986, p. 8). In the practice of Court Support, the primary actor is the criminal justice system (CJS), inclusive of the legislature, law enforcement, courts and corrective services agencies. Other key actors include victim/survivors and the women's domestic violence (DV) court advocacy service (WDVCAS). The analysis of Court Support shows how identities are 'formed and adjusted only during action' (Callon 1986, p. 8) and are 'consolidated and/or redefined during the process of *interessement*' (Callon 1986, p. 9). Attempts to impose identities and lock allies into place (Clarke 2002) through strategies of *interessement* are shown to sometimes encounter resistances, and the effects of these resistances are made evident.

6.2 Description of the practice

The account of Court Support presented here is derived from data gathered during observations of the workings of the WDVCAS at the Westville local court, a lengthy interview with the coordinator of the WDVCAS, and numerous conversations with support workers over the course of fieldwork. This

description highlights those features of the practice that are most relevant to the analysis and the associated discussion.

Court Support was coordinated by the WDVCAS, one of the non-government women's organisations that was a signatory to the Westville integrated DFV strategy. Several other services (some of which were also signatories) participated by allowing their practitioners to work on a weekly roster as 'seconded' support workers, on the 'AVO list day'. This was when all the Apprehended Violence Order (AVO) applications were heard by the local court magistrate. The WDVCAS could only operate with workers 'on loan' from other services. While this was reflective of low levels of funding to the service, it was also evidence that diverse actors had been recruited to join the network of the women's service. While this arrangement was in place, the identities of these practitioners as Court Support workers was relatively stable. This strengthened the network internally, while the 'home agencies' continued to agree to 'lend' their practitioners to the scheme. The family violence service (FVS), for example, always provided a casework practitioner to participate on the Court Support roster, as did the women's safe-at-home (SAH) support program. Although not rostered on as support workers, and thereby resisting the imposition of this non-police identity, local Domestic Violence Liaison Officers (DVLOs) were always in attendance, working in concert with the support workers and court staff, but maintaining their own core identities as police officers, upholders of law and justice.

The enactment of this practice generally began when a victim/survivor was referred to the WDVCAS from police, via the Interagency Referral practice (discussed in Chapter Five). However, the description of practice *in situ* is taken up from when the rostered support workers arrived at the local court at 9 am on AVO list day and made their way to the 'Safe Room'. This was a private room within the court precinct that had been allocated specifically for the use of the WDVCAS, its clients and their children and supporters. The room was off-limits to the defendants, the alleged perpetrators. The only men in the room were police

officers and prosecutors. The support workers would first 'check in' with the coordinator and cross-check their respective lists, literally checking that they were 'on the same page'. They then sought out their allocated clients. Once they had found each other, the support worker talked through the woman's AVO application with her to check that the conditions listed were what the woman wanted. For example, if she wanted the perpetrator out of the home completely, she was applying for an 'exclusion order' that specified the distance from the premises within which he could not come. However, often the women only wanted the court to give their partners 'a warning' and were seeking orders along the lines of telling them they were not allowed to come home drunk or drug-affected. All AVOs included a standard condition stipulating that the 'person of interest' (POI), the defendant, was prohibited from assaulting, threatening or intimidating the 'person in need of protection' (the PINOP), who was also named as 'the complainant' on the application.

If either party needed an interpreter, this should have been arranged in advance, through the court. If an onsite interpreter had not been arranged, however, the support worker would generally use the telephone interpreter service (TIS)¹⁷ to communicate with the woman.

Once the orders being sought had been clarified, the support worker and her client waited for the police DVLO and police prosecutor to arrive. When the police DVLO arrived, he/she joined the support worker and the victim to check again that all the paperwork was in order. The DVLO then liaised with the police prosecutor who was to represent the woman in court. On both occasions observed, there was also a solicitor from the community-based women's legal service sitting at a small round table in a corner of the room. Her role was to provide advice to women and answer their questions about Family Law (a federal legal jurisdiction) and to explain how having an AVO issued by the local court would interact with any Family Law Orders (FLOs). This issue is taken up in the next chapter, in the discussion of Integrated Case Coordination.

The coordinator invariably carried a clipboard with the list of matters for the day, and spent most of the time moving between the Safe Room and the court room (to which there was an adjoining door). Periodically she called out a woman's name and told her 'your matter's up in court'. When this happened, the support worker accompanied the woman into the court room. If the woman had brought children with her, the other workers would look after them while she was in court. The support worker sat next to the woman while the magistrate made his/her decision about whether to grant the protection order. If the defendant/POI was present and the magistrate was satisfied that there were reasonable grounds to grant the order and that the defendant understood the conditions, the order was usually made. However, if the magistrate was not satisfied on either count, or if the defendant was not present (because he either chose not to attend court or had not yet been served with a summons), the magistrate generally called for an adjournment. If there were associated criminal charges, or the alleged offender did not agree to the conditions of the AVO, the matter was set down for hearing.

Once a matter had been dealt with, the support worker and her client left the court room. Once back in the Safe Room, the woman was congratulated if her order had been granted, or if it hadn't been granted, there would be commiserations that 'it didn't go her way this time'. This scenario unfolded multiple times in the Safe Room over the course of the AVO list days attended as part of fieldwork undertaken in this study.

6.3 Discussion of findings

The practice of Court Support was enacted via the hearing of applications for AVOs within the Westville local court. As in the previous practice of Interagency Referral, there was a constant movement between its performance as multiple practices and accomplishment via *practice multiple*. However, the enactment of Court Support was different from Interagency Referral in three important ways. First, the victim was present in an embodied, material way, unlike in the previous practice, and this made her a more visible actor in this practice. Second, while the

practitioners who enacted this practice were all employed by different agencies, they worked on the Court Support roster *as if* they were all part of the same agency. Their temporary status as 'on loan' to the WDVCAS made this possible. Third, a spatial aspect of the practice emerged, foregrounding the 'reciprocal construction' of the 'the spatial' and 'the social' (Massey 2006, cited in Mulcahy 2012, p. 146). The allocation of a separate dedicated room for the WDVCAS enabled the building and maintenance of an interagency network, at least for the duration of the time that the actors occupied the room.

Analysed through the conceptual lens of *interessement*, three key features of the practice enacted in multiple practices mode emerged. These were:

- marking out territory,
- centralising the AVO process, and
- maximising court efficiency.

While enactment in multiple practices mode happened in various locations in and around the court house (at the front desk, in the foyer, in the legal aid solicitors' interview room, in the registrar's court and in the main court room), *practice multiple* occurred primarily within the parameters of the Safe Room. Enacted in *practice multiple* mode, the practice took on different features, characterised by:

- rearranging interagency boundaries,
- foregrounding advocacy, and
- maintaining a safe space.

6.4 Features of practice as multiple practices

When practitioners were providing support to victims at court via the enactment of multiple practices, they were working strictly within their job descriptions and agency guidelines, focusing narrowly on their own tasks, a feature that was also prominent in the enactment of Interagency Referral as multiple practices. Strict adherence to following procedures was the dominant way of working,

orchestrating clarity about roles and responsibilities, and stabilising identities within the interagency network. 'Not treading on each other's toes/turf', and 'staying out of each other's way', were prioritised in the extremely busy and highly stressful environment of the local court. Centralising the AVO application process had the effect of consolidating power in the court room, with the magistrate acting as the official delegate of the justice system. Dealing efficiently with the backlog of case adjournments enabled AVO matters to be moved through the court system to finalise cases as expediently as possible.

6.4.1 Marking out territory

The first feature of the practice to emerge as part of the multiple practices mode of enactment was 'marking out territory'. This feature may be regarded as part of an *interesement* strategy on the part of the CJS. On AVO list day, the local court was populated not only with people, but also with multiple signs, pointing in various directions and designating different areas. While this signposting didn't always guarantee court-users finding the right room, it did work to demarcate the edges of the various service providers' allotted space within the court house, delimiting the expansion of individual agency networks and avoiding encroachment into others' territory.

The following excerpt from field notes highlights how tightly these boundaries were often drawn and how identities were performed within these boundaries.

It is 10 am and I am in the foyer of the local court house with Mel, the case worker from the FVS who is rostered on as a support worker today. She has just located a bewildered-looking woman who had got lost looking for the Safe Room. As we're heading for the Safe Room door, a Legal Aid solicitor brings another woman over to Mel saying 'I think this is one of yours too'. A man approaches us and the woman indicates that he is her husband. Mel takes the woman aside and says to the man that she will come back and talk with him in a few minutes. He tells us that he needs to go with her because 'she doesn't speak English so well'. Mel tells him that he's not allowed to come into the Safe Room, that it's only for women.

We leave the man outside in the court foyer, clearly not happy about being separated from his wife. (fv10.o19, lines 48–53)

In an action that clearly delineated the boundaries around her client group, the Legal Aid solicitor ‘handed over’ the lost woman to the support worker. Various identities were performed via this delineation. The Legal Aid solicitor’s job in this context was to represent the defendants, the alleged perpetrators of the violence. She had a legal obligation to avoid any conflict of interests and was enacting an ‘Ethics of Justice’ (Moore 2016) approach to maintaining order, as was appropriate to her professional practice. As an actor in the Legal Aid actor-network, she was also part of the longer and more extensive network of the broader court system and beyond that, the whole CJS, a durable and stable network with substantial longevity.

This maintenance of order also functioned to enact another separation, another performance of identity, that between ‘solicitor/legal practitioner’ and ‘support worker/non-legal practitioner’, reinforcing that the support worker’s role was to do the behind-the-scenes-work with clients, the administrative paperwork and emotional looking-after, enacting an ‘Ethics of Care’ (Moore 2016) approach, in the privacy of the Safe Room. The role of the defendant’s solicitor was to appear in the public sphere of the court room to present (one side of) the case and engage in the negotiations required to represent her client. Extending the differentiation further, the solicitor’s tailored suit accentuated her role and position, marking her identity out in stark contrast to that of the support worker who was dressed less formally. From a posthumanist performative perspective, the solicitor and her suit intra-acted in a mutual production of agency and identity here.¹⁸

The third exclusion/inclusion that was effected here was ‘othering’ in terms of cultural affiliation. The ‘lost woman’ was not only ‘one of yours’ in terms of being a client of the WDVCAS, but it transpired that she also belonged to the same cultural community as the support worker. Having been specifically employed by her service because of her bi-culturalism, this had become a stable part of the

support worker's professional identity and so, not surprisingly, all the women who even 'looked like' they might identify with the same community, were invariably ferried her way; referred directly to her for support. While this certainly had benefits for some of the referred clients, and undoubtedly made life easier for the other practitioners, it sometimes created challenges for the support worker concerned, as well as for the victim/survivor, as maintaining boundaries was often less easy to do beyond the parameters of the court room and/or the office, especially when workers and clients lived in the same geographical area.

The *interessement* action of marking out territory may be seen here as an effect of how the CJS has problematised domestic violence as predominantly a legal/justice issue (Wangmann 2007, 2013). The identities it attempted to impose on the other actors were thus defined within the terms of the CJS. However, as will become evident, not all such attempts were successful, showing that such 'markings' are always mutable and contingent, and never really 'fixed'.

6.4.2 Centralising the AVO

The next characteristic of Court Support enacted in multiple practices mode that emerged through analysis was the centralisation of the AVO application process. In this section, power and its accumulation at one node in the interagency network, the court/magistrate, is explored and the agency of the AVO is shown to have been integral to this process.

The following data extract is drawn from notes from the same field visit as the previous segment and shows how the AVO (a 'mere' piece of paper) became a primary actor able to impose identities on human actors within the court setting.

Mel (the support worker I am shadowing today) makes copies of the paperwork and beckons to a DVLO to come over from the police desk, which is near the entrance to the foyer. The DVLO tries to explain the conditions of the AVO to the woman. Although the woman speaks limited English, she manages to communicate that she wants to 'give him another chance. I tell him this is his last chance'. The DVLO explains that her husband has been charged with assault and

that 'this is serious...'. He points to the part on the paper that describes her as 'the complainant' and the 'person-in-need-of-protection' (PINOP) and her husband as 'the defendant'. Mel suggests that this woman probably needs an interpreter, 'to get her full story and make sure she really understands what's going on', but that because an onsite interpreter has not been arranged (possibly because it was assumed that Mel would act as interpreter), she will try to organise one through the Telephone Interpreter Service. The woman indicates that she doesn't want to separate from her partner, even though 'he gets jealous and drinks too much'. Mel checks the details on her paperwork and notes that the woman has six children, aged seven to seventeen years. She asks her to write down their names. The woman looks more and more anxious and then points to the last two names, saying 'these two, my sister's kids'. (fv10.o19, lines 48–65)

This data excerpt shows how victims were sometimes recruited ambivalently into the court system network. The woman here was anxious about going ahead with the legal action, but her husband had been charged with assault and the police were obliged to apply for an AVO on her behalf in this situation. The assault charges had important implications for the woman because this meant that the decision to proceed with legal action had been effectively taken out of her hands. In actor-network theory (ANT) terms, the charges had translated, or transformed, 'the victim' into a 'police witness/complainant', an identity that obliged her to give evidence. In this way, the paperwork acted as an inscription that set the wheels of the legal response in motion. In Barad's (2003, 2007) agential realist terms, the dominant discourse that frames DV as a crime (evident in the police officer's comment to the woman that 'this is serious') had intra-acted with the materiality of the paperwork, in a process of mutual constitution. The AVO paperwork shaped the discourse, which pushed back to shape the paperwork, producing the 'knowledge' that court-mandated civil protection orders are generally recognised as the most appropriate legal remedy to DV (Goldfarb 2008). The message conveyed to the victim was that, even if she didn't want to be there, this was where she needed to be right now. The system of legal protection afforded by the making of AVOs in the local court had effectively been

‘blackboxed’ (Callon & Latour 1981; Law 2009), in ANT terms, taken for granted as the ‘right’ course of action – at least for ‘genuine’ victims of DFV, as was seen in the previous chapter.

However, the woman in this excerpt was not sure about whether taking legal action was a good idea. The police officer’s certainty about the seriousness of the matter butted up against the woman’s uncertainty about the possible consequences of police involvement in her private life. This throws into relief the uncomfortable fact that AVOs have limited effectiveness with some violent men (Goodmark 2012), showing that sometimes court orders assume an authority inside the court room that they don’t always wield outside of it¹⁹. The complexity of the woman’s situation was starkly evident when she indicated to the support worker that she had taken on the responsibility of caring for two of her sister’s children, in addition to her own four. While the support worker didn’t know the circumstances that had led to this situation, she did know that it was important to find out. For the police officer, the pressing issue was the assault charge; a conviction would be a ‘win’ for police in this situation, but for this to happen, the victim needed to ‘co-operate’ and demonstrate to the court that she was indeed a PINOP.

With the agency of the AVO in motion, the rest of the court system network could swing into action. The data segment that follows, also drawn from field notes, describes events that occurred on the same AVO list day, some hours later.

At 11.30 am, the court advocacy service coordinator comes into the interview room (where we are waiting to call the Telephone Interpreter Service back because the only interpreter who speaks the woman’s language was on another job when Mel first called – I have learned that while Mel and the woman share a cultural background, they do not speak the same language). The coordinator says that the woman’s case is ‘up in court’. Mel is reluctant to go in without an interpreter, but is reminded by the coordinator that ‘when the matter’s up, it’s up; we can’t keep the magistrate waiting’. We go into the court room. The defendant is standing, arms crossed, and the magistrate is speaking to him. The magistrate asks

him if he understands why he is here and the defendant shakes his head and shrugs his shoulders. The magistrate orders him to go to Legal Aid and adjourns the matter until both parties have an interpreter present. We make the required bowing gesture of respect before we leave the courtroom. We were in there for less than five minutes. (fv10.o19, lines 131–138)

Within the court room, the magistrate embodied the authority of the court and, by extension, the whole CJS, an authority that was materialised in the long, wide desk raised above the rest of the court room ('the bench'). This physical elevation, and the gesture of deference that all were required to make before the magistrate, combined with the title 'Your Honour', left no-one in doubt as to who was in charge. It exemplifies what Mazzei (2013a) refers to as the 'material <-> discursive production' (Mazzei 2013a, p. 781) of the magistrate, as the high desk, the honorific title and the bowing all worked together to stabilise his identity. It also illustrates judicial authority being enacted through local court procedural practice. In ANT terms, the power of the magistrate was a consequence of 'intense activity of enrolling, convincing and enlisting' (Latour 1986, p. 273). The magistrate's power was composed of what Latour (1986) refers to as an accumulated 'reservoir' of energy (Latour 1986, p. 276). In this situation, the reservoir was the local court system. This is what legitimised the magistrate's decisions; the magistrate didn't 'hold' power in principle, but he could legitimately perform it in practice because others were 'dutifully filling' his 'reservoir' of energy. This is what Latour calls the 'paradox of power' (Latour 1986, p. 276). It is only 'held' while other actors permit, for power is not a 'thing' to be 'had', but rather a 'doing'. Put another way, it is an effect of chains of actions, not a cause. Having become functionally indispensable to the court system, the magistrate (along with the AVO) was therefore a primary actor, whose domain of the court room operated as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987), through which victims had to pass, in a prescribed manner, to be eligible for legal protection. However, significantly, while the victim had been deemed in need of protection by the police, and had co-operated with them

in her role as police witness, she was not to be granted protection that day, as the magistrate had determined that the matter could not proceed in the absence of an interpreter for both parties.

A network effect of this adjournment was that the woman's husband was enabled to continue to abuse his wife, unimpeded, while she had been required to undergo a stressful court experience with no immediate positive outcome for herself. Importantly, the woman left the court that day without an AVO in place and, quite likely, with an enraged abusive husband. It was therefore left up to her, and those she might have managed to enlist into her own actor-network, to keep her and the six children in her care safe, at least until her next court appearance. Ironically, while her identity as a vulnerable victim had been stabilised by the court, through her performance of the PINOP role, she was left unprotected, to manage as best she could, until the adjournment date.

The key *interessement* mechanism deployed here by the CJS was the hearing of the AVO application. The action of police applying for AVOs on behalf of victims had the effect of consolidating power in the court, which thereby became a focal node in the interagency network.

6.4.3 Maximising court efficiency

The third feature of Court Support enacted as multiple practices to emerge from analysis was an emphasis on court efficiency and maximising system 'throughput', which was also noted in the previous practice of Interagency Referral. The *problematization* here was how to deal with backlog of adjourned cases and the *interessement* mechanism used by the magistrate was the creation of a second, smaller court, adjacent to the main court room.

The coordinator of the WDVCS explained that adjournments like the one described above were becoming increasingly common, causing delays in the processing of AVO applications. To deal with this situation, the magistrate had introduced a new system into the Westville local court and created what was

referred to as 'the call-over court'. The coordinator expressed her misgivings about this turn of events.

The 'call-over court', hmm...now this is a system that the new magistrate has brought in, which basically means there are two courts operating at the same time. It's a small, tiny, court room next door to the main one, presided over by the registrar, to deal specifically with matters that are called over, or adjourned, to a later date. We had a meeting with the magistrate about the need for staggered court appearance times for the women, because we need more time to check in with them to find out what's changed since they made the original complaint (because that's the nature of DV – things change all the time), and we need more time with them, for example to arrange an interpreter if that hasn't been done...but the magistrate wasn't willing to listen to our concerns because his prime concern is to get the matters through the court as quickly as possible. So, this is his solution to the large volume of numbers. (fv11.i9, lines 106–112)

Here different concerns are seen to entail different *interessement* actions, which in turn produced different effects. While the establishment of the 'call-over court' was an action that served the interests of the local court magistrate in terms of dealing 'efficiently' with the large volume of cases, its creation had not been a negotiated solution with the WDVCAS. Ironically, the magistrate's need to 'get matters through' as quickly as possible so that they didn't 'clog up the court' had trumped the WDVCAS coordinator's primary concern, which was to facilitate timely protection for her clients. Her suggested strategy of 'staggered court appearance times' to enable support workers to move comfortably between the two courts failed to interest the magistrate as his 'prime concern' was 'to get the matters through as quickly as possible'. In ANT terms, he could achieve his goal through the accumulation of power at this node in the network, as elaborated in the previous section.

In the next data extract, it can be seen how this additional actor-network, the call-over court, became co-extensive with the network of the main courtroom, requiring the WDVCAS to operate in two courtrooms, simultaneously.

We go into the small 'call-over court' next door... The registrar sits facing us at a large desk, a lawyer and a police prosecutor, both in grey suits, sit at the bar table facing the registrar. Behind them are two rows of PINOPs/complainants, POIs/defendants and their respective supporters. We are all very close together and it feels quite cramped; the victims are uncomfortably close to the perpetrators. The case being dealt with has been set down for hearing in a few weeks and the police prosecutor wants to check with the PINOP before agreeing to the date, as this will be the second adjournment of this case. Otherwise, if she doesn't turn up, it will have been a waste of his time. The support worker runs next door to the Safe Room to bring the woman in, worried that she is leaving her other clients unsupported and facing off with their abusers, but if she doesn't go next door and fetch her, the woman may miss out on her hearing date and the case is likely to be adjourned, yet again. (fv10.o9, lines 25–42)

In this new timetabling arrangement, the interests of the court and those of the defendant had been aligned. While this was probably an unintended effect, it was, nevertheless, an effect that reached beyond the domain of the court. As a response to the large volume of AVO applications, it may have 'saved' court time, but in doing so it also 'bought' time for the defendant to put additional pressure on the victim to withdraw her complaint by not attending court on the adjournment date. The court advocacy service and their clients, the victim/survivors, on the other hand, had 'lost' time in the enactment of this 'solution'. An effect of this was that coordination became much more difficult, as the coordinator had to keep track of two lists of matters being heard concurrently, with no additional resources/workers, and no extra time. Support workers were having to literally run from one room to another, acting as intermediaries transporting the victims' interests. Introducing another set of actors and relationships had stretched the liaison conduit of the court advocacy network even further, forcing it to bifurcate into ever-more fragile, spindly connective threads. Keeping women and children safe had thus been translated into managing the increasing volume of AVO applications: 'victim support' had been translated into 'court efficiency'. In Barad's terms (2007) the matter of increasing

numbers of AVO matters had intra-acted with the discourse of 'court backlogs' in the production of a more 'efficient' system. A relational effect of this, however, was that increasing numbers of victims were being left unprotected between court appearances.

As an *interessement* device, the creation of the 'call-over court' is an attempt to consolidate the identities that the CJS had sought to impose on all the actors that participated in the practice of providing Court Support.

6.5 Features of practice as *practice multiple*

In contrast to enacting Court Support via multiple practices, enactment via *practice multiple* involved practitioners disrupting accepted boundaries between agencies, sometimes acting outside of job descriptions if necessary, to achieve the desired outcomes for victim/survivors. When practitioners engaged in *practice multiple* they were also prepared to challenge the 'big' players, sometimes holding ambiguity, as they looked beyond the AVO application process and the legal system for solutions. Taking time with victims, to see them as more than 'complainants', witnesses to a police case or PINOPs, enabled practitioners to 'connect the dots' of victim/survivors' stories and to advocate for them in the world beyond the CJS, on the journey that would lead them away from court. Importantly, performing Court Support as *practice multiple* was facilitated by having 'a room of its own', a dedicated physical space that was materialised as the Safe Room within the local court house precinct, that held victims at its centre, interposed between the court and the world beyond.

6.5.1 Rearranging boundaries

The first feature of Court Support enacted as *practice multiple* to emerge was 'rearranging boundaries'. On several occasions, the coordinator of the WDVCAS acted in a way that pushed the limits of her role, particularly with the police, if she thought they were 'not doing their job properly'. In interview, she acknowledged that this could make her unpopular, as it muddled interagency

border lines, but that this concerned her less than advocating for the victim/survivors.

With all my whinging about victim advocacy in AVO applications, I have prosecutors not wanting to take instructions from me, so I have to rely on the DV Liaison Officers (DVLOs), but they leave everything up to us – the prosecutors don't really like us pushing in, they'd rather deal with the DVLOs...but the DVLOs weren't negotiating with the defendants' solicitors to get the best conditions on the AVO, to make it really work for the victim, because they don't see this as their job; they say that the prosecutors are supposed to do this, but the prosecutors are so busy they often don't have time, so we started doing it, a bit hesitantly I have to say, but someone has to talk to the perp's legal representative. But they, the prosecutors, don't like us doing it, as they see it as us going beyond our roles and they'd rather work with their own, the DVLOs, anyway.... (fv11.i9, lines 88-93)

Here, the court advocacy coordinator was acting with some ambivalence, as she straddled multiple networks, resisting the constraints on her role imposed by others' networks. In ANT terms, the AVO had largely been 'blackboxed' (Callon & Latour 1981; Law 2009). This means that it had become so unquestioned that the complexity of its production had become obscured in the apparent simplicity of the AVO 'solution' to the 'problem' of victim protection. However, in reconfiguring the outline of her role, and practising outside of the identity imposed on her by the court, the WDVCAS coordinator was also able to problematise this solution. While she had a stable association with the AVO network, and indeed was a key node in it, she could also distance herself from it, critiquing it when it didn't 'work for the victim'. While the very existence of her service was based on the primacy of the AVO system and promoting victims' participation (*enrolment*) in it, she was required to stand apart from the identity imposed on her by the police and the court to perform her role as an independent victim advocate (Allen, Bybee & Sullivan 2005; Robinson & Payton 2016). In doing this, she worked across multiple networks, performing at once the simple,

straightforward identity of the ‘coordinator’ of the Court Support roster, and a ‘complex decentred identity’ (Singleton & Michael 1993, p. 256). This both complexified her practice and located her simultaneously centrally and marginally in the CJS network²⁰.

The support workers had likewise been recruited into multiple networks. In the Safe Room on AVO list day, they were rostered Court Support workers, but they were also, and still, practitioners in their ‘home’ agencies and they maintained their associations with these durable networks. Indeed, the WDVCS network depended on this multiplicity of identities, as they positioned the support workers uniquely to connect victim/survivors to support beyond the court.

The following extract from field notes illustrates how one of the Court Support workers managed to leverage her multiple professional identities and expand her professional identity, in the interests of the victim.

12 midday: Back in the interview room (a small quiet room partitioned off, within the larger noisier Safe Room), we are still waiting for the telephone interpreter. The support worker, Mel, holds up a ‘yellow card’ and asks the woman if she was given one of these by the police when they attended the incident. The woman shakes her head ‘no’. Mel asks if she would like ‘some help with her situation at home’. The woman nods her head ‘yes’, adding ‘but my husband, you help him too?’ Mel says that she will call her tomorrow to make a time to meet with her, with an interpreter present, while her husband is at work, to explain how her service might be able to help the whole family. As we leave the court to walk back to the office, she tells me that it’s women like this who can just ‘fall through the holes in the system if we don’t follow up with them’. (fv10.o19, lines 152–157)

Because there were children involved here, and assault charges were pending, the woman was likely to need a case worker after that day, to help her navigate the multiple networks in which she would soon be entwined. While ‘providing casework’ was not part of the role of the Court Support worker, and neither was assisting defendants (and this was inscribed in the Court Support worker

statement of duties), by passing her own service's card on to the woman and arranging to call her the next day, the worker could blur the lines between her identity today as a 'WDVCAS support worker' and her identity as 'FVS case worker' tomorrow. In this way, her own business card functioned as a token to 'interesse' the woman, an inscription to facilitate the woman's *enrolment* into the FVS network, bypassing the 'yellow card' which, while important in the previous practice, was no longer an agent here in effecting victims' entry into the support system.

The Court Support worker also stepped lightly and momentarily across another boundary line, connecting with the woman's husband just enough to convey the message that he needed to take responsibility for his actions.

12:25 pm Mel goes out to the court foyer to speak to the defendant and suggests strongly that he gets himself a lawyer because 'these charges are bad'. She also gives him a card with the name of a solicitor who speaks his language, but she stresses that it is up to him to call if he wants help. She won't chase him up, or do it for him because he needs to 'take responsibility'. (fv10.o19, lines 184–187)

In this brief but significant interaction, the support worker effectively un-hooked the defendant from the FVS network by informing him that she was referring him elsewhere, to a solicitor who spoke his language and who could represent him in the criminal proceedings. In doing this, she distributed interagency differences that existed between services that work with victims and those that work with perpetrators of violence, while at the same time recruiting the man into assuming the role of the offender. Holding the tension between working with the men who use violence and the women who experience it, in a delicate both-and balance, the support worker could recognise that her client, the woman, while acknowledged as the victim in the case, also wanted her husband to 'get some help'.

In contrast to the Legal Aid solicitor in the foyer who neatly identified the woman as 'not one of hers' on the legitimate basis of a legal conflict of interests, the Court

Support worker managed to hold the ambiguity of her own actions in her practice. Harnessing the discourse about perpetrators of violence having to take responsibility (see Day et al. 2010; Mackay et al. 2015) and putting this into dialogue with the discourse around culturally competent service provision (see Sokoloff & Dupont 2005), she manoeuvred a way forward. In Barad's (2007) terms, her business card (which designated her as a bicultural practitioner) was the matter that intra-acted with both discourses to constitute a new kind of knowing about taking a whole family approach to integrated working in DFV (Stanley 2015). In this way, the support worker's enactment of *practice multiple* contributed to weaving a tight 'wraparound' service (Mattessich, Murray-Close & Monsey 2001), pulling together the edges of some of the 'holes in the system', through which so many victims fall.

Rearranging interagency boundaries thus involved resistances to the court's *interessement* efforts, as the WDVCAS coordinator and the support workers periodically shrugged off the narrow identities imposed on them by the court. It also entailed them performing *interessement* strategies of their own, as was evident in the instance of the Court Support worker handing her own service's business card to a woman before she left the court. In this way, she placed a device between herself and the victim which would enable them both to define their identities in ways other than how the court defined them.

6.5.2 Foregrounding advocacy

The next feature of Court Support enacted in *practice multiple* mode was foregrounding victim advocacy. This involved a (re)distribution of power, accomplished through challenging the supremacy of the court. In the excerpt below, the coordinator of the WDVCAS was explaining how the changes in the external environment had led to her challenging an operational decision of the court.

The political climate has changed a lot since this support scheme started, back in the '90s. We used to have lots of private applications for PINOPS, but now the police mainly take them out and we have lots more female defendants in cross-

applications – that’s changed our dynamic. We need to be advocates now as we provide more than just court ‘assistance’. Anyway, we had this situation where men were being very well-served with two solicitors here at court (one from the early intervention family legal service and one from the Legal Aid defendants’ service), whereas we had only one solicitor for the women, and they were doing everything, so we put our grievances on the table. We called for a meeting with the court staff and the early intervention service and we talked about how the Attorney General’s DV Justice Strategy is all about needing to prioritise victim safety, and they had to agree to move it out of the court and make it an outreach service. (fv11.i9, lines 45–52)

Given the ‘reservoir of energy’ (Latour 1986) that had accumulated in the court network, how was it that the WDVCAS coordinator managed to have her way and get the men’s intervention service removed from the court premises? She achieved this by allying herself with the recently released *NSW Domestic Violence Justice Strategy* (NSW Government 2013) that unequivocally prioritised victim safety. In doing this, she could interest the magistrate to join with her in centring the victim in Court Support practice. In ANT terms, this policy document functioned as an inscription, a delegate of the Office of the Attorney General, and so carried greater weight and persuasive power than the coordinator’s ‘whinging about victim advocacy’. It can also be considered as what Star & Griesemer (1989) call a ‘boundary object’, ‘plastic enough to adapt to local needs and the constraints of the several parties employing them, yet robust enough to maintain a common identity across sites’ (Star & Griesemer 1989, p. 393). Acting from a distance, the power of the Attorney General was transferred to the WDVCAS coordinator’s network, enabling her power-reservoir to be temporarily filled.

In this example, the domination of the local court network was contestable and reversible (if only temporarily and intermittently). The fragile WDVCAS network stood up to the stability of the local court network and had the decision about the location of the men’s service reversed. This shows how the change in the external environment (more men claiming to be victims) had forced a change in how the

women's service operated (more women defendants in cross-applications²¹), and how this in turn highlighted the vital advocacy role played by women's court advocacy services (see Bell & Goodman 2001; Wangmann 2013).

An emerging discourse that 'men are victims too' had intra-acted with matter (in the form of funding for intervention/support services for men) to co-constitute a new 'knowing' about DV that claims that 'women are just as violent as men'²². Gaining discursive momentum, this new 'knowledge' had been translated into more men taking out protection orders against female partners, a betrayal of the origins of the civil protection order system for many feminists, portraying women as equally likely to be perpetrators of intimate partner violence (see Hester 2012). The networks that had been scaffolded from this new 'knowledge' about men as equal victims threatened to undermine the legitimacy of the hard-won women's support services. The observation made by the WDVCAS coordinator that they were seeing more women as defendants in cross-applications for AVOs resonates with a comment made by a practitioner in the previous chapter. Referring to the gender of victims, one of the case workers noted that since the introduction of the new referral system in Westville, they were seeing more men being referred. This signalled the emergence of a noteworthy phenomenon that has attracted substantial critique from feminist and pro-feminist scholars (Johnson 2006, 2011; Wangmann 2011) that has been referred to as 'gender symmetry' in DFV (Kimmel 2002). As the material conditions of the environment changed (including funding cutbacks and legislative change), so too did practice change, and practice in turn pushed back to alter the operating environment. Through processes of translation, network elements were being transformed, as new networks became more extensive and threatened to displace existing ones.

In putting its 'grievances on the table', and confronting interagency tensions head-on, the WDVCAS underwent a 'trial of strength' (Callon 1986), in ANT terms. In other words, the court system's attempts to impose an identity of unquestioning subservience on the WDVCAS failed in this instance. As spindly

thin as this actor-network was compared to the thick density of the court network, and entangled with the growing network of men's lobby groups, it was still able to mount a challenge. Mol's (2002) observation that 'challenges to supremacy suggest other ways of intervening will continue to exist' (Mol 2002, p. 99) underscores the significance of the outcome of this challenge. The success of the women's service in having the men's service relocated strengthened the women's services actor-network internally and legitimised Court Support enacted as advocacy as a way of intervening. In turn, enacting the practice as advocacy redistributed power among the various actors, including the victim/survivors.

In challenging the supremacy of the court, the WDVCS coordinator could '*interesse*' the court staff in joining the victim support network. She did this by locking into place an important ally, the Attorney-General's DV Justice Strategy document. This move prioritised victim safety and effected victim-centred practice in Court Support.

6.5.3 Maintaining a safe space

The third prominent feature of this practice enacted as *practice multiple* that emerged was the maintenance of the space of the Safe Room. In this space, which existed only on AVO list days, practitioners could look and act beyond the legal response to victim/survivors of DFV, attending to the multitude of needs that were separate to (albeit entangled with) their legal needs. Conversations with the casework practitioners, observations of case conferences and reading casefiles confirmed that often the women viewed these other interventions as more urgent than whether the magistrate would grant them an AVO or not.

The following extract from field notes illustrates not only the diversity of non-legal needs, but also how the support workers responded to these by refuting the *problematization* of the CJS of DFV as primarily a legal issue.

Back in the Safe Room again, the solicitor from the women's legal service is talking with a client. She and a support worker from Housing are explaining to the client

that she needs to go to the Department of Housing office to apply for crisis accommodation. They explain the difference between a women's refuge and crisis accommodation provided by the Government. The client's mother who is holding the young woman's baby... asks if her daughter can be referred to the FVS to see Lorraine, who she knows 'will give her proper casework and get her housing'. The young woman's mother, who has been in her daughter's situation in the past, goes on to list all the issues that her daughter will need assistance with: income support, childcare, counselling... The support worker says that she will connect her up with one of the other support workers who works for community health. The coordinator comes back into the room, checking the list on her clipboard, and calls out the young woman's name, saying 'your matter is up, it's time to come into the court room now'. The woman puts down her cup of tea and half-eaten biscuit, gives her baby a kiss, hands her to the baby's grandmother and follows the coordinator into the court room. (fv10.o19, lines 81–91)

Here, the coordinator was acutely aware that this young woman had a host of problems to deal with that extended well beyond getting an AVO that day, but for now, this was the focus for action. Following the chain of associations of human and non-human from the coordinator's clipboard list of AVO matters to be heard, through to the woman's appearance before the magistrate, it can be seen how identities became assigned and efforts were made to stabilise these identities. Just as the 'list' was attached to the clipboard by a strong clip, so was the coordinator attached to her list; if she had misplaced the list, all would have descended into chaos and she could not have coordinated the matters coming before the court. While the clipboard associated the list with the coordinator, it simultaneously translated the woman into the identity of a 'matter to come before the court'. Was the woman forced to go before the court? In a sense, yes, as the whole landscape of the legal response to DFV was contoured in such a way that she had no other course of action if she wanted to pursue legal protection. And so, while 'coming before the court' took precedence over solving the woman's housing crisis at that moment in time, the thread of connection was still there and

she would follow it back to resume the conversation with the support workers when she returned to the space of the Safe Room.

The Safe Room functioned as a kind of liminal space, both part of the larger CJS network (indeed funded by it and materially located within it) and yet also functioning as a space apart from it. If this was a 'safe space', the question begs: was everywhere else beyond this threshold an 'unsafe' space? Quite possibly this was so from the perspective of the women, the victim/survivors of DFV who were at court that day seeking protection orders. However, the Safe Room also served as a safe space for the practitioners, 'a ground for critique' (Mulcahy 2012, p. 143), interposed as it was between the courtroom and the world beyond, a space from which questions could be raised about the workings of CJS in relation to victims of DFV. The Safe Room thus operated as a kind of betwixt-and-between space, a space of *practice multiple* in a world that operated mainly via multiple practices. It was populated and maintained by many things acting together and separately, in various material arrangements and assemblages. Familiar, comforting things, such as toys, magazines, mobile phones, coffee cups and chocolates rubbed up against official paraphernalia, such as attendance books, clipboards, forms, pens, brochures and legal files tied up in pink tape.

It was also a space where practitioners from diverse agencies could work together in the one women's court advocacy actor-network, with the victims firmly in the middle. Later, after they had finished their rostered shift, the Court Support workers all returned to their 'home' agency networks and assumed their prescribed identities, through the *interesement* actions of their substantive employers. However, when in the Safe Room space, they were all actors entangled in a singular interagency network, inhabiting a sort of 'boundary zone' (Warmington et al. 2004b, p. 7), as they negotiated interagency identities, and enacted a kind of 'hybrid practice' (Daniels et al. 2007, p. 4) with victim/survivors at the centre.

Here it can be seen how the Safe Room itself functioned as an *interesement* mechanism, enabling the WDVCS to interest diverse actors to join its network.

The Safe Room also enabled the Court Support workers to interest victims in enrolling into other support service networks. The net effect of these *intersements* was the maintenance of a safe space for interagency working, acknowledging the limitations of the legal/CJS response to DFV and attending to the broader needs of victim/survivors.

6.6 Enactment of Court Support

The enactment of Court Support in multiple practices mode involved a series of *intersement* actions that served to allocate and settle the identities of the participating actors. This was first achieved by the marking out of territory within the court house. Here, the signage in and around the court translated portions of the building into territories presided over by different services and occupational groupings. Second, the centralising of the process of AVO applications by police on behalf of victims, was revealed as a mechanism by which power accrued to the magistrate, particularly within the court room itself, and situated 'people and groups unequally in landscapes of power' (Massey 1999, cited in Nespor 2002, p. 376). The AVO was seen to translate both the victims into 'complainants' and, in the case of cross-applications, the perpetrators into 'victims' and the victims into 'perpetrators'. Finally, the creation of the second court, an action taken to maximise court efficiency, imposed and stabilised identities that primarily served the interests of a key entity — here, the CJS. The call-over court thus translated a backlog of adjournments into an efficient system.

Enactment of Court Support as *practice multiple* entailed a different set of *intersement* actions to those deployed in multiple practices mode. Attempts to stabilise identities were not always successful, and resistances to these attempts often helped to define the mode of practice that emerged.

The WDVCAS network's efforts to interest workers from other agencies to work together involved some reworking of professional identities and shifting of dividing lines between agencies. Taking a stand against the court decision to

allow the men's service to operate in proximity to the women's service was a successful *interessement* strategy on the part of the women's service to assign to the court a victim support identity. Dwelling in a threshold space of ambiguity, practitioners problematised the dominance of the legal response to DFV and challenged the supremacy of the CJS network. As interagency boundaries became less distinct, and power was (re)distributed, practitioners could see and act beyond the confines of the court, while still managing to operate within the CJS network, from the in-between space of the Safe Room. This resulting flexibility allowed the practitioners to interest the victims in taking up offers of support from a range of service providers. The introduction of this spatial element to *practice multiple* helps to elucidate its distinct qualities. Located outside of the place where they practised their 'core business' practitioners were able to perform hybrid identities. As they reconfigured interagency boundary lines, they learned, for example, that it was possible to act as a FVS case worker *and* a WDVCAS support worker. Thus, the Safe Room may be seen to have translated these practitioners into victim-focused interagency workers, demonstrating that practices and contexts are indeed 'mutable and contingently defined, transforming one another across multiple trajectories of participation' (Nespor 2002, p. 366).

6.7 Relational effects for victims

In analysing the enactment of Court Support, characterising features of practice as it was performed in multiple practices mode and *practice multiple* mode emerged. Analysing these features through the lens of *interessement* actions brought into view their different effects in relation to victim/survivors.

Enactment as multiple practices, for example, made clear (and important) demarcations between legal practitioners and support workers. Power was centralised in the CJS, made flesh in the magistrate, and propped-up by police and court procedures, effectively removing decision-making from the victim/survivor entirely. Paradoxically, the imposition of an identity of PINOP sometimes left the victims unprotected and potentially less safe than before they

had been enlisted into the legal system. Actions taken to maximise efficiency translated victims into 'AVO matters' to be processed through the court system as quickly as possible, to make way for others waiting in queue.

In this mode of enactment, the different agencies' foci for action were embedded in the terminology used to refer to victims and abusers. For the WDVCS, the women were 'clients' who had come to them to get a 'service'. In police-speak, victims were PINOPs and perpetrators were POIs (unless/until they were charged, when they became 'offenders' and victims became 'witnesses' to the police case). At court, victims were 'complainants' and perpetrators were 'defendants' in AVO matters. The effect of this labelling combined to produce a victim identity of 'a complaining witness in need of protection'! As noted, in the case of cross-applications, the label of 'perpetrator' was (confusingly) added to this identity. While this constructed her differently to the unidimensional 'ticked box' from the previous Interagency Referral practice, she still emerged as little more than a 'case' to be moved through the court as efficiently as possible – and a troublesome 'case' at that, one that would potentially 'clog up' the court. Significantly, when each agency's practices were focused only on their own operational goals, the element of 'victim advocacy' was almost lost, paradoxically rendering the victim a marginal actor in the network intended to provide her with support through the court process.

Enactment as *practice multiple*, on the other hand, produced different effects for victim/survivors. As *practice multiple*, providing Court Support involved recruiting other actors to advocate on behalf of the victim/survivor to ensure that she was not a peripheral actor in the network around her. Victim advocacy thus emerged as a key focus for action as well as a network effect of enactment. Victim interests were foregrounded and the net of service provision tightened, closing the holes in the fabric of support.

A complex relationship between the enactment of *practice multiple* and space also emerged in this practice. The Safe Room was more than a contextual element of practice, an 'encircling container' (Ball 1994, cited in Nespor 2002, p. 365), as it

both configured the practice and was configured by it. In this space that was both within and outside of the court, the victim/survivor was a complete person with a life and needs beyond her day at court, neither fragmented, nor unidimensional. Taking the time that was partially quarantined within the space of the Safe Room, the practitioners came to see the women as more than 'victims of DFV', but also as performing multi-dimensional identities of mothers, daughters, sisters, students, job-seekers, householders and, crucially, as survivors of violence. Importantly, this safe space also provided room for critique of the court system, ensuring that practice maintained a victim-centred focus and demonstrating that change can come from within established and durable networks.

6.8 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has presented and analysed the second of the interagency DFV practices examined in this thesis, Court Support, using the second of Callon's (1986) four moments of translations, *interessement*, as the focus for analysis. By attending to the way in which entities tried to prescribe and preserve the identities of other actors, an understanding was gained of the multiple tactics and counter-tactics that were at play in the formation and stabilising of the diverse networks that participated in Court Support.

It was noted that the enactment of this practice, while sharing similarities with the previous practice, also differed in key ways. First, unlike in Interagency Referral, the victim was physically present here, incarnate and material. This is important because it meant that she was (at least in theory) better able to represent her own interests. Second, many of the practitioners enacting Court Support were operating as actors within an interagency actor-network (the WDVCAS network), rather than merely as delegates of their 'own' agency networks, as was the case in the practice of Interagency Referral. The significance of this is that, temporarily at least, these practitioners were un-hitched from their 'home' networks, enabling a clearer focus on the needs and interests of the victim. Third, this practice was enacted with the support of a dedicated physical space,

the Safe Room, which, while materially within the precincts of the court, functioned as an interstitial space, inserted between the court system and the world beyond. The room was as much an actor here as the humans participating in the practice. In sociomaterial terms, it was an entity that enabled *practice multiple* to emerge and, in this process, produce an interagency professional identity for the Court Support workers and a multidimensional identity for the women who were the victim/survivors of DV.

The next chapter follows the actors from *interessement* to *enrolment*, the third moment of translation, taking up the threads of connection from the Safe Room to the multiple actor-networks that intersected with the local court network in the practice of Integrated Case Coordination.

¹⁷ The Telephone Interpreter Service (TIS) is an Australian Government service for which the requesting service provider is liable to pay. In this case, as it was the WDVCAS that paid, the TIS was available for their clients only.

¹⁸ The image recalls Jackson & Mazzei's (2012) account of 'Sera', a participant in their qualitative study of first-generation women faculty and administrators, who, when donning a suit for the first time to stand behind a registration table was 'produced in a mutual becoming with the suit' (p129).

¹⁹ In this context, it is noteworthy that in the case of Rosie Batty, referred to in Chapter One, a civil protection/intervention order was in place at the time that her ex-partner murdered her son.

²⁰ This recalls the ambivalent General Practitioners in Singleton & Michael's (1993) ANT study of the UK Cervical Screening Program.

²¹ Cross-applications occur when one party applies for an AVO and then the other party applies for one against the original complainant.

²² See for example the 'One in Three' campaign that asserts that one in three victims of DV are men: www.oneinthree.com.au.

Chapter Seven:

Integrated Case Coordination – Defining and Attributing Roles

Enrolment...designates the device by which a set of interrelated roles is defined and attributed to actors who accept them...To describe enrolment is thus to describe the group of multilateral negotiations, trials of strength and tricks that accompany the intersements and enable them to succeed. (Callon 1986, p. 205)

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the third of the interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) practices examined, Integrated Case Coordination, is described and analysed. Some of the actor-networks familiar from the previous two practices re-appear here, and others are introduced. This chapter takes as its analytic focus *enrolment*, the third of Callon's (1986) four moments of translation. Callon notes that while *enrolment* does 'not imply, nor does it exclude, pre-established roles' (Callon 1986, p. 10), it does require that roles be defined in relation to each other (Clarke 2002). In this chapter, attention is paid to how the primary actors seek to define and interrelate the various roles allocated to other actors.

The structure of this chapter follows that of Chapters Five and Six. However, this chapter is longer than the other findings chapters. This is partly because Integrated Case Coordination in Westville involved all the focal actors, including the statutory agencies, adding to the complexity of the practice. This resulted in the decision to include longer data excerpts in this chapter. As the data in this chapter comprises extracts of extended conversations about specific cases, it requires deeper analysis than the shorter excerpts from field notes in the previous chapters.

7.2 Description of the practice

This description is based on observation of three Integrated Case Coordination meetings observed over the course of fieldwork. It is also derived from interviews with the five operational managers who participated in the Integrated

Case Coordination meetings, as well as review of the Integrated Case Coordination protocol and other supporting documentation (for example, risk assessment tool, case-plans).

The Integrated Case Coordination meetings were held monthly at the local police station. They lasted two hours and were attended by representatives from the key local services that were signatories to the interagency protocol. Officially (on paper), the police representative was the Chair of the meeting, but unofficially (in practice), the meetings were usually facilitated by the family violence service (FVS) manager, who was also the designated minute-taker, a role that helped to consolidate her position as coordinator and focal node in the Integrated Case Coordination network. Most of the agency representatives were operational frontline managers. Child protection case workers and probation and parole officers who were working directly with 'high risk offenders' (HROs) and/or victims were invited to the meetings to present their reports and provide updates on the cases that were under consideration. Usually, there were six or seven active cases on the list for discussion at each meeting.

All these cases had arrived at the Integrated Case Coordination meeting through the obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) of the Interagency Referral practice (discussed in Chapter Five). However, not all the cases allocated at the referral meetings were deemed eligible for case coordination. Only those assessed as being sufficiently high risk were considered appropriate. Recalling the initial sifting process that occurred as part of Interagency Referral practice, it was not surprising to find that all the cases dealt with by the Integrated Case Coordination team involved children. Most of them also had Apprehended Violence Orders (AVOs) in place, and so these victims had already been enrolled into the criminal justice system (CJS) network via the local court (see Chapter Six). This meant that both child welfare and criminal justice concerns were prominent in this practice.

A case was determined to be eligible for Integrated Case Coordination if a score of over ten was recorded on a risk assessment tool. The tool listed evidence-based

risk factors (weighted two for a 'yes' response and one for 'unknown'). A score of over twenty was deemed high priority for consideration; a score of between ten and twenty was for 'secondary consideration'; under ten was not considered serious enough for consideration at an Integrated Case Coordination meeting. The risk factor checklist thus showed itself to be an 'immutable mobile' (Latour 1987), in actor-network theory (ANT) terms, an artefact that ordered practice and set in train a series of events that nudged various actors into alignment in the enactment of risk assessment and management as part of case coordination. However, regardless of the score on the checklist, the police guidelines stipulated that if three domestic violence (DV) incidents had been recorded in the previous six months, the case was automatically considered 'high risk', which is indicative of the relative weight of police practice in the Integrated Case Coordination meetings.

Each case on the active list had a case-plan, which outlined the various actions that the different agencies had agreed to take to improve victim safety and ensure offender accountability. In this way, the case-plan functioned as a central nexus of practice, where various strands of discourse, policy and protocol intersected. Each case had a lead agency with a designated representative initiating discussion and taking responsibility for maintaining the case-plan. Group members were expected to bring to the meetings relevant information about the cases on the active list, a process made possible by the information sharing provisions in the NSW child protection legislation, an actor that first made an appearance in Section 5.2.

Cases remained on the active list until each agency's goals (referred to by the group as 'end outcomes') had been met (for example, the mother had 'engaged with' a support service or early intervention program) and/or there were no longer 'significant safety concerns' for the victim (for example, the perpetrator had been incarcerated). Some cases were 'suspended' for six months (rather than 'closed') and then reviewed if the agencies agreed that this was warranted (for example, the perpetrator was due for release from jail and there were concerns

that the violence would recommence). A master spreadsheet did the work of keeping track of the progress of each case, functioning as a ledger that quantified the cases that were 'active', 'suspended' and 'closed', over a specified period.

7.3 Discussion of findings

Integrated Case Coordination was enacted primarily within the context of the monthly case coordination meetings (which is not to say that it did not occur elsewhere as well). Within these meetings, as with the other practices, there was a pattern of ebb and flow between practitioners enacting the multiple practices of their own respective agencies, and an intermittent shifting into the performance of *practice multiple*.

However, unlike the previous practice of Court Support (Chapter Six), Integrated Case Coordination was not performed in its 'own' unique interagency space. Like the first practice of Interagency Referral (Chapter Five), Integrated Case Coordination was performed within the premises of the Westville police station. A point of difference between the case coordination meetings and the referral meetings, however, was that the latter took place in the same location of the police station every day, providing a sense of continuity, while the location of the Integrated Case Coordination meetings was moveable, being held in whatever room was available at the time (that is, not being used for police 'core business'). There was also more fluidity between multiple practices and *practice multiple*, an overlapping quality in which the two modes of enactment pulled against each other, adding a layer of texture to the practice that was less evident in the previous practices.

The analysis uncovered three recurrent features of the enactment of Integrated Case Coordination in multiple practices mode. These were:

- maintaining a task focus,
- holding mothers responsible for children's safety, and
- managing the behaviour of high risk offenders (HROs).

In contrast, when enacted in *practice multiple* mode, the practice assumed the following characteristics:

- deviation from business-as-usual,
- taking trauma-informed action, and
- making visible the impacts of the offender's violence.

7.4 Features of practice as multiple practices

Intense time pressures and long waiting lists often led to an emphasis on short-term goals when Integrated Case Coordination was enacted as multiple practices. This fuelled a tendency to measure success in terms of numbers of cases discussed at the meetings, rather than elimination of risk in the long term, echoing aspects of Interagency Referral enacted in this mode. The complexity of case coordination was frequently managed with a strong task orientation when multiple practices dominated, the focus being on agencies' accountability to each other for the actions they had been assigned. This was especially evident in relation to assessing parenting capacity and managing the behaviour of HROs.

7.4.1 Maintaining a task focus

The first feature of Integrated Case Coordination enacted as multiple practices to emerge was a strong task orientation. Ever-tightening time constraints and increasing workloads had resulted in attempts to reduce the complexity of case coordination into a list of actionable 'doings', able to be translated into quantifiable system outputs (Devaney & Spratt 2009). The time and work load pressures on the frontline managers in the Integrated Case Coordination meetings was evident, with group members frequently checking smart phones in between discussions of cases (and sometimes, surreptitiously, even during case discussions, if they were not the designated 'lead agency'), responding to the non-stop demands placed on them by their own line managers and staff. This was particularly evident for the police attendees. Because the meetings took place on their work premises, they were highly accessible to their colleagues and superiors, sometimes being called away temporarily to attend to urgent police

business. This resulted in a sense of having to move quickly through the cases on the list, with participants invariably needing to rush away back to their offices on the dot of 3 pm, if not before, such was the strength of their *enrolments* in their own home agency networks. Consequently, discussion was shaped by the actions listed on the case-plans. The agenda was set by a master spreadsheet, which had been developed by the FVS manager as a way of 'keeping everyone accountable for their actions'. Enacted as multiple practices, the business of the meetings centred on task allocation to group members and reporting back to each other on the progress towards completion of their agency's assigned actions. This produced an approach to accountability that emphasised target setting and was redolent of a performance culture (Harvie & Manzi 2011), resonating with the 'box-ticking' activity observed in Interagency Referral (Chapter Five) when it was enacted in multiple practices mode.

In the excerpt that follows, the members of the Integrated Case Coordination group were discussing the case of Gavin and Shan. Gavin had been classified as a HRO and the Department of Corrective Services (DCS) was the lead agency, a role which situated it as a focal node in the network of this case. The manager had enrolled the Probation and Parole (P&P) officer who was working directly with Gavin to attend the meeting.

DCS P&P Officer: So since our last meeting we've seen him twice – he has been attending counselling I think – I've tried to verify that –but I've had difficulty making contact with the counsellor...I did eventually, but by the time I did, it turned out that the 'exchange of information' time period had expired and it required a new one to be lodged – I asked if he'd been attending but the counsellor just refused to give me that kind of info without a current exchange of information request, so that will delay things a bit, but it's in train....

FVS Manager: So, we're still working towards getting them both to a family safety meeting – on the case-plan here, that's wrong, I think, isn't it? It says a referral to service X but it should be to us...can you change that?

DCS Manager: Is there anything else anyone wants us to do before the next meeting? We could look at trying to get a baseline around urinalysis to monitor his cannabis use – is there anything else? The mental health assessment outcome from the counsellor will hopefully tell us a bit more, and move us a bit closer to achieving the end outcome on our case-plan....

DCS P&P Officer: Yes, well I'm due to see him again on the 28th so I'll follow up on those actions then.

DCS Manager: Any other actions on our list?

FVS Manager: No...but I think this case is here on our list because of the risk in relation to the pregnancy.

Police DV Team Leader: She doesn't have a case worker allocated from Community Services, does she?

FVS Manager: No, they won't allocate one because there haven't been any reports about the children for quite a while.

Police DV Team Leader: But the AVO is due to expire soon...

FVS Manager: Yes, exactly, and that will be just after the baby's born, so it's going to be a very high risk time....

DCS Manager: Hmm, okay, so who's next?

(fv2.o2, lines 51–71)

Here, once again, legislated information-sharing provisions had been enrolled to enable an individual agency to access information to which it would not otherwise have been privy. Negotiating access to the offender's mental health assessment report was important for the Department of Corrective Services (DCS) to achieve the 'end outcome' on their case-plan. However, this could not happen before the 'exchange of information request' had been renewed. The exchange of information request thus functioned as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) here, a funnel through which DCS was required to pass before this access would be granted. However, having already enrolled

alcohol and drug experts into their network, DCS could undertake urinalysis testing to support them in completing their designated task of monitoring the cannabis use of the offender. In this way, 'high risk management' may be seen to have been translated, by the case-plan, into monitoring the offender's marijuana use. The point is that this was a task that mattered to the DCS manager at least as much as keeping the victim safe.

Raising the issue of the victim's pregnancy, and the fact that a case worker had not been allocated to the woman because no 'risk of harm reports had been made' to the child protection agency 'for quite a while', the FVS manager refocused discussion on the victim/survivor. In ANT terms, risk-of-harm reports made to the Department of Community Services (CS) are tokens that had been created through the 'punctualisation' (Callon 1991, p. 153) of the statutory child protection agency network. In other words, the child protection agency had become taken for granted, as a single entity, the repeated creation of risk of harm reports strengthening and reifying the system's network. In this situation, no risk of harm report meant no allocated case worker for the victim/mother, no intervention being deemed necessary. Therefore, no tasks had been allocated to the Department of Community Services (CS) in this case. However, this had the effect of creating a 'double bind' for the victim/survivor because evidence suggests that pregnancy is a high-risk time for women in abusive relationships (Jasinski 2004). Shan's pregnancy had thus translated her into a potential risk to her unborn child, but she was not to be provided with any early intervention support from CS because no reports of children at risk had (yet) been made. Here the ANT concept of translation is shown to be as much about change in the sense of 'betrayal' as it is about 'making equivalent' (Law 1997).

The convergence of the AVO expiry date and the birth of the victim's baby would soon combine to ramp up the level of risk to both the woman and her children, including her unborn child (Coker, Sanderson & Dong 2004). In Barad's (2007) agential realist terms, the matters of the AVO expiry and the birth of the baby intra-acted with the child protection discourse to constitute a 'high risk case', but

as nothing serious (enough) had happened (yet), no further action was to be taken. Gary was still considered a HRO and Shan was still at risk ... and the Integrated Case Coordination group had six more cases to get through before 3 pm.

In the following conversation, about Leela and Raj, a different version of a task-focus emerged, in which CS was the designated lead agency. Two CS case workers had been enrolled to attend the meeting to report back on their actions in relation to the family under discussion.

CS Manager: We're not closing this one just yet, we'll keep the case open, but we're stuck, we're a bit limited in what we can do with her because she goes to work and we can't get her participating in any groups. She's difficult to engage, so there's not a lot we can do with her. We're going to refer him to XX service because they do have some DV groups for men that are culturally specific and they run after hours and when we spoke to him he seemed keen to do that, so until we can be sure that she's keen to make a break we're a bit reluctant to back off just yet....

FVS Manager: So, what's his view of the relationship?

CS Case worker 1: He sees it all as her fault and it's her fault that we're involved...we'll have to tee up another interpreter and have another conversation with him to get his view on the divorce, but I don't see that much shift to be honest. I'd like to see some action, not just words. If she does follow through with her words that would be good, but I want to see some action on her part.

CS Case worker 2: ...and the son sees his father at least once a week in the mother's presence in the playground near the shopping centre.

CS Case worker 1: ...that's where they have contact, so she's keeping it in a public place, so she says anyway, but we've had no new reports, the grandmother's not reporting anything. The mother just wants her own place now because she's lost her independence and doesn't like living with her parents again...

DCS Manager: ...and is the son in childcare?

CS Case worker 2: Three days a week and the other days with his grandparents, her parents.

FVS Manager: So, today's discussion before you came was about whether we should suspend this case.

CS Case worker 1: I think so, yes, I mean compared to some of the other cases we have on our books, I mean this one's getting all the attention and some of the others would be better off getting some more attention, in my view....

(fv3.o5, lines 575–586)

Because she had a job, and worked most days, Leela was deemed 'difficult to engage' with any support groups. Her resistance to *enrolment* in the available support networks, together with the lack of any new reports about the child, made it difficult for the CS case workers to do what they saw as their jobs. Here the victim could be neither seduced nor coerced into *enrolment*. By not 'helping them to help her', Leela was testing the roles of the case workers. Moreover, her ability to keep functioning in the world of paid work and her expressed desire for 'her own place' to live, separate from her parents, and her abusive husband, translated her into a victim who was less in need of attention than others. The offender, Raj, on the other hand, 'seemed keen' to attend a 'culturally-specific group' for men after hours; this willingness to be enrolled constructed him as a compliant offender, relatively easy to 'manage'. The recommendation to suspend the case was apparently because it was 'getting all the attention' while there were others waiting in line. This decision, to suspend the case because of the time/resources that it had already consumed, recalls the local court magistrate's dilemma discussed in Section 6.4 and speaks to a backlog of cases on the books. Responding to this situation by rationing attention in the management of high risk in DFV is suggestive of a managerialist approach that prioritises efficiency and centralises control of decision-making (Ward 2011), leaving many victims to simply cope as best they can on their own.

Maintaining a task focus enabled the Integrated Case Coordination group members to demonstrate that they had accepted the roles allocated to them by their home agencies, while at the same time participating in the Integrated Case Coordination network.

7.4.2 Holding mothers responsible for children's safety

The next feature of Integrated Case Coordination enacted as multiple practices to emerge was a tendency to hold mothers responsible for children's safety, frequently rendering the parenting role of the father invisible. Addressing child protection issues and ensuring child safety have legitimately become core concerns in integrated responses to DFV (Bromfield et al. 2010; Humphreys & Absler 2011; Zanettino & McLaren 2012). As previously noted, all the cases that were on the HRO list involved children. This is largely an effect of the exchange of information provisions in the child protection legislation in New South Wales at the time (*Children and Young Persons (Care and Protection) Act 1998*). Put simply, cases that involved children were prioritised and were the only cases about which agencies were legally permitted to share information in New South Wales at the time this research was conducted²³. Consequently, assessments of parenting capacity were frequently part of the risk management aspect of case-plans. However, in the enactment of Integrated Case Coordination in multiple practices mode, this often had the effect of holding the woman/mother (adult victim) responsible and, effectively, ignoring the father's (offender's) role in parenting. Overriding concerns for children's welfare sometimes led to taking action that, while intended to protect children, was at the expense of protecting their mothers and/or indeed punishing mothers for the fathers' behaviour.

The focus of the discussion in the data excerpt below was on the permanent removal of children from the care of their parents, Narelle and Darren. While DCS was the lead agency here, the CS case worker who had been allocated to work with this family had been enrolled to the meeting to give her report.

DCS Manager: We've got him on refused bail on the drug charges...and the drug charges are major – he's looking at being inside for a few years.

FVS Manager: So, can you follow that up with the prosecutor? [to police] If he is convicted on the 14th for any of those charges, there should be an AVO put in place.

DVLO 1: Yes.

DCS Manager: So, what about her, where's she up to? [to Community Services case worker]

CS Case worker: Well we were at court this morning for the kids, we're going for a 'no restoration order' but he's fighting it – they're still maintaining that they're not in a relationship, although the 600 phone calls that she had from him might dispute that, so we've put that evidence before the court and at the moment we're looking at a parenting capacity assessment, simply to give a bit more weight to us, and to the grandmother, in terms of whether the court thinks that she'll be appropriate as a permanent carer, so that was in court today, but there was no decision. She's going to drug and alcohol counselling and she's doing an anger management course, but she only just started that, so she's left it all this time....

(fv2.o2, lines 480–495)

FVS Manager: So, what's the next court step for you?

CS Case worker: Well it's whether they consent to a parenting capacity assessment, which I don't think they will....

FVS Manager: which will be roughly when?

CS Case worker: End of March.

FVS Manager: So, the DV case will be over by the next time we meet....

CS Case worker: Well it will be interesting to see if she turns up to court in January because if she doesn't, it's just more evidence for us....

(fv2.o2, lines 522-528)

Here, the interests of DCS and the police had aligned in this case, as the offender was likely to be incarcerated because of major drug charges. While this would constitute a 'win' for their respective agencies, and reinforce their respective roles

as law-enforcers and dispensers-of-justice, key actors in the CJS network, it would do little to address the long-term impacts of the violence on Narelle and her children. Nor would it explicitly recognise Darren's role in the parenting of the children. Despite Narelle's *enrolment* into drug and alcohol counselling and in an anger management course, Darren's serious drug charges (significantly *not* DV-related charges) appeared to have translated Narelle into an unfit parent. In ANT terms, the 'ordering struggles' (Callon 1986) that took place among the assembled entities here resulted in a complete overpowering of the victim's network. The FVS manager's statement that 'the DV case will be over by the next time we meet...' heralded closure of this case for the Integrated Case Coordination team, as it would no longer fall within their purview.

Similarly, in the next excerpt, the adult woman who was the primary victim of the violence, Sally, was locked in a struggle with the child protection authorities. While she appeared to offer more resistance than Narelle (in the previous case), the outcome for Sally was likely to be the same. A CS case worker from the Indigenous early intervention program had been enrolled to present a report to the meeting.

CS Case worker: So, we're concluding with this family this week and we'll put our recommendations forward to child protection.

FVS Manager: What about your concerns for her safety?

CS Case worker: Well there's been a lack of engagement from her, even though we've tried several times to engage her, she just kind of avoids us...we've done a couple of home visits and she's never home – the last time we caught her at home was just before Xmas when we delivered some toys for the kids, but after that we haven't been able to contact her. We've tried several times on the phone but it always goes to voicemail.

FVS Manager: Do you think she understands how serious it is, around the engagement, for the children?

CS Case worker: I'm not sure, she's very vague, I mean I don't go out there very often but the times I've gone out there, she's quite vague, you know with her responses, however we did say to her that because of the lack of engagement we are considering putting in our recommendations a supervision order with undertakings, but I'm not sure, it's just that lack of engagement, but we are a voluntary program so we can't come down hard on her and say you have to do this.

DCS Manager: Can we do anything in regards to explaining the repercussions? Through our supervision of her parole...can we, you know, assist?

CS Case worker: I don't know, I mean we did say to her that unless she engages, you know, that there's a possibility that her kids will be removed

FVS Manager: She's Aboriginal, isn't she? We've had this discussion, haven't we?

CS Case worker: (sighing) yeah, she is Aboriginal....

[no-one speaks for a minute or so]

FVS Manager: You see I'm worried about the kids, because we don't know exactly what's happening in the home. That's my concern. And I think that she's unlikely to report any breaches because, well, she wants him, the father, around for when she has the baby, so you [to police] need to catch him in the act, because she's not going to help you...

(fv3.o5, lines 45-68)

In the preceding case discussion, Sally's reluctance to 'help' the police in this situation recalls the ambivalence of the woman at court in Chapter Six, regarding the police applying for an AVO on her behalf. Her resistance to *enrolment* into either the police network or the community services network is captured in the phrase 'lack of engagement', which was used no less than six times in the short discussion recorded above. Moreover, the imminent birth of her baby and her 'non-cooperation' with police combined to constitute her as an unhelpful victim. The reference to her Aboriginality was not merely an incidental fact noted in

passing. The weight of the history of government removal of Aboriginal children and the ongoing over-representation of Indigenous children in the child protection system (Tilbury 2009), was left hanging in the air, an unspoken acknowledgement of why this woman may have been reluctant to 'engage' with authorities. An 'immutable mobile' (Latour 1987) of sorts, this history of colonisation acted from the distance of time, still holding relations between Indigenous peoples and white government authorities in place.

Integrated Case Coordination enacted as multiple practices had the effect of addressing what were undoubtedly legitimate parenting and child protection concerns. However, enactment this way skewed responsibility for children's safety in the direction of the mother, the adult victim/survivor. While all the practitioners in the above excerpts were performing the functions of their various agencies, in their designated professional roles, they were doing so in an instrumental way that, while enacting child protection practice, was minimally responsive to the needs of the adult victims. The effect of this enactment was to blame and punish the abused woman for failing to keep her children safe (Hester 2008), while responsibility for the violence was deflected away from the abusive parent, their father, whose role in parenting was barely visible (Burke 1999).

Analysing this focus on assessment of parenting capacity in terms of *enrolment*, it can be seen how the primary actor here, the statutory child protection agency (CS), succeeded not only in defining and inter-relating the roles of other actors, but also in getting these other actors to take on their *problematization* of DFV as primarily a child protection issue.

7.4.3 Managing the behaviour of high risk offenders

The third feature of Integrated Case Coordination enacted as multiple practices that emerged as significant in analysis was a focus on the management of HROs' behaviour. The Integrated Case Coordination protocol articulated that the management of offender behaviour was the primary means by which the safety of victims in the local Westville area was to be assured. However, as noted, for cases to be listed for consideration at the Integrated Case Coordination meetings,

a certain number of risk factors had to be present. The risk factor checklist thus functioned as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) in the Integrated Case Coordination network, a token that solidified the network and translated some (although not all) DV perpetrators into HROs, and by default, identified some (not all) victim/survivors as worthy of extra attention, protection and/or support.

Once these factors were no longer present, the case was reviewed for 'suspension' or 'closure'. In Chapter Six, the pressure on the local court magistrate to keep AVO matters moving through the system had the effect of prioritising court efficiency over victim support (see Section 6.4). There was a similar dynamic in the practice of Integrated Case Coordination enacted in multiple practices mode. The need to keep the cases moving through the case coordination process (because there was always a waiting list) meant that most cases did not stay on the active list for more than a few months. This had the effect of measuring the 'success' of the Integrated Case Coordination system in terms of numbers of cases suspended and closed, rather than any discernible improvement in the quality of life for the victim/survivor. Shifting the onus for managing longer term and ongoing risks back to the victim herself enabled the Integrated Case Coordination system to demonstrate its 'effectiveness' in managing the behaviour of HROs, in the short term.

In the first of the data segments below, the Integrated Case Coordination team was about to begin reviewing the cases on their 'suspended' list, deciding whether it was time to 'de-activate' them. They started with the case of Phil and Stacey.

FVS Manager: So, we've got four more of these suspended cases to review [shuffling through papers]. So, Phil P.... he's in the lock-up until the 29th of July, so he's still incarcerated. What about his partner? What's happening with Stacey?

CS Manager: We've closed our case with her.

FVS Manager: Really? I'm surprised, because we've only just suspended this one...so has it been closed because she's engaged with the women's centre?

CS Manager: Well, yes, we worked with her for about four months, and once she'd engaged with the women's centre, this was their recommendation, that we close with her. We kept it open for a couple of months, then closed, because there was nothing more for us to do.

FVS Manager: And you've got no new reports? About the kids?

CS Manager: Nothing since last September....

FVS Manager: What will we do then? Suspend the case, because he's in jail?

Police DV Team Leader: I guess so....

FVS Manager: Ok...but I'm not sure how we measure our success when they're in jail [general laughter] ...I suppose we've been temporarily successful...[pause] Right, moving on, so we'll put him on the suspended pile, if you've got nothing coming up on the police radar for her?

Police DV Team Leader: Nuh, and the AVO goes until next year so even when he gets out, she's protected.

(fv3.o5, lines 403–415)

The absence of any new child-at-risk reports, and the fact that the Stacey had 'engaged' with (been enrolled by) the women's centre, meant that CS was no longer required to keep the case open on their books. Their part of the transaction had been concluded. Moreover, once Phil was in jail, and had been effectively enrolled into the CJS network, his offending behaviour was considered as having been 'managed'.

The FVS manager's comment about measuring 'success' was met with vaguely uncomfortable laughter from the rest of the group, but as no-one took up the challenge of discussing the issue further (there were more cases on the list waiting for their attention), she conceded that 'temporary success' was justification enough for moving Phil 'to the suspended pile'. There was no point

in her mounting a 'trial of strength' (Callon 1986) in this case, as the protocol that had brought all the actors to the negotiating table in the first place had outlined the parameters of success. Moreover, the police officer's mention of the AVO extending beyond the date of the offender's release solidified this definition of success. The victim was safe, in the short term. Nevertheless, their decision to relegate the case to the 'suspended' rather than the 'closed' pile suggested that there was a general sense among the group that this would probably not be the last time they would see this offender's name on their list. In agential realist (Barad 2007) terms, the AVO had intra-acted with the offender's incarcerated body to constitute a form of 'high risk management', in which the primary victim of violence was no longer visible. Case closed...for now.

7.5 Features of practice as *practice multiple*

When practitioners enacted Integrated Case Coordination with more flexibility, reconfiguring the boundaries of prescribed standard procedures slightly, they moved into *practice multiple* mode. Working this way, they considered the past trauma histories of victim/survivors, problematising the system as they recognised its potential for secondary victimisation. When this shift in practice occurred, the group's priorities also changed, with the clear focus becoming victim safety and offender accountability.

7.5.1 Deviation from business-as-usual

The first aspect of Integrated Case Coordination enacted as *practice multiple* to emerge as important was flexibility, evidencing a way of working that showed practitioners as being prepared to diverge slightly from conducting their business in the usual way. In the excerpts that follow, the Integrated Case Coordination group was discussing cases where the HROs were evading arrest. In both situations, warrants had been issued, but the police had been unable to locate the offenders to take them into custody. This situation placed the victims in both cases at extremely high risk. The risk management strategies discussed, however, were different in each case, reflecting *practice multiple* as a way of working that was responsive to the uniqueness of each woman's circumstances.

In the first excerpt, the Integrated Case Coordination group was discussing Jamie and Chloe, focusing on the execution of an arrest warrant for Jamie.

FVS Manager: So, the warrant now goes to police to execute...if you go to her house to execute that warrant, let's say, can you, what would you need her to do at the front door? Let's say someone's going out to execute this warrant for breach of his community supervision order.

DVLO 1: Well there's two ways we usually execute it: either she opens the door and confirms that he's inside and we go in and execute it, or if no-one answers and we know he's in there, we can kick the door down and do it that way....

FVS Manager: Or maybe there's a third way....

DVLO 2: Hmm, how do you mean?

FVS Manager: Like we could say to her, sort of word her up, so that she just kind of lets the officers who come to the house know quietly that he is there, but let it not look like they're demanding to execute a warrant, but then they go in and get him...but I don't think it's something we can plan you know, because he comes and goes all the time. I can talk to her about the fact that there's a warrant out for him, if you like....

DVLO 2: ...and then if she can kind of help us to get him....

FVS Manager: Yeah, so if she can just sort of quietly say, or indicate to the police when they come to the door, if he's there....

DVLO 1: ...and then let us in and then we can work out how we're gonna do it, that way it won't look as if she's the one who's put him in.

FVS Manager: ...and maybe I can ask her some common times that he's likely to be there.

DVLO 2: Yeah, that'd be good....

(fv2.02, lines 669–688)

The suggestion by the FVS manager of there being 'maybe a third way' for the police to execute the warrant introduced the possibility of being able to do their

job in a way that was less prescriptive than usual, less 'by the book'. However, it involved considerable negotiation, in more than one direction, with several parties. In ANT terms, the FVS manager's *interessement* technique was successful because, by the end of the conversation, she had enrolled the police into the interagency Integrated Case Coordination network, thereby strengthening it. She did this by suggesting that enrolling the victim into the police network would help the police to 'get their man'. By persuading the police officers that it was possible to enlist the help of the victim in executing the warrant on the offender, the FVS manager also strengthened her coordinating position in the Integrated Case Coordination network; she was the lynchpin here, occupying the node where multiple networks intersected. She would negotiate with the victim, if the police agreed to negotiate with her. The transaction involved a trade-off, of sorts, there being no deal without strings attached. These 'strings' effectively enrolled the victim into the police network, translating her from victim into police informant, reminiscent of the victim in the previous practice (see Chapter Six) who had been translated into a police witness when her husband was charged with her assault. In this case, Chloe would have little choice: if she wanted her abusive partner arrested, she would have to help the police to perform their 'villain-catching' duties. The possibility of a 'win-win' situation was, however, an enticing prospect, aligning multiple interests, as the actors negotiated a different way of working together, a way that acknowledged and incorporated the victim/survivor as a key actor.

In the next excerpt, another example of reconfiguring the boundaries of standard practice is presented. This recalls the women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS) coordinator in Chapter Six, stretching the limits of her role. Here, the Integrated Case Coordination group was discussing the management of a particularly volatile offender, Brian, who, like the previous offender, Jamie, was evading police. However, here there was a discernible shift in focus from catching the offender (thereby managing his behaviour) to supporting the victim/survivor, Casey, thereby prioritising her safety.

DCS Manager: Sounds like he's laying low....

FVS Manager: Yeah, but it's just a volatile situation, he's a volatile guy, with his ice use and comfort with knives – when was the warrant issued?

Police DV Team Leader: 24th December when he did the home invasion.

FVS Manager: So, I'm just flagging it's around risk for us, this is a high-risk case for us, even though it doesn't tick all the boxes on the risk assessment form.

CS Manager: I'm wondering what we might be able to do to help?

FVS Manager: Do you want to help her with her legal issues? Because I'm coming up empty-handed.

CS Manager: I don't know what funding's available; it's tight...

FVS Manager: The complexity is that she got a compensation payout for a back injury from a car accident and she's spent that money and so Legal Aid is saying, oh, look at that, you got this payout, and telling her they want a receipt for everything she spent the compensation payout on and she's saying she has some of them but not all of them, moving four times, she hasn't kept all the receipts, so they're saying where's that money? Why can't you pay for your own legal costs? That's just one of the complexities involved in this case – I guess there aren't any simple DV cases really, but we always seem to get the messy ones...I mean it's not like all we need is family law solicitor and it'll all be sorted, we need the original documents and receipts from her compensation payout.

CS Manager: I'll have a look at our contingencies fund and see if there's a way we can fund it because we have money through the family initiative funding, but I'm not sure if that covers legal costs...but I'll see if I can make it stretch....

FVS Manager: She's very proactive, because despite being in hospital for three days, last week we got approval for the housing rental subsidy and she went and looked at three properties straightaway, so I can't fault her on that, she gets stuff done, you know, she does whatever I've asked her to do....

(fv3.o5, lines 517–532)

As the discussion of managing the offender's behaviour gave way to talk that centred on strategies to keep the victim and her children safe, arranging for family law representation and housing became the priorities for action. The drugs and the knives that Brian had enrolled into his own network intra-acted with his volatility and unpredictability to constitute him as a particularly high risk offender and Casey as a particularly vulnerable victim, so while he was 'laying low' and evading arrest, the focus was re-directed to victim safety.

Raising the issue of Casey's legal issues, the FVS manager began to unravel the complexity of this case, following a chain of association from a compensation payout that Casey had received in the past to the current issue of her (in)eligibility for legal aid funding. As the intricacy of the case became evident, in all its messiness, the CS manager was enrolled into the Integrated Case Coordination network and agreed to investigate how she might be able to 'stretch' the funding available through her 'contingencies fund' to contribute towards paying for Casey's legal costs in the Family Court. While the victim's previous compensation payout had intra-acted with her lack of receipts to translate her as undeserving of legal aid funding for her family law costs, another series of intra-actions had worked to constitute her differently. Her recent approval for the housing rental subsidy intra-acted with her ability to 'get things done' (despite having recently been hospitalised for three days), and this re-constituted her as a 'proactive/good victim', able to demonstrate that she was willing and able to 'help them to help her'.

This willingness to think 'outside the square' of agency guidelines facilitated a refocusing of practice to respond to the unique needs of the victim/survivor and her children, while at the same time keeping an eye on the behaviour of the offender. By encouraging the other Integrated Case Coordination team members to consider the possibility of not needing to always conduct their business exactly as prescribed, the FVS manager consolidated the *enrolment* of the police and CS into the interagency Integrated Case Coordination network.

7.5.2 Taking trauma-informed action

The second significant characteristic of Integrated Case Coordination enacted in *practice multiple* mode was taking trauma-informed action; that is, engaging with people with histories of trauma in ways that recognise the presence of trauma symptoms and acknowledge the impact that trauma has played, and continues to play, in their lives (Kezelman 2013; Kezelman & Stavropoulos 2012). It is important to note that being 'trauma-informed' does not mean acting like a therapist or counsellor; what it means is being aware of and taking account of the multiple impacts of multiple experiences of trauma on victim/survivors' lives. This has the effect of countering the tendency that arose in the performance of case coordination as multiple practices, of labelling victims as 'un-cooperative', 'difficult' or 'taking up too much time'. It also has the effect of highlighting the importance of continuing to provide support to these victims through specialist case management services (Mulroney 2003).

In the excerpt below, the FVS manager seized the opportunity to explain to the rest of the group why she was so concerned about one of her clients, Carmen, although her abusive partner, Felipe, had apparently done nothing recently to harm her or the children.

FVS Manager: So, you've got nothing on this guy yet?

DCS Manager: No, I've checked and there's nothing current. He's being quiet, but he's well-known to us....

FVS Manager: Well we've got heaps of stuff about her, but it depends on what you need for your case-plan to try to get him [sighs]...she's got a family law solicitor, she's going to counselling regularly with victim services, she's on the methadone program now, she was on the waitlist for rehab, but I haven't heard where that's up to. We're very concerned about the children, particularly the child in the father's care, he's the oldest one.

Police DV Team Leader: What are you worried about particularly?

FVS Manager: Just if he's still using like he was when they were together, ummm, yeah, what's happening, and all the manipulation that happens with children, cause the reason he went with dad is because he promised him a dirt bike and all this stuff, when they were at a contact centre. This is another one like the last one we talked about, where the mother's mental health is fragile, as a direct result of the abuse she's suffered. I think the reason she relapsed is we couldn't get adequate mental health care for her. She's had a mental health assessment, and I mean she's done everything with us and we've just struggled and this has been constant, we added it up the other day and she's had fifteen matters heard in the local court in ten months, family law matters, her life is a mess, she's always having to go somewhere. They've got tenancy issues, so she had a meeting with tenancy today, I mean her life is just a mess, a string of appointments. Her daughter was delayed in her developmental milestones when we first met her. She was three but wasn't talking, she's quite traumatised, but she's attending childcare now and doing well with speech therapy. It's just been a sad and tragic case for her, so we've got everything in our case-plan. Our goal is to get her re-housed but she isn't strong enough to do that yet, she's separated from him but still living in his house which is problematic...even though he has moved out....

(fv2.o2, lines 819–840)

Deploying the case-plan to raise the issue of impacts of trauma on victims, the FVS manager refocused the group's attention on the victim in this case. Ostensibly she was 'reporting back' to the meeting about the actions that her service had taken in case management with the victim, but drawing on her knowledge of trauma and her experience in providing trauma-informed care (see Brown 2004; Elliott et al. 2005 ; Poole & Greaves 2012), she could enrol the others on the Integrated Case Coordination group by initiating a conversation that ultimately led to a decision to keep the case active/open, despite Felipe's 'lack of activity'. The victim's *enrolment* in various networks external to the Integrated Case Coordination group (counselling, methadone program, family court, childcare, tenancy program) worked to construct her as a 'good victim' and this kept the other members of the Integrated Case Coordination group at the table.

Moreover, Carmen's mental health assessment report was a powerful inscription that was shown to have intra-acted with her frequent court appearances ('fifteen matters in ten months') to constitute her as traumatised, a situation that was shown to have been exacerbated by the very system that was supposed to be supporting her. In this way, the FVS manager raised the problem of secondary victimisation, that is, when 'the system' re-victimises through its processes (see Mulroney 2003; Parsons & Bergin 2010; Wilcox 2010a). Like the WDVCS coordinator in Chapter Six, she was implicitly problematising 'the system'. Drawing on her role as a trauma specialist to raise the issue of 'system abuse', she could pull practice back into becoming victim-focused.

In the following data excerpt, the FVS manager was talking again about the case of Jamie and Chloe, this time emphasising the impacts of trauma on Chloe and her children.

FVS Manager: You remember that an officer even spoke to the kids and the kids said yes, he did it...but there was no note in the narrative about officers speaking to the kids?

Police DV Team Leader: Hmm, for the original assault?

FVS Manager: Yes, and there was some talk about interviewing the children and that hasn't happened yet, she told me today....

Police DV Team Leader: I'll get someone onto it tomorrow....

FVS Manager: Well I don't think there's much to gain by doing that now – the kids are traumatised, they're a mess, so I don't think there's any point in starting any intervention with them while he's in and out of the house.

Police DV Team Leader: She [victim] seems, umm, very sort of...erratic.

FVS Manager: Yeah, well she's your typical worn-down, beaten DV victim, she has her own history of childhood abuse and trauma, she was abused by a parent, and now she's abused by this guy, she's probably using pot, I don't know if she's using more than that drug-wise, her mental health is poor, her kids are a mess, and she's very much like...you know... she feels hopeless, like nothing is going to

change, she comes in here and gives a statement and nothing happens, so, like I said before, she's not going to give you another statement, that was the day she was asked by the police to go and unlock the house so she had to stand by while they dragged him out of the house so it was very obvious that she'd doxed him in, or 'dogged' him, so she's not doing that again, but you want him on a warrant, so that's her hope, that he's going to get picked up anyway, for something else, because he's off doing crazy stuff all over the place....

DCS Manager: That's the warrant for breach of his community supervision order, isn't it? That will solve our problem....

FVS Manager: When police knock on her door... she needs to know we're working with her, you know? That we're on her side....

Police DV Team Leader: So, when did she last see him?

FVS Manager: Yesterday.

Police DV Team Leader: Do you know around what time?

FVS Manager: No, she just said yesterday...and then he took off.

Police DV Team Leader: I'll just check to see if the job's gone out over the police radio.

FVS Manager: She said she spoke to the police yesterday and they were very nice, but that the last time the police said they'd help her they let her down, blah, blah, blah, so the same conversation...she said the police run the guilt trip on her about the kids....

(fv2.o2, lines 618–656)

The omission in the police narrative meant that no-one had arranged for the children to be interviewed immediately following the assault. When the police officer in the Integrated Case Coordination meeting undertook to 'get someone onto it tomorrow' he was challenged as to the appropriateness of this action at that time. Making the point that the children were already traumatised and that this police intervention, so long after the incident, would be likely to re-traumatise them, the FVS manager was mounting 'a trial of strength' (Callon

1986). Just as the WDVCS coordinator in Section 6.5 successfully challenged the dominance of the court system, so too was the FVS manager here able to challenge the authority of the police, again by drawing on her role as trauma expert to shape the actions to be taken.

Referring to the children's mother as 'very sort of...erratic', the police officer invited another instructive response from the FVS manager. The picture painted of Chloe as 'your typical worn-down, beaten DV victim [with] her own history of childhood abuse' whose mental health was poor and whose life was 'a mess' underscored the long-lasting and far-reaching impacts of trauma. Explicitly making the links between Chloe's own abusive childhood and the current abusive situation that she and her children were experiencing, the FVS manager pulled the threads of the victim's past through into the present in a way that could inform the future. Once again, an arrest warrant was to exert its agency and participate as an actor, effecting the intended outcome in this case. The fact that the warrant was not related to DFV charges or to breach of an AVO, but was for a breach of a Community Supervision Order, was less relevant than the fact that it would provide the police with a legitimate reason to take the offender into custody. The FVS manager's *interessement* strategy had worked and she had succeeded in enrolling both the Police and Corrective Services into the victim's network by aligning their interests. This convergence had the effect of creating a single focus for action.

As the case discussion progressed, additional actors were enrolled into the Integrated Case Coordination network. The police officer deployed the police radio to 'check to see if the job had gone out', providing another opportunity for the FVS manager to draw attention to the importance of police officers who attend DFV callouts to be respectful, understanding and non-punitive in their interactions with victims (Hester 2006). Noting that the victim had reported that the police frequently 'ran the guilt trip' on her 'about the kids', the FVS manager drew again on trauma discourse, noting the challenges of mothering under the adverse conditions of an abusive relationship (Hester 2008). Being careful not to

be seen to be criticising the police, with whom she needed to maintain a productive collaborative relationship, she hastened to add that these were the victim's words, not her own. However, she successfully underscored the urgency of police action, reminding them of their role.

Taking a trauma-informed approach thus enabled the FVS manager to emerge as a primary actor here, having successfully enrolled the statutory authorities into accepting interrelated roles with the victim, thereby taking on (at least for now) the FVS *problematization* of DFV as a trauma-related issue. This enabled them to see beyond the immediate pressures of needing to 'lock up the baddies', and engendered a better understanding of victim behaviours and a more coordinated and nuanced interagency response to Integrated Case Coordination.

7.5.3 Making visible the impacts of offenders' violence

The third significant feature of Integrated Case Coordination enacted in *practice multiple* mode was making visible the impacts of offenders' violence, specifically in relation to victim/survivors. In the next two excerpts, discussion centred squarely on the abuser's violence and its effects on victim safety (rather than on his drug use or other criminal offences, such as burglaries). Enacting Integrated Case Coordination in a way that maintained a clear focus on the offenders' DFV behaviour had the effect of shifting the locus of accountability. Rather than prioritising holding each other to account, and enacting a defensive practice of reporting back to each other on what actions they had taken, the practitioners joined together in holding offenders accountable, as well as holding 'the system' accountable to victim/survivors (Hague, Mullender & Aris 2003), as they endeavoured to keep them safe.

In the following case, the group was engaged in a discussion about Jarrod, who had been charged with various DFV-related offences against his partner, Janelle. However, unlike the HROs in the previous excerpts, Jarrod was not hiding, or 'laying low' and avoiding police, but rather was blatantly in full view of the system, appearing at court to appeal the charges against him.

DCS Manager: So, is it just about waiting for something, a charge, to stick? Is that it? Is that what we need to do?

DVLO 1: Well the charges have been made, it's just that he keeps on appealing them.

DVLO 2: ...and there are more in the pipeline still.

FVS Manager: I don't think he's likely to do a lot, but you just don't know with him, he's one of those guys....

DVLO 2: It's just continual, isn't it? He just gets under her skin and works away at her....

FVS Manager: There haven't been any assaults lately, I mean there have been little breaches, and there certainly were plenty of assaults when they were together.

DVLO 2: To be honest, I didn't think there was a lot in this case when I first started with this one. I thought it was just her trying to manipulate the system a little bit, but as it gets on further and further, I can see it's quite serious... it's the time frame that's looking like a problem....

FVS Manager: That's right, the history is that he persists and persists. He wears her down over time so that he gets what he wants, he maintains contact in the hope that he'll wear her down.

DCS Manager: ...and access to the kids? How much does he have?

FVS Manager: I don't think she takes them to the contact centre anymore. They went to the Family Court but there was no order made, only a recommendation that she take them through the contact centre, but her solicitor is strongly suggesting that she doesn't give him contact because he'll keep the kids. It's almost like I want to say to her [the victim] let's not report any more breaches so there's no more court, you know she has a right to say she's had enough of the system not delivering for her....

(fv2.o2, lines 917-945)

The focus in this discussion was squarely on the effects of Jarrod's behaviour on Janelle, and on their children. His behaviour of constantly appealing the charges against him, and the many 'minor' breaches of the AVO, were seen by the members of the Integrated Case Coordination group as more than irritating annoyances that created more paperwork for them; they were a means of using the system to further abuse the victim.

In this 'trial of strength' (Callon 1986), the offender appeared (for now) to be the victor, directly confronting the claims of the victim and of the police that he was violent. As was seen in Section 6.4, it was not uncommon for offenders to engineer multiple adjournments, enabling them to use the court system to continue their harassment of victims, enacting a form of procedural stalking dubbed 'paper abuse' (Miller & Smolter 2011). In this case, Jarrod could extend his influence beyond the local court jurisdiction and into the Federal jurisdiction of the Family Court. No order had been made by the Family Court, indicating that the offender had also managed to enrol the Family Court magistrate into his own network, persuading her/him of his fitness as a parent. The offender's engagement with and manipulation of the legal system to appeal his charges and present himself as a 'good-enough father' (Eriksson & Hester 2001) had the effect of secondary victimisation (Mulroney 2003; Wilcox 2010a) of the victim here. Not only had the offender effectively enlisted the system to support his abusive behaviour, however, he had also enrolled one of the couple's sons into his network.

The FVS manager's suggestion that she was inclined to advise Janelle not to report to police any further breaches of the AVO ran counter to the prevailing message in the DFV sector, that practitioners ought always to encourage victims to report breaches to the police. Raising questions about the value for some DFV victims of continuing to engage with the law in pursuit of protection (see Connelly & Cavanagh 2007; Hester 2006), the intention of the FVS manager here was to align herself clearly with the victim. It also had the effect of enrolling the police officer into the interagency Integrated Case Coordination network by

prompting him into acting on the outstanding breaches, to perform his role as upholder of the law, thereby enabling the AVO to do its job of protecting the victim, and maintaining the focus on holding the offender responsible for his abusive behaviour.

In the excerpt that follows, the group was discussing Paul, who had moved out of the local Westville area and, therefore, was no longer technically their responsibility.

FVS Manager: So, this raises the question, does our case-plan on him include all his victims and DV activity? It should really, if he's the offending person. It's his behaviour that's the problem, so he's the person in question really, isn't he?

DCS Manager: Is there an AVO for the current partner?

Police DV Team Leader Nah, it's only been verbal abuse and stuff.

FVS Manager: It's concerning though, given that he's perpetrating violence against his new girlfriend, as well as his previous one...I mean what do other people think? It's another new question for the protocol really... we're managing a case-plan around him and his ex-partner and children and now we have another victim, not in our area though....

DCS Manager: Hmm, out of area....

FVS Manager: Yes, because he's been bailed to reside over there, out of our area...I mean we have new information about his behaviour, I mean although there's been what, 16 court appearances for DV over the past year, he's still offending....

Police DV Team Leader: I don't know what you guys think, but from my point of view it's worth putting it in the case-plan, but how we go about monitoring it is another thing...

DCS Manager: If he does get any supervision from us we could provide the information to his probation and parole officer, because he'll have to do the DV education program anyway.

FVS Manager: I think it's important because the issue is his behaviour, his offending behaviour; he's still perpetrating DV against a woman and children and I think it's concerning so I think we should monitor it.

(fv3.o5, lines 119–135)

Rather than suggesting that they adhere rigidly to their existing protocol ('out of area, not our problem'), the FVS manager raised the issue of needing to revisit the protocol to ensure that it addressed situations such as the current one. While undoubtedly the protocol had shaped the group's practice in relation to Integrated Case Coordination, and got them all to the same table in the first place, it can be seen here how *practice multiple* pushed back to prompt a re-shaping the protocol (this is an issue that is picked up in the next chapter in relation to the practice of Monitoring and Review). The FVS manager's clear articulation that the offender is 'the person in question here' proved to be an effective *enrolment* strategy that refocused the group on his violence and the fact that this was a recurrent pattern of behaviour, in relation to more than one woman. Enrolled into the interagency Integrated Case Coordination network and enacting Integrated Case Coordination as *practice multiple*, the group members found a singular focus: monitoring the impacts of the offender's violent behaviour on the victim/survivors. The fact that Paul and his 'new victim' were 'out of area' was going to present problems in terms of this monitoring, but despite the obvious resourcing issue for police, the police officer suggested that it was 'worth putting it on the case-plan'. The offender Paul was now an actor in both the Westville local police area command network and in the neighbouring one, and the case-plan was to function as a connector, an intermediary, between these networks. In ANT terms, this case had stretched the interagency network's boundaries, and in so doing translated the protocol, which had shown itself not to be as 'immutable' as it first appeared to be. Holding the offender's violent behaviour in plain sight thus had the effect of galvanising the team members into holding him to account for his actions, removing the onus for managing the situation from his victims. Geographical boundaries were also revealed to be more permeable than the

protocol prescribed them to be, able to be re-drawn in the service of the common goal of prioritising victim safety. This had the effect of strengthening the *enrolment* of the group members into the interagency Integrated Case Coordination network.

7.6 Enactment of Integrated Case Coordination

In multiple practices mode, the strength of the managers' and frontline practitioners' *enrolments* in their own home agency networks was evident, in their reporting back at the meetings on the outcomes of their work with victims and offenders. Maintaining a focus on managing the behaviour of the HROs enabled Police and Corrective Services to emerge as primary actors here, enrolling the other group members into their own networks, and convincing them (at least for now) to take on the CJS *problematization* of DFV as primarily a crime. Likewise, CS succeeded in enrolling others (including actors that were not signatories to the protocol), demonstrating the strength of its network in framing DFV as principally a child protection issue. These *enrolments* enabled the statutory agencies to achieve the tasks as outlined on their case-plans. Victims (and offenders) were also enrolled into various 'external' networks, strengthening the connections among the service providers. However, not all *enrolments* were successful, suggesting the failure of the preceding *interessement* strategies.

In contrast, enacting Integrated Case Coordination via *practice multiple* involved a series of *enrolments* that generated more positive effects for victims. Through this way of working together, the police and corrective services were enrolled into the victim's network and the victim was enrolled in the police network, in a reciprocal process resulting from multilateral negotiations. As in multiple practices, victims were also enrolled into 'external' networks (such as counselling and methadone programs). However, victim *enrolment* in *practice multiple* resulted in the system being 'tweaked' to become more responsive to her diverse needs. While offenders managed to enrol actors both 'big' (for example, the Family Court) and 'small' (for example, their children) into their own networks, victims were assisted to also enrol others into their support networks (for

example, sympathetic family law solicitors), thereby minimising secondary victimisation by the system.

7.7 Relational effects for victims

The enactment of Integrated Case Coordination as multiple practices effected a somewhat managerialist approach to the complexity (Harvie & Manzi 2011) of the practice. Task-oriented accountability resulted in a narrowing of focus to each of the individual statutory agencies' own primary matters of concern. A consequence of this was that victim/survivors did not always receive the support or protection that they needed when they needed it.

The domination of criminal justice concerns had the effect of focusing action on catching the offender, sometimes at the expense of neglecting the adult victim. When managing the behaviour of offenders became a core concern in Integrated Case Coordination, action was focused on the pursuit of offenders for any criminal offence (not necessarily DFV-related), the goal being to put them behind bars as quickly and as expediently as possible. The effect of this in relation to victim/survivors was that they became less and less visible, with many being filtered out of the support system, continuing to live a life impoverished by fear and anxiety. The strong influence of the child protection system in multiple practices mode had the effect of frequently assessing mothers as inadequate parents, holding them responsible for child protection (see Beeman, Hagemeister & Edleson 1999; Hester 2008; Thiara & Humphreys 2015), while ignoring the impacts of fathering by abusive men. A failure to differentiate between the parents frequently resulted in the mother being blamed for the father's abusive behaviour. When victim/mothers resisted *enrolment* into programs deemed necessary to rehabilitate them as 'fit parents' (thereby preventing the lead agency being able to tick off a task on their case-plan), they were usually labelled 'uncooperative' and 'non-compliant', and in the worst of case scenarios, their children were removed from their care.

On the other hand, Integrated Case Coordination enacted as *practice multiple* was characterised by a greater responsiveness to victims, partly by being open to doing business not-quite-as-usual. As the group members learned that it was possible to work flexibly and still operate within their agency guidelines, they could (re)centre the victim and her needs, integrating her presence into practice, despite her material absence. Taking trauma-informed action enhanced practice in a way that opened the possibility of questioning the impacts of the system on victim/survivors, and taking steps to remediate negative impacts, enabling the group members to include in their case-planning what might at first have appeared to be peripheral to the main game of managing HRO behaviour, and reminding them that there was always and already a bigger picture and a longer story than ever appeared on a case-plan. Prioritising victim safety and wellbeing meant keeping the offender's violence always in view. This had the effect of holding him responsible for his behaviour, and at the same time expanded the focus of accountability to encompass the system's accountability to the victim/survivor (Hague, Mullender & Aris 2003). Enactment of Integrated Case Coordination as *practice multiple* thus effected a rebalancing of the focus for action, ensuring that the practice remained principally about prioritising victim safety.

7.8 Concluding thoughts

Consistent with the examination of the previous two interagency practices (Interagency Referral and Court Support), the analysis of Integrated Case Coordination showed it to be also enacted through a textured interplay of multiple practices and *practice multiple*. As noted, however, there was more fluidity in the intertwining of modes of working together in this practice, the enactment often slipping from one to the other, as discussion moved back and forth among the practitioners.

Disentangling the threads of multiple practices and *practice multiple* was more easily accomplished in the analysis of the previous two practices than in the present practice. The practice of Interagency Referral (Chapter Five) was seen to

have required relatively little sustained close engagement among the practitioners. This enabled them to maintain their ties to their own home agencies, enacting their multiple practices for much of the time, only needing to engage in *practice multiple* when they encountered referrals that did not neatly fit into the categories on the intake form. In Court Support (Chapter Six), the emergence of *practice multiple* was facilitated by the interagency space afforded by the Safe Room, while multiple practices flourished elsewhere in the court precinct. In Integrated Case Coordination, however, the two modes appeared more entangled. It also seemed more difficult for *practice multiple* to gain traction in this practice.

I suggest that, while the nature of the practice of Integrated Case Coordination required the practitioners to engage closely with each other, in a more sustained way, pulling them in the direction of *practice multiple*, this was often countered by the strength of their own individual agency networks. This, combined with the material absence of the victim and the lack of a dedicated interagency space, made it difficult to maintain this mode of working.

Fenwick (2010) speaks of 'two spaces of network configurations, prescription and negotiation', noting that these are 'two sides of the same phenomenon and cannot exist without one another' and adding that 'both spaces can flow from the same network' (Fenwick 2010, p. 126). Taking up Fenwick's argument, I propose that multiple practices are more likely to emerge from 'spaces of prescription', while *practice multiple* emerges from its flipside, a 'space of negotiation'. Further to this, I suggest that, when prescription and negotiation pull against each other, as observed in Integrated Case Coordination, stabilising the interagency network is especially challenging.

In the next chapter, it will be shown how these two spaces overlap as necessary tensions in the practice of Monitoring and Review. The analysis of this practice will illustrate how the four stages of network formation may unfold within the enactment of one practice. Attention will also be paid to *mobilisation*, Callon's (1986) fourth and final moment of translation.

²³ In 2014, amendments were made to the *NSW Crimes (Domestic and Personal Violence) Act 2007* to introduce Part 13A, which creates exceptions to NSW privacy laws to allow information sharing between certain service providers to facilitate domestic violence victims' access to support services, and to prevent or reduce serious threats to life, health or safety of any person in relation to domestic violence. This amendment broadened information sharing provisions to include cases where there are no children.

Chapter Eight:

Monitoring and Review – Mobilising the Passive Network Actors

Mobilisation: a set of methods used...to ensure that supposed spokesmen [sic] for various relevant collectivities [are] properly able to represent those collectivities and are not betrayed by the latter. (Callon 1986, p. 196)

Translation is a process before it is a result. (Callon 1986, p. 124)

8.1 Introduction

Chapter Eight describes and analyses the practice of Monitoring and Review, the fourth and final interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) practice explored in this study. This practice is characterised as a ‘strategic’ practice, as distinct from the previous practices which may be regarded as more ‘operational’. However, attaching the label ‘strategic’ to this practice does not mean that there was no focus on operational matters. Indeed, most of the time attention was completely operationally focused, highlighting the necessarily close relationship in integrated working between practices that relate to governance and those that involve direct service provision (see Beech et al. 2013; Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013). The key difference between this practice and the previous ones is proximity to the frontline of service provision. In actor-network theory (ANT) terms, operational and strategic practices are located at different nodes in the same networks, still relationally connected and mutually shaping each other.

However, Monitoring and Review was performed less frequently than the operational practices and in diverse locations, creating a different relationship with space and time. This made it, as a practice, more difficult to grasp than the relatively ‘contained’ operational practices, presenting additional challenges in terms of deciding where to ‘cut the network’ (Strathern 1996). For these reasons, and to advance the analysis, the discussion of this practice is approached differently to that of the first three chapters.

Having analysed the previous three practices in terms of their key features, using just one of Callon's (1986) moments of translation, and having found these features to be relatively stable across the first three practices, the analysis of Monitoring and Review shifts to another level. Here, the analysis proceeds by way of tracing the unfolding of the practice via all four moments of translation, thereby using multiple analytic foci. This is done to show that each stage, or moment, may unfold within the one practice, in the process of building what Callon calls 'a network of constraints and resources that results from a series of operations of translation' (Callon 1986, p. 22). Therefore, in this chapter, the discussion is not presented in the contrastive terms of multiple practices and *practice multiple*. Rather, their intrinsic entanglement with each other is evidenced, as is the entanglement of Monitoring and Review with the operational practices analysed in earlier chapters.

In addition to viewing the practice through the *problematization*, *interessement* and *enrolment* lenses, attention is paid to the fourth stage of translation, *mobilisation*, in which the primary actors assume the role of spokespersons for the passive 'silent actors' (Callon 1986, p. 214), the 'missing masses' (Latour 1992). This chapter raises the question 'Will the masses...follow their representatives?' (Callon 1986, pp. 207–8), thereby (temporarily) tying together the loose ends of the process of translation.

8.2 Description of the practice

The description of Monitoring and Review that follows was gleaned from observations of two meetings, one focus group and twelve individual interviews with members of the leadership group whose role was to oversee the implementation of the Westville integrated DFV strategy. The leadership group was made up of director-level representatives (or their delegates) of the organisations that were signatories to the Multi-Partner Agreement (MPA): the Department of Family and Community Services, inclusive of the family violence service (FVS); NSW Police Force/Westville Local Command; Department of Corrective Services (DCS); Local Health District Primary Care and Community

Health; the Westville women's Safe at Home (SAH) program; the women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS); the family referral service (FRS) and associated counselling services.

Monitoring and Review was just one of the practices enacted by the leadership group and its various working sub-groups, facilitated by the MPA and the interagency protocols that had been signed by all the partner agencies. The MPA outlined the role of the leadership group, stipulating that the group meet bi-monthly for two hours and that the various sub-group working parties meet outside of the main meetings, to review protocols as needed.

In the sections that follow, the unfurling of the practice of Monitoring and Review is traced through the work of the Interagency Referral protocol review sub-group, linking the analysis back to the first of the interagency practices examined in this study (see Chapter Five). Various objects (non-human actors) were active in this space, translating and being translated by each other, and by the 'reflexive actors' (humans) (Fenwick 2010, p. 131). Who and what was ultimately mobilised into action is examined, and the effects that emerged from the zones of 'intra-activity' (Barad 2003, 2007) occurring in the practice are discussed.

The core of the practice of Monitoring and Review involved keeping a watch on the implementation of the integrated strategy and problem-solving when things did not work as planned. In practical terms, this translated into checking how protocol was enacted in practice and acting when missteps were identified. As noted, the protocol review meetings were held separately, outside of the main leadership group meeting sessions, and their focus was specific to operational practice. The MPA stated that the operational protocols were to be reviewed by a sub-group of the leadership group, at least every six months. The review of the Interagency Referral protocol was observed taking place over two meetings, two months apart, each lasting approximately two hours and attended by those service providers who were signatories to the protocol (the FVS, SAH, WDVCAS, FRS, YHS and the local police. These meetings were held at the FVS, in the group room that doubled as a meeting room. An overflowing toy-box sat in a corner,

and children's paintings (some depicting violence at home) adorned the walls. The comings and goings of clients and staff on the other side of the closed door became the background sound-track to the meetings. Occasionally, the wail of a distressed child rose above the background hum, followed by low soothing sounds, or sometimes loud anxious parental reprimands.

8.3 Discussion of findings

As stated in Section 8.1, in the following sections, Monitoring and Review is analysed by tracing how the review of the protocol was performed in four stages that parallel Callon's (1986) four moments of translation. The steps in the process of network formation were introduced in Section 3.3 and discussed further in Section 4.2.

Four data excerpts, taken from the transcript of the first protocol review meeting attended, are used to analyse the practice in terms of these stages of network-building.

8.3.1 Stage One: *problematization*

The practice of Interagency Referral (Chapter Five) was analysed through the lens of *problematization*. In that practice, the issue that was being problematised was the increasing numbers and diversity of DFV victims in the Westville area who were requiring assistance and support. This was translated into a referral problem, for which various solutions were enacted, as multiple practices and *practice multiple* each came to the fore.

In the practice of Monitoring and Review, the *problematization* that was occurring further along the Interagency Referral network was defined in relation to the performance of a key actor, the 'yellow card'. Both multiple practices and *practice multiple* were observed to occur at this stage. However, a tendency towards defensiveness and a blame-culture among practitioners, frequently noted as impediments to interagency collaboration (see Foster-Fishman et al. 2001; Foster-Fishman, Salem & Allen 2001; Huxham & Vangen 2004; Vangen & Huxham

2003), resulted in multiple practices being initially more in evidence than *practice multiple*.

In the following data excerpt, the Interagency Referral protocol review group had just finished discussing the purpose and the principles of the protocol, agreeing that little needed changing in these sections of the document. The group was moving on to discuss the procedures outlined in the protocol. The FVS manager began by raising her concerns about the yellow card system.

FVS Manager: I guess for me, this is the biggest area of concern, around the yellow card, because we are still consistently getting women who say that they didn't receive a yellow card. They say either that they don't know anything about it or that they weren't given one. So, then you know we need to come back to you [police] and ask was one given or not? So, that's by far my biggest concern. It's a concern when she is given a yellow card and told about the process, but then nobody ever contacts her. I think what happens then is that we just reinforce all the abuse that she's experienced by giving her the message that she's not important, that nobody is going help her anyway. There's no point in her ringing the police again. That's the worst-case scenario for me.... I have a really big issue with this, this is about ethical practice because I think it actually goes against all the principles that our protocol is based on. I know that this might be a resource issue for police but for me it's critical....

Police Domestic Violence (DV) Team Leader: [looking a little frustrated and sounding a bit defensive] We'll never get 100% compliance you know. Sometimes the guys just forget to do it. They've got so many other things going on at the same time. The only way I can see around this is that we monitor it more often, which is going to take more work on my part. What I was doing was a 'dip sample' where I would pull up all the DV events for a 24-hour period and if there are more DV incidents recorded on our database than there are forms, then what I'll do is go through them manually and check which events have forms and which don't and then I'll send a 'resubmit' to every one of those officers who didn't submit a form, saying that we need those forms. You said you'd done it, but you haven't, so, where is it? And some of them say that they did it, but for whatever reason,

someone moved it, knocked it out of the tray or something. Other officers will just say straight out 'sorry, I was too busy, I didn't have time to do it'. I do that 'dip sample' thing, every now and then, but I haven't done it regularly.

FVS Manager: Hmm, so is there no other cross checking that is done?

Police DV Team Leader: Well, no, apart from the supervisor checking the reports, that's it.

Police Crime Manager: [to FVS manager] So do you think it should be done every day, Karen?

FVS Manager: Well, as I see it, it's a significant step in the process, if they get a card, a yellow card, I would rather that they weren't given one at all, than told that someone will call them and then no-one does. This has had a significant negative impact on some women....

WDVCAS Coordinator: ...and particularly if there has been police action but the woman doesn't turn up at court for whatever reason, so we won't get to see them and we won't pick them up there, at court, either....

FVS Manager: We have had some pretty serious ones. One we had last week, the child had been held by the throat during the incident and the form said the referral had been made, but it hadn't....

(fv13.o20, lines 116-163)

In voicing her concerns about the translation of the referral procedures into a box-ticking exercise (see Section 5.3), and the gap between the protocol and practice, the FVS manager consolidated her position as a primary actor in the Interagency Referral network, having already established herself as an obligatory passage point (Callon 1986; Latour 1987) in the referral process, thereby making her service indispensable to the solution of the problem. Her naming of the problem pointed to a significant breakdown in the Interagency Referral network, the all-important connector that linked the victim-node to the support-service node: the yellow card. If police did not accurately record their actions in relation to this card, then the network collapsed. Just giving the card, and not ticking the

'accepted' box when the victim wanted support, resulted in no contact being made and the victim being left unsupported. Conversely, ticking the 'declined' box and not giving the card when the victim had indicated that she *did* want help had equally disastrous results for the victim. Such a failure on the part of the system could leave her at increased risk, and almost certainly increase the likelihood that she would resist any further attempts to enrol her into the interagency support network, as evidence suggests that past negative experiences with services, especially police, are influential in terms of victims' future help-seeking (see Liang et al. 2005; Wolf et al. 2003) and continued engagement with the criminal justice system (CJS) (see Hester 2006). While not exactly apportioning blame for the problem, the FVS manager's comments suggested a need for further investigation in relation to police responsibilities. Marshalling the principles on which the protocol was based, principles to which all those at the meeting had agreed, principles which prioritised victim safety, she was on solid ground with this move in her argument for closer monitoring. The need for urgent action to remedy the situation was incontestable as soon as she invoked ethical practice, and the spectre of secondary victimisation, abuse by the system, (Mulroney 2003; Wilcox 2010a) hovered in the air.

Mindful of the absolute necessity of keeping the police on side and negotiating a solution that would maintain their hard-won *entente cordiale*, she acknowledged that additional monitoring might be an impost on scarce police resources, but she didn't resile from her position. The police officer's response, while initially a little defensive, was to agree that more frequent monitoring was required. He described his efforts to date to detect where the breaks in the network occurred via 'cross-checking' and 'dip sampling', tracing the links between the nodes and following the tracers (the yellow card, the referral form, the police database) to see where they connected, or not. Where he detected the ruptures, he had tried to '*interesse*' the troops via his 'resubmit' strategy.

The WDVCS coordinator's contribution to the discussion foregrounded the intersection of the yellow card network with the Apprehended Violence Order

(AVO) network, but also highlighted where this connection could break down: if the woman didn't appear at court, and she hadn't been given a yellow card and no-one had contacted her, then she would fall through the spaces between the networks. While the WDVCAS coordinator aligned herself with the FVS manager, adding her weight to the argument, not everyone was yet persuaded. The police especially needed more convincing that this was a problem towards which they should dedicate already scarce resources.

In summary, when multiple practices dominated in the *problematization* phase, inadequate police resourcing was the focus, and victim safety was sidelined. However, when the original purpose of the yellow card was foregrounded, *practice multiple* emerged and the *problematization* focused on victim support.

8.3.2 Stage Two: *interessement*

In Court Support (Chapter Six), *interessement* was the focus for analysis. In that practice, efforts were made by various actors to interest other actors to join them, as attempts were made to assign and stabilise identities. The primary entity in the practice of Court Support was the CJS, and while the *interessement* devices employed by the actors already enrolled within the CJS network generally met with success, there was also evidence of resistances and failures to '*interesse*', in both modes of enactment.

In the practice of Monitoring and Review, *interessement* strategies were employed to interest the group members (especially the police) to accept the yellow card *problematization* as defined by the FVS manager and the WDVCAS coordinator. These attempts to stabilise identities as supporters of victim/survivors began a shift away from problem-avoidance and apportioning blame towards a shared commitment, built on mutual positive regard and respect and understanding of each other's professional cultures, features of interagency DFV work regarded as key elements of effective integrated responses (see Darlington, Feeney & Rixon 2005; Johnson et al. 2003; Potito et al. 2009). While this is suggestive of a move towards *practice multiple*, vestiges of multiple practices remained in the frequent pull-back into policing 'core business'.

In the excerpt that follows, the Police crime manager demonstrated his eagerness to ascertain the source of the problem, by bringing the discussion back to the increasing number of 'declined' boxes that were being ticked on the referral forms. Top of his agenda was clarifying whether police were doing their job properly in terms of providing high quality customer service, which had become a priority for the NSW Police Force in recent years (Burn 2010). Specifically, he needed to know whether his officers were responsible for the breakdown, or whether responsibility could be distributed more widely.

Police Crime Manager: What I want to know is, is this increase in the number of 'declineds' a trend with police practice, or is it that there is a growing number of victims who have already gone through this system with the yellow card and they're the ones who are saying they don't want to see any services, or is it just that they don't want a card because they already have heaps of them from previous callouts? I'm seeing this recorded in the events on our database now. Because if it's a matter of the officer in charge just taking a shortcut, then this is a customer service issue....

FVS Manager: ...or whether it's victims getting wise to child protection being involved?

Police DV Team Leader: Yeah, well that's the other thing, they've been through it a few times now and they're not interested any more... hmm, anyway, so I've still got Barry off the truck, he's on restricted duties, so the cross-checking is something I could get him to do for a while, a month or so....

FVS Manager: I think that the gap is concerning enough for us to be worried about. You know, if we're going to have a protocol for this process it needs to work for women, for victims.

WDVCAS Coordinator: Yes, at least we need to know why it's not working as it should....

FVS Manager: Yes, if we know what the issue is then we can address it, if it's that the officers just don't have time, or if they have run out of yellow cards, then....

Police DV Team Leader: Well, let's just start with this, with last month's stats....

FVS Manager: [interrupting] You know, do they need a way to remember, an 'aide memoire' or something? Or is it that they just can't be bothered?

Police DV Team Leader: [getting a bit irritated] No, I don't think it is an intentional thing, it's just that they go to five to ten domestics a day, you know....

Police Crime Manager: ...and it's not just domestics, it's a whole lot of other issues that they need to attend to that are part of our core business....

(fv13.o20, lines 216–231)

In the preceding exchange, the crime manager's need to know whether what they were seeing was 'a trend with police practice' or whether it was in fact an indication of something else was crucial to his *interessement*. If in fact the source of the problem lay elsewhere, there was less likelihood of him being fully enrolled into the interagency network. At this point, there was a risk of lapsing into victim-blaming, a suggestion that the source of the problem was victims who didn't 'play by the (police) rules'. However, an alternative, more uncomfortable possibility, was that more and more victims were resisting *enrolment* because the victim support aspect of the police process was not working for them. This is not an uncommon response from victims who feel they have been let down by the system (Hickman & Simpson 2003; Robinson & Stroshine 2005), resulting in considerable attrition from the system (Hester 2006). If this were the case, it would have serious implications for the evaluation of the Westville local integrated strategy. Whatever the answer, the interests of all those at the meeting were moving towards enough alignment to proceed together with investigating the source of the problem. Perhaps spurred on by the public relations motivation of his boss (the need to ensure high quality 'customer service' is a powerful *interessement* device), the DV team leader offered the services of one of the officers on his team, who was 'off the truck' and 'on restricted duties'. Having problem-solved and come to an agreement that police would conduct the cross-checking manually, as onerous as it was, the FVS manager could safely reintroduce the purpose of the protocol as being to ensure that the referral process worked 'for women, for victims'. In doing this, she underscored the importance of

accountability to victim/survivors in practice (Hague, Mullender & Aris 2003). All group members agreed that they needed to know why the problem was occurring (in ANT terms, where the network breaks were occurring), to be able to address it. The suggestion that perhaps many of the police officers just couldn't 'be bothered' was met with defensiveness by the Police DV team leader. The police officer's preliminary diagnosis, that the problem was less to do with human intentionality and more to do with the heavy materiality of the work, speaks to the sheer volume of DFV callouts that police officers attended on any given shift. His boss, the Crime Manager, backed him up, reminding the group that DFV was not the only issue demanding a piece of police action, but that there were a multitude of other networks clamouring for attention. The pull towards the core business of policing was powerful and as the two officers closed ranks in solidarity, the FVS manager knew that there was still more work to be done in this meeting before enacting 'victim support' could be taken as read in the protocol document.

To sum up, in the *interessement* stage, when multiple practices dominated, not only was DFV sidelined as non-core-business for police, but there was also the potential for victim-blaming. This made it difficult to '*interesse*' the police in solving the problem as identified by the FVS. However, by reminding the police of the purpose of the protocol, the FVS manager and her ally, the WDVCAS coordinator, succeeded in persuading the police to take on a role that recognised not only the centrality of the FVS, but also the centrality of the police, in the Westville integrated DFV strategy. This enacted a shift towards shared aims based on commonly-agreed values, noted in the collaborative practice literature as vital for effective interagency work (Murphy & Fanslow 2012).

8.3.3 Stage Three: *enrolment*

In Integrated Case Coordination (Chapter Seven), *enrolment* was a key focus for the analysis. In that practice, it was evident that the key actors were primarily enrolled into their own 'home agency' networks. There was also evidence of their success in enrolling other 'external' actors into their networks. With the

emergence of *practice multiple*, however, different *enrolments* were negotiated by other actors, with different effects for victims.

In Monitoring and Review, *enrolment* took the form of negotiating task allocation to address the problem of the yellow card's performance. At this stage, there was a shift towards *practice multiple*, as the protocol review group members agreed to take on roles to work towards solving what had now been accepted as the shared problem.

In the extract below, the group was still discussing possible reasons for the yellow card problem, and canvassing options for addressing the lack of resources that were an obvious stumbling block to the police taking on the extra work involved in matching up the referral forms with the database entries.

FVS Manager: So, what are we going to do?

Police DV Team Leader: Well, I'll look at last month's stats from all the points of referral and check, I'll crosscheck all of them with the other ones.

FVS Manager: So, that's that for February... all those plus the 'declineds'.

Police DV Team Leader: The declineds? How am I going to work that out? I am going to have to go through them all manually, aarggh!

[long pause]

FVS Manager: Well maybe do you want to hold the ones from March? And just go back to the start of March? Or we could start this month, and just hold all the declineds, don't file them until the end of the month.

Police DV Team Leader: This month?

WDVCAS Coordinator: March, so you only need to go back two weeks.

Police DV Team Leader: Aaarghh! [miming pulling his hair out]

FVS Manager: It's better than four weeks, Dan. [laughing]

Police DV Team Leader: [seriously] I just don't have time....

Women's SAH Team Leader: [tentatively] What about starting next month, Dan? Could you see your way clear to do it next month? April?

Police DV Team Leader: Yes, I don't mind starting next month, at least starting off with a new month I can just keep going forward and I don't have to backtrack to check, that's what takes the time. I'm just chasing everything right now....

Women's SAH Team Leader: It might be more accurate too if we just start with the new month.

Police Crime Manager: And I'll send out an e-mail to all the officers at the station, just as a reminder, that might help....

Women's SAH Team Leader: Hmm, sending an e-mail to the troops before we start collecting the data might be a way of sort of softening them up, saying look we're just going to do this evaluation over the next month....

FVS Manager: I wouldn't call it an evaluation. They just need to do it. Of course, serial offenders will just ignore the e-mail.

Police Crime Manager: I don't think it's intentional....

[a chorus of no, no...]

FVS Manager: I think it's probably just about them getting through the day as best they can.

Women's SAH Team Leader: Yeah, we know they already have heaps of paperwork to do.

FVS Manager: But for me the bottom line is we shouldn't be handing out yellow cards if we can't follow them up.

Women's SAH Team Leader: Yes, I agree.

FVS Manager: Because it's dangerous and unethical, if we're talking about victim support....

Police Crime Manager: Yes, point taken.

FVS Manager: [typing into minutes] So, for April, you're going to e-mail the officers Geoff [Crime Manager] about the process and forms? And Dan [DV Team

Leader] is going to tally our reports and compare to all your recorded DV incidents. Should we all record our own tracking in April? How hard would that be for other services to ask victims when they receive a referral if they got a yellow card?

Women's SAH Team Leader: I don't think that's too hard for us to do....

WDVCAS Coordinator: We can do that too....

(fv13.o20, lines 234–271)

In the preceding excerpt, *interessement* strategies were put to the test. The FVS manager was still struggling to enrol the Police DV team leader to take on the role of cross-checking the statistics. Resisting this *enrolment*, he cited legitimate workload concerns. The prospect of manual cross-checking intra-acting with the absence of a technological solution produced a tipping-point situation, graphically embodied in his mimed hair-pulling. This supports the literature that suggests that ever-increasing paperwork is translating police practice into administration, adding further occupational stress to already heavy workloads (see Deschamps et al. 2003; Loftus 2010). Tentatively suggesting starting the cross-checking the following month, the Women's SAH program team leader strategically joined forces with the FVS manager. Having won a minor skirmish by reducing the time pressure on him, the Police DV team leader was lured back to the negotiating table and agreed to start the manual cross-checking the following month. The Crime Manager also resumed his participation, suggesting that he enlist the technology of the internal email system as a strategy to enrol 'the troops'.

The FVS manager's use of police terminology to suggest that 'serial offenders' would be unlikely to comply may have been intended as a light-hearted signal that she was on side with the police and understood their world view. However, it backfired as an *enrolment* strategy, as the Crime Manager came running to the defence of 'his boys', once again making the point that failure to comply was less likely to be an intentional omission and more likely to be a function of other

circumstances. Getting the police boss upset was not a good move and the three victim services managers (all women) backed down quickly, making placatory noises, their police *enrolment* strategy teetering on the brink between success and failure. However, never one to lose sight of the main game, the FVS manager, who by now had several allies, refocused discussion on the issue at hand: the distribution of yellow cards to victims who were not followed up, and the increasing rate of victims who were apparently 'declining assistance'. Once again, she drew on discourses around risk, duty of care and professional ethical conduct, joining these threads to the key issue of victim safety, enacting the same 'Ethics of Care' (Moore 2016) performed by the WDVCAS coordinator in Court Support (Chapter Six). This move succeeded in pulling the group back together again with a singular focus for action, and discussion continued in a businesslike manner, with everyone agreeing to take on additional specific tasks.

In this way, *practice multiple* came to the fore in the *enrolment* stage, as the police became fully enrolled in the interagency network. Convincing the police of the necessity of finding a way to do the cross-checking was crucial in terms of victim safety. To have failed to enrol the police at this point in the practice of Monitoring and Review would have left victim/survivors no better served than they had been before the protocol review.

8.3.4 Stage Four: *mobilisation*

Mobilisation, the last stage, or moment, of translation, is where a series of equivalences (translations) are settled and where the delegate actors in the network make active their *enrolment* by mobilising 'the masses' (Callon 1986, p. 208). This makes it a particularly useful focus for analysis of the practice of Monitoring and Review.

In this practice, it was only when the enactment finally settled into *practice multiple* mode that a singular focus for action was agreed on and *mobilisation* was achieved. Making the General Duties Officers 'equivalent' to the DV specialist officers, in terms of their commitment to the Interagency Referral protocol, would complete the translation process (for now).

In the next data excerpt, the protocol review meeting was drawing towards closing, as the Police DV Team Leader and the Crime Manager became voices for the ‘masses’ of other officers within their local area command.

Police DV Team Leader: Realistically, you know, I think a lot of the guys don’t even know what happens to those forms. I’m sure a lot of them believe that Karen’s service (FVS) is the only service that exists around here in terms of referral, so a lot of them probably need education in relation to that.

FVS Manager: Well that’s probably because that’s the way it used to be, but it’s different now with this protocol, there are more referral options....

Police DV Team Leader: There are those who are keen and they make a point of finding out what other services are out there, but there are others who just well... [trails off with a shrug of the shoulders] ... but we do need to find out if they are educated enough to know that they need to do it....

FVS Manager: So, I guess you want me to come to the 6 am parades to tell them all...again! [laughs]

Police DV Team Leader: No, no, I’ll do it. They’ll take it better from me....

Women’s SAH Team Leader: What’s the 6 am parade?

Police DV Team Leader: That’s the meeting where all the officers need to attend and we tell them what they’re doing right and what they’re doing wrong.

Women’s SAH Team Leader: Ah, okay....

(fv13.o20, lines 360–376)

By this point in the meeting, the Police DV team leader and the Crime Manager were fully enrolled, assuming the role of primary actors; spokespersons for the passive network actors, the General Duties Officers, who were not DFV specialists, but who nonetheless were most often the ‘boys on the truck’ called out to attend DV incidents. In raising the possibility that a lot of these officers may not ‘even know what happens to these forms’, or that there were local referral services other than the FVS, the police DV team leader was questioning an

assumption that had professional development implications. If the operation of the Interagency Referral protocol had been resting on the assumption that all those who were expected to 'implement' it understood what was in the protocol, how it related to other aspects of the integrated DFV strategy and, most importantly, what it all meant for police practice, and if this assumption was wrong (as is suggested), then *mobilisation* of the troops was going to be challenging. The protocol, as important as it was to this small group of operational managers, had no currency with the General Duties Officers, the 'collectivity' that the police members of the group represented, unless it could be translated into something meaningful for them. The Police DV team leader's proffered solution was 'education', which in his world of policing most often translated into telling them 'what they're doing right and what they're doing wrong'. This was an *interessement* strategy which clearly had met with limited success in the past, as evidenced by the FVS manager's pointed use of the word 'again' in relation to her attendance at the '6 am parades'. While 'education' was the default position for encouraging practice change, the question would remain as to whether the troops could be mobilised into action to follow the lead of their representative intermediary, or whether their practice would remain unchanged, indicating a translation of the 'betrayal' variety, rather than the 'making equivalent' type (Callon 1986, p. 196).

Moving towards drawing the meeting to a close, the WDVCAS coordinator, who was chairing, clarified that everyone understood that they had a task to undertake over the next month.

WDVCAS Coordinator: All right, so is that clear? We've all got an action to do over the next month.

FVS Manager: So, just for the minutes, I was halfway through writing down about us e-mailing Dan if there is no contact with the victim. Are we still going to do that? Or only in cases where we are concerned about the level of risk?

Police Crime Manager: I think it should be on a case by case basis.

WDVCAS Coordinator: [to police DV team leader] So Dan, are you going to get inundated with emails if we do this, contact you every time we can't get in touch with a victim?

Women's SAH Team Leader: Well I think if it's only a verbal argument and the referral form says that the police have no fears for the victim's safety, then I think that's reasonable to say that we wouldn't need to, but I think if there are any worrying circumstances, for example mental health issues, that increase the victim's vulnerability, or there's been a threat that makes you think 'ooh that's not too cool', then I think we should let police know that we haven't been able to contact the victim. I just think it's about closing the loop, you know, because if something does happen you can pull it up and see what action was taken in the past and by what service.

WDVCAS Coordinator: Yeah, we would probably have one or two a month like that, where we have serious concerns but we can't contact her....

Women's SAH Team Leader: We'll have a few where they'll eventually get to you at the FVS and you'll look at it and say they should have been sent to you in the first place and we'll go yeah, well we did have several attempts to contact her, but some women, you know, they won't remember which service rang them, somebody rang, but they don't remember where they are all from....

WDVCAS Coordinator: Yes, we've gone through that with women in court. They are holding your flyer in their hands, and then you catch up with them at the end of the day and you ask them, so have you got your referrals? And they will say no, so then you ask, do you understand what's going on? And you can see they don't, there's just too much information at one time for them, they're stressed, they are in crisis, and it's just not going in, they don't get it.

FVS Manager: So, I think there are a couple of things that we've agreed to do slightly differently to what's in the procedures section of the protocol, in that we're not going to e-mail police in every case of no contact [reading from the protocol]

... so just in terms of making changes to the protocol, I think we need to be mindful of how long it took to get the document signed off the first time. I mean, changing how we do day to day procedures is...well, I don't think we need to get the small stuff signed off again... [mutterings of 'hmm, good point...'] ...but we can decide about that at our next meeting, once we've decided what we want to change, based on the results of our data collection exercise.

(fv13.o20, lines 378–404)

Bringing the focus full circle back to victim safety, the FVS manager, having taken on the role of minute-taker, the scribe of the record of discussion and decision-making, sought clarification about what action the group had decided was appropriate in cases where they could not contact the victim. She knew that the minutes would function as an inscription from here on in, an artefact of communication that would become another actor in the enactment of this practice of Monitoring and Review, holding the members of the group to account for their actions. When the conversation turned to levels of risk, the practice of Monitoring and Review looped back to connect with Integrated Case Coordination practice (see Chapter Seven), highlighting the complexity of ascertaining risk in DFV situations (McCulloch et al. 2016). Eventually reaching agreement that the decision to let the police know when they were unable to contact a victim/survivor should be discretionary, the group tacitly acknowledged the value of each other's professional judgment. However, it was not only the management of risks to victims that was at stake here; risks to the home agencies were also a consideration. The Women's SAH team leader's insistence on her staff needing to always 'close the loop' may have been as much about protecting her own service as it was about victim safety. So, multiple practices never disappeared, even while enacting *practice multiple*, as service providers strove to 'future-proof' their own agency's actions and avoid the possibility of being seen to have not performed their duty of care diligently. Mobilising their own staff into 'compliance' was crucial in this endeavour.

Enlisting an old ally, the MPA (which emphasised interagency collaboration), and signalling the need to find a solution that would be workable for all, the FVS manager could suggest doing things 'slightly differently' to what was outlined in the procedures section of the protocol. Her final remark suggesting that it was perhaps unnecessary to get 'small stuff' signed off again speaks to how the enabling effects of high level sign-off can easily become constraining effects. Undoubtedly, securing the imprimatur of the senior management provided a legitimacy that was needed to undertake this time-consuming and complex way of working together in the first place (Murphy & Fanslow 2012; Sloper 2004). On the other hand, the number of networks through which the amended protocol would need to be passed before it reached its destination and then found its way back down through the networks to its point of origin, acted as a disincentive to seeking further high level endorsement at this stage in the stabilisation of the interagency network.

In this final moment of translation, the *mobilisation* phase, it can be seen, once again, how enactment of the practice in *practice multiple* mode achieved a singular focus for action, as all the members of the protocol review group left the meeting committed to mobilising their own masses in the pursuit of maximising victim safety.

In summary, the analysis of Monitoring and Review showed it to be a resource-intensive practice that required all partners to dedicate additional time. It was the interagency DFV practice where the strength of the commitment of all partners to prioritise victim safety was ultimately tested.

8.4 Enactment of Monitoring and Review

Having followed the actors through a process of manoeuvring allegiances and balancing interagency tensions and synergies, it is possible to now see how the enactment of Monitoring and Review settled eventually into *practice multiple* in the fourth moment of translation, *mobilisation*. However, as Callon (1986) notes, 'this consensus and the alliances which it implies can be contested at any

moment' (Callon 1986, p. 210) and 'from translation to treason there is only a short step' (Callon 1986, p. 214).

To determine whether this 'short step' had been taken by any of the actors in the interagency network, a follow-up field visit was conducted, two months later, when the protocol review group reconvened to discuss the results of their tallying and cross-checking exercise. The analysis of practice at this second meeting indicated that the interagency network was relatively stable, and *practice multiple* was in evidence for much of this second meeting. Importantly, despite some expected movement between multiple practices and *practice multiple*, the group recognised that the net effect of all their collective 'doings' in checking the implementation of the protocol was that they were better able to see where the breaks in and between the networks were and where most usefully to direct their repair efforts. However, while they could establish that, in approximately one-third of the DFV 'events' recorded by police, the victims did *not* receive a yellow card, they also realised that there were still unanswered questions in terms of what this meant. Was the Westville integrated support strategy simply not useful for some victim/survivors, particularly those who had 'been through the system' before? If this was the case, what interventions would be more useful for these women? These are questions that continue to be raised in the DFV literature (see Burman & Chantler 2005; Fugate et al. 2005) and were unlikely to go away in the Monitoring and Review of the Westville integrated strategy, demanding more attention as time went on and outcomes were to be subjected to intense scrutiny by funding providers.

While dissidence and controversy remained possible, it appeared that this group was learning that working together was not about just 'getting on well' and 'being nice' to each other, but that it invariably entailed confronting difficulties and challenges (such as lack of resources and escalating workloads), and being prepared to cede territory and stay open to negotiation. As their practice of Monitoring and Review showed, enacting integrated DFV work meant keeping the victim/survivors at the centre of all their deliberations and interventions and

required ongoing maintenance work, returning to the drawing board, again and again, if necessary, to rethink their procedures and investigate unintended effects.

8.5 Relational effects for victims

While Monitoring and Review may be conceptualised as a practice of a different order to the other interagency practices, in terms of relational effects for victims, familiar patterns emerged in the enactments as multiple practices and *practice multiple*.

For example, in Stage One, *problematism*, *practice multiple* initially struggled to gain traction, as inadequate police resourcing was the focus, and victim safety was sidelined. However, as multiple practices began to recede, the original purpose of the yellow card was foregrounded and the *problematism* focused on victim support in the enactment as *practice multiple*.

In Stage Two, *interessement*, disagreements were confronted and interagency challenges mounted in 'trials of strength' (Callon 1986), as the move towards *practice multiple* was countered by a pull-back to multiple practices and core policing business. When multiple practices dominated in the *interessement* stage, not only was DFV sidelined as non-core-business for police, but the potential for victim-blaming emerged. However, a timely reminder about the original purpose of the protocol was a strategy that succeeded in interesting the police to seriously take on their victim protection role.

Stage Three, *enrolment*, saw a discernible shift towards *practice multiple*, and thus victim-centredness, in the process of negotiation and joint problem-solving. As the police became fully enrolled in the interagency network, persuaded of the necessity of find a way to do the data cross-checking, victim safety became the shared singular focus for action. Failure to enrol the police at this stage would have resulted in partial collapse of the interagency network, leaving victim/survivors vulnerably perched on the peripheries of the various individual agency networks.

By Stage Four, *mobilisation*, the group members were all fully (if temporarily) engaged in *practice multiple* as they undertook to mobilise their respective 'masses' to act 'beyond the boxes' on the referral form in the pursuit of maximising victim safety.

8.6 Concluding thoughts

Callon's (1986) reminder that 'translation is a process before it is a result' (Callon 1986, p. 214) emphasises that the 'moments' are never as distinct or clear-cut as they might appear from the way they have been traced here. Pulling apart the threads of actions that make up the practice of Monitoring and Review, and conceptualising these as overlapping steps in the formation of the Westville interagency DFV actor-network, was a purposeful decision to present the findings in such a way as to consolidate the conceptualisation of interagency DFV work as entangled practice.

Moreover, by *not* analysing this practice in the contrastive terms of multiple practices and *practice multiple* used in previous chapters, it was demonstrated that interagency DFV work unfolds via an energetic interlacing of multiple practices and *practice multiple*. This entanglement of the two modes of enactment adds weight to the theorisation of the multiple practices/*practice multiple* distinction as applicable beyond the frontline of service delivery, while strengthening an emerging core feature of integrated DFV working. Interagency work emerged here as performed neither exclusively via multiple practices enacted by multiple actors, each with their own focus, nor as a single practice enacted by multiple actors unified by a single vision, but rather as a complex 'texture of practices' (Gherardi 2012b, p. 15) that enfolded both, almost simultaneously.

This chapter concludes by picking up the threads left dangling at the end of the previous chapter, where Fenwick's (2010) notion of 'spaces of prescription' and 'spaces of negotiation' was introduced. I speculated that multiple practices were more likely to emerge from (and produce) spaces of prescription, whereas *practice multiple* was more likely to produce and be an effect of the activity that occurs in

spaces of negotiation. Here this argument is extended, suggesting that one kind of space cannot exist in the absence of the other. For while it is in the spaces of negotiation that unresolved tensions may be held open, creating 'fissures, tunnels, folds' (Fenwick 2010, p. 129) between the nodes of a network, from which generative opportunities can emerge, these spaces are shaped and informed by the spaces of prescription that define them. Multiple practices and *practice multiple* 'need' each other conceptually, and, importantly, the enactment of integrated interagency DFV work needs both modes of working. Does one 'create' the other? In Barad's (2007) agential realist terms, the question is moot, as cause and effect mutually shape each other.

So, rather than opposites, distinguished from each other in binary terms, *practice multiple* and multiple practices come to be seen in much more fluid terms, moving from 'spaces of prescription' to 'spaces of negotiation' (Fenwick 2010), and back again. This suggests that the topology of integrated 'wraparound' (Burchard, Bruns & Burchard 2002) service provision may in fact resemble that of the three-dimensional, one-but-two-sided Möbius strip, more than that of the patchwork quilt image that is sometimes conjured by the term (see Birenbaum 2014). This conceptualisation is further developed in the next chapter, where the various threads of the thesis argument are drawn together in discussion, leading to the formulation of the answers to the research questions.

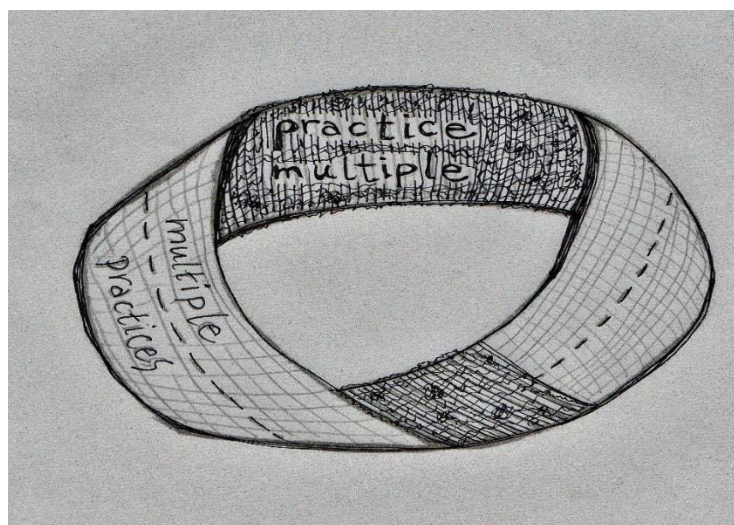


Figure 8.1: The wraparound of *practice multiple* and multiple practices

Chapter Nine:

Knitting Together the Strands of Entangled Practice

9.1 Introduction

This chapter revisits the empirical findings in a fresh way, to advance the understanding of how integrated interagency domestic and family violence (DFV) work was enacted in this study. Bringing together the empirical findings and key arguments, I am folding myself into the materiality of the research, entangling myself with the data, theory, participants and analysis (Mazzei 2013a, p. 867). In this networked undertaking, I move between synthesis of the findings and theorisation, intra-acting with the discussion woven throughout the previous chapters in a way that produces new knowledge about interagency DFV work.

Holding a diffractive lens close to the action, the threads of the various interagency DFV practices have been unravelled and closely examined in the preceding four chapters. Untangling these threads and analysing them in terms of Callon's (1986) four moments of translation has afforded a deep look at the unfolding of the practices and the overlapping 'collectives of activity' (Fenwick 2010, p. 120) that were imbricated in their enactment. The project of this penultimate chapter is to knit together again the strands of this multi-ply yarn, as a reminder that they were never separate to begin with.

The discussion in Section 9.2 builds on the platform created by the analysis already presented, and explains how interagency DFV work was accomplished by multiple connecting actor-networks in Westville. An important distinction is made between single agency networks and interagency networks and the relationship between them is clarified. The fragility of interagency networks is examined and that which helps them to stabilise is explored, extending prior research about the challenges of interagency collaboration. This leads to an explication, in Section 9.3, of the crux of the new theorisation of interagency DFV work advanced in this thesis, the two modes of working together, multiple

practices and *practice multiple*, and their relationship to the networks. Section 9.4 then considers the different effects of these two modes of enactment in relation to victim/survivors. Finally, in 9.5, the chapter develops the novel reconceptualisation of ‘wraparound’ service provision as the Möbius of textured interagency DFV work.

9.2 Interagency collaboration through multiple connecting actor-networks

Having established the key features of each of the practices as seen through Callon’s (1986) four moments, foregrounding the primary actors that participated, this section now turns to reviewing the practices together, as a group, to show their connectedness in and through the multiple actor-networks that enacted them.

Analysed using the core actor-network theory (ANT) concept of translation, the practices were shown to be enacted via processes of network formation, maintenance and collapse. From this analysis, two types of networks emerged: single agency networks and interagency networks.

Table 9.1 presents an empirical mapping of the key actors in the practices and their participation in the actor-networks involved in interagency DFV work in Westville. Importantly, it shows that the same actors participated in both types of network, illustrating both the entanglement of the networks and the mutual constitution of actors and networks.

Table 9.1: Key actors and their networks in interagency domestic and family violence practices in Westville

Chapter	Practice	Key actors	Single Agency Networks	Interagency Networks
5	Interagency Referral	Yellow card Police intake form Risk factor checklist Database FVS manager Police DV team leader	Police network, FVS network, Women’s SAH network, FVS network, YHS network	Interagency Referral network

Chapter	Practice	Key actors	Single Agency Networks	Interagency Networks
		Women's SAH support workers		
6	Court Support	AVOs Court list/Clipboard Case files Service pamphlets Toys Tea/coffee/biscuits WDVCAS coordinator Support workers Police DVLOs Police prosecutors Legal Aid solicitors Family Law solicitor Magistrate/The Bench Court room Safe Room	CJS network (incorporating local court network, legal services network, police network), WDVCAS network, Health service network	Court Support network
7	Integrated Case Coordination	HRO list Case plan Case notes Spreadsheet Databases FVS manager Police DV team leader DCS manager CS manager Parole officers Child protection case workers Women's SAH support worker	Police network, DCS network, CS network, FVS network, Women's SAH network	Integrated Case Coordination network
8	Monitoring & Review	Yellow cards Statistics sheets Interagency protocol MPA FVS manager Police DV team leader Police crime manager YHS manager Women's SAH team leader FVS manager	Police network, FVS network, Women's SAH network, FVS network, YHS network	Monitoring & Review network

What is evident is that most of the single agency networks participated in each of the four practices. What also emerged strongly was that each interagency DFV practice generated its *own* interagency network, which then sustained the

practice. Importantly, however, without the single agency networks there could have been no interagency networks, as all new networks grow from others (Latour 2005), either nesting within them (as in the police, corrective services and court networks within the criminal justice system [CJS]) or existing within them and extending beyond (as in the WDVCAS network and the CJS network). Significantly, the interagency networks reached beyond the existing networks, connecting them in new, often challenging, ways.

A key actor to emerge as a facilitator of interagency network formation was a coordinating service that specialised in DFV work. In three of the four interagency practices examined in this study (Interagency Referral, Integrated Case Coordination and Monitoring and Review), the FVS played this coordinating role. In the fourth practice, Court Support, this role was played by the WDVCAS. It is significant to note that both were specialist domestic violence (DV) services (although one was part of a government agency and the other a non-government organisation (NGO)). The need for dedicated specialist services such as these, to give a voice to victim/survivors, is a recurrent theme in the literature on interagency collaboration in DFV work (see Hague & Mullender 2006; Mullender & Hague 2005; Mulroney 2003; Murphy & Fanslow 2012).

In the practice of Court Support, the Safe Room was seen to function as an interstitial interagency space, suspended between the court and the world beyond. It was argued that practitioners operating within this space were more closely engaged in working together than those in other areas of the court precinct. This prompts speculation that allocation of a designated space for interagency work may facilitate the emergence and maintenance of interagency networks, at least as much as the co-location of services which has been recognised in the literature as enabling integrated working (Crawford & Cunningham 2015; Ling et al. 2012; Sloper 2004). However, the interdependence of the Safe Room and the women's domestic violence court advocacy service (WDVCAS) needs to be considered here. If the latter were to collapse, the Safe Room too would falter, its ability to act dependent on the network of which it

was a part, as actors cannot act without networks and networks cannot exist without actors. Put another way, 'an actor is nothing but a network' and 'a network is nothing but actors' (Latour 2011, p. 800). As Mol (2010) cautions, if the network in which actors are embedded threatens to collapse, 'the actors may falter too...no longer able to do all that much themselves. They stop "working"' (Mol 2010, p. 258).

Underscoring the challenges of visual representation for ANT theorists, Latour (2011) remarked on ANT's 'impoverished visual vocabulary' (Latour 2011, p. 800), noting that while the concept of the network is useful to emphasise the (re)distribution of action, networks are 'extremely poor metaphors, since they remain entirely made of nodes and edges to which are added some conveniently drawn potato-like circles' (Latour 2011, p. 800). Nevertheless, when synthesising and looking across the four interagency practices, forms of visual representation were developed during this study, both for illustrative purposes and to notice and probe the aggregate data in new ways. Figure 9.1 was crucial in the interpretive work relating to the relative stability of single agency versus interagency networks. Notwithstanding Latour's (2011) caveats, Figure 9.1 also offers a useful visualisation of the multiple intersecting and entangled networks that participated in the enactment of interagency DFV work in Westville.

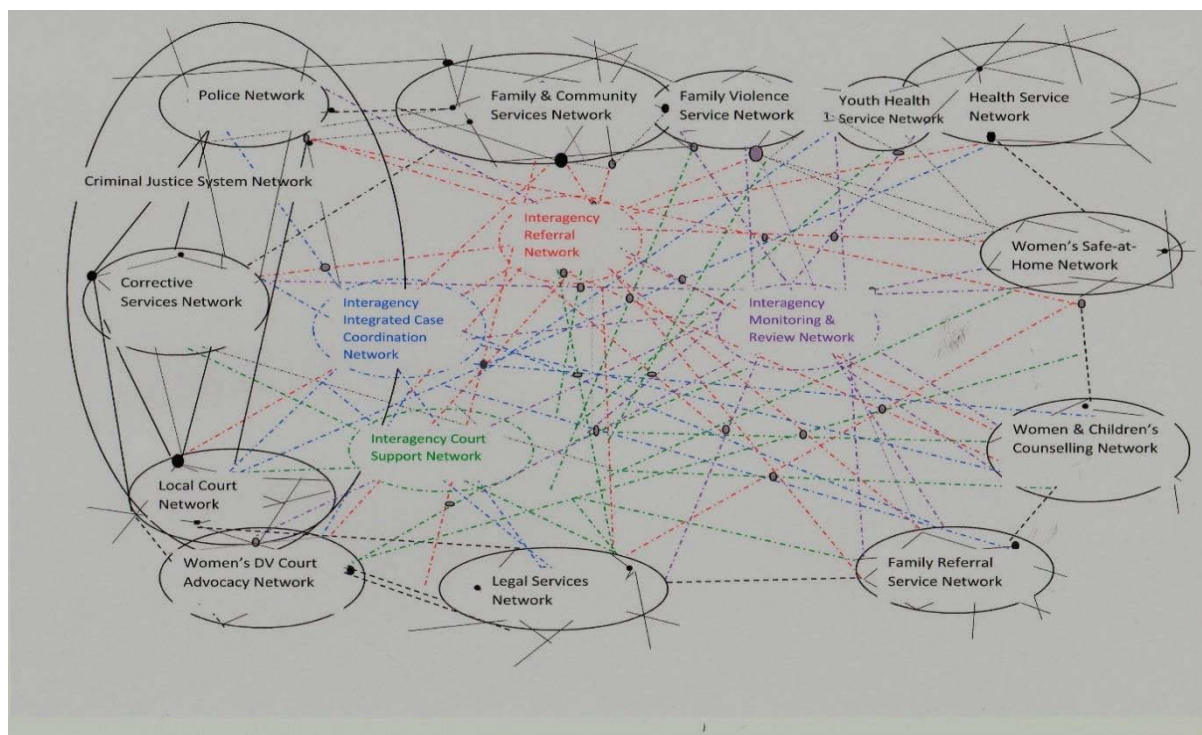


Figure 9.1: Multiple actor-networks in interagency domestic and family violence work

While all networks are inherently open to instability, the analysis suggests that the networks of the single agencies were significantly more stable than the interagency networks that emerged in and through the enactment of the interagency DfV practices. The networks nested within the CJS, and those of the statutory authorities particularly, have been shown to be especially durable because of the many successful translations that have occurred over time in the processes of their formation. This resonates with Harvie & Manzi's (2011) argument that the criminal justice discourse has become one of the dominant discourses in interagency DfV work, leading to the centrality of the statutory sector and the marginalisation of non-government women's organisations (Hague & Malos 1998). The precariousness of the interagency networks that emerged in the doing of interagency DfV work in Westville is highlighted in analysis of the occasions when the emerging interagency networks faltered. For example, in the practice of Court Support (Chapter Six), the magistrate's decision to create a second 'call-over court' to deal more efficiently with adjournments, without consultation or negotiation with the WDVCAS, produced an effect that

stretched the interagency network to its limits. This demonstrated that, while the interagency network needed the CJS network for its continued existence, the reverse did not hold true: the CJS network did *not* need the interagency network to maintain its stability.

9.3 Two modes of working together

This section progresses the discussion by explaining how the twin concepts of multiple practices and *practice multiple* were developed and how they relate to the two types of actor-networks.

As is apparent from the preceding discussion, and the commentary that has been woven throughout this thesis, the enactment of interagency DFV work in Westville involved oscillation between practitioners working together, while remaining to some extent apart/separate from each other, and working together, in a more engaged/integrated way. This movement between two modes of working together was evident across all four practices. The first mode involved multiple service providers working together, in the same material space, but operating with their own multiple foci for action. I call this multiple practices (plural), because it emerged from and maintained the multiple single agency networks. The second mode also involved multiple service providers, but in this mode, they were working with a singular focus for action, the victim/survivors' interests. This mode entailed a tighter working-togetherness, which I call *practice multiple*, because, while it involved multiple services, it emerged from and maintained a singular interagency network.

The differences between multiple practices and *practice multiple* are clarified in the following sections, based on the evidence that emerged from the analysis of each of the practices, as discussed in Section 9.2.

9.3.1 Multiple practices

In multiple practices mode, practitioners worked together but as if in parallel with each other, not always connecting in practice. Interagency processes unfolded strictly as per the participating agencies' own priorities, and agency

territory was staunchly defended in this mode of working together. Enacting interagency work as multiple practices meant that practitioners were generally acting from 'spaces of prescription' (Fenwick 2010, p. 126), with a rigid task focus, adhering strictly to their home agency mandates and staying firmly within the boundaries of their professional roles.

When multiple practices dominated, victim/survivors tended to be categorised based on eligibility criteria and interagency success was viewed largely in terms of how well the system managed the increasing volume of 'cases' and how quickly and efficiently these could be moved through the system. Productive orderliness was emphasised as the participating agencies fulfilled their mandatory responsibilities, as prescribed by their own agency networks, thereby demonstrating their accountability to each other. In this process, there was a tendency for management of offenders' criminal behaviour and compliance with child protection policy and legislation to take precedence over attention to the needs and safety of the adult victim/survivor (usually the mother). This tendency, noted frequently in the literature about mandatory reporting of children living in DV situations (see Humphreys 2008) highlights another quality of multiple practices mode: the concentration/accumulation of power at a small number of network nodes. In Westville, these nodes were frequently where the networks of the statutory authorities of the police, corrective services and child protection intersected within the CJS.

When multiple practices dominated, there was a tendency for the different service providers to come together with some defensiveness when problem-solving. This was evident when the problems associated with the yellow card referral system were identified. The yellow card was responsible for a substantial increase in numbers of referrals from police to support services and so in the light of this 'success' (for the police network), there was some reluctance, to acknowledge that there was a problem with the system that was producing such 'good results'. As simmering interagency tensions surfaced, occasionally threatening to boil over, there was also a tendency to apportion blame. Operating

within a culture of blame and defensiveness is recognised as a significant challenge to productive interagency work (see Atkinson 2007; Vangen & Huxham 2003) and 'playing the blame game' was a hallmark of multiple practices, when problems were identified.

9.3.2 Practice multiple

Practice multiple became the mode of working when practitioners connected in a way that held them in alignment with a shared priority, as actors in an interagency network. When this happened, decision-making was usually coordinated by a specialist DFV service (in Westville, either the FVS or the WDVCAS) and the practice focus widened to take in the broader circumstances surrounding the 'case'. Practitioners tended to identify 'workarounds' in their practice together, acting from 'spaces of negotiation' (Fenwick 2010, p. 126), so that the interagency business became directed towards how best to meet victim/survivor needs. Practitioners' role boundaries were stretched and rearranged in the collective effort to improve outcomes for victim/survivors, not only in relation to their Apprehended Violence Order (AVO) applications, but also in their lives beyond the court room. In this mode, practitioners briefly assumed a hybrid identity of interprofessional/interagency practitioners (Sims 2011; Sterrett 2015), transforming their usual professional identities to incorporate additional dimensions.

Enacted as *practice multiple*, interagency work challenged the supremacy of the CJS from time to time, the power of the statutory authorities being destabilised occasionally, in the pursuit of victim/survivor advocacy. Reorienting discussion back to the victim/survivor, to focus on her risks and needs enabled the practitioners to hold in view the impacts of the offender's behaviour and reduce the possibility of re-traumatising the victim/survivor. Importantly, it also made it possible for them to uphold the imperative to ensure children's welfare, while at the same time supporting the adult victim/survivor/mother, performing what Fleck-Henderson (2000) refers to as 'seeing double'. In this way, accountability to

victim/survivors was foregrounded as a matter of importance in interagency work.

Interagency tensions were confronted, and held open, rather than shut down or avoided, in *practice multiple* mode, enabling the group to move towards shared responsibility and joint problem-solving (Murphy & Fanslow 2012). The success of their work together was judged in terms of evidence of improved outcomes for victim/survivors, rather than merely the discharging their own responsibilities. Understanding the problem with the yellow card system from the vantage point of the victim/survivor, for example, enabled the practitioners to prioritise their collective interagency business of victim/survivor support over their own agency's core business.

Table 9.2 outlines the key distinctions between multiple practices and *practice multiple*, highlighting the core qualities that emerged in and through practice. However, a word of caution is appropriate at this point. The table is open to misinterpretation, perhaps suggesting that multiple practices and *practice multiple* are at opposite ends of a continuum of practice, implying a binary conceptualisation. It is not my intention to convey this idea. Rather, my intention is to suggest 'two-sidedness' in the enactment of interagency DFV work in practice, a fluid movement between the two modes of working together. This movement reflects the tension noted by Keast (2011) of government agencies' need for consistency and frontline practitioners' need for flexibility in the performance of interagency work. This idea of 'two-sidedness' is developed further later in this chapter.

Table 9.2 is an outcome of a diffractive analysis, the aim being to show how relatively subtle shifts in orientation and emphasis can and do effect major shifts in practice in terms of effects, especially for victim/survivors, which are discussed in Section 9.4.

Table 9.2: Core qualities of multiple practices and *practice multiple* modes

Multiple practices	<i>Practice multiple</i>	Evident in
Agencies worked together, but each according to their own priorities and mandates (working together, <i>separately</i>)	Agencies worked together, coordinated by a specialist DFV service, with a common victim/survivor-focused priority (working together, <i>together</i>)	Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
Practitioners acted from 'spaces of prescription' (Fenwick 2010, p126), strictly adhering to home agency policy and individual agency core business was prioritised	Practitioners acted from 'spaces of negotiation' (Fenwick 2010, p126), flexibly and in response to victim/survivor needs, and interagency collective business was prioritised	Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
Territory and professional roles were clearly demarcated and defended	Professional role boundaries were reconfigured as needed	Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
Emphasis was on system efficiency and categorising victim/survivors to manage high volume of cases	Emphasis was on victim/survivor safety and holistic risk assessment	Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
Success was measured in terms of numbers of cases 'moved through the system'	Success was evaluated in terms of improved outcomes for victim/survivors	Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7
Power accumulated in a few service providers' networks	Individual agency supremacy was challenged and power was re-distributed	Chapters 6 & 7
Action was task-focused and accountability to each other emphasised	Action was victim/survivor-focused and accountability to the victim/survivor emphasised	Chapters 5 & 7
Managing offender behaviour was prioritised, sometimes at expense of victim/survivor safety	Impacts of the offender's violence was kept in view and he was held accountable for his actions in the service of prioritising victim/survivor safety	Chapter 7
Child protection concerns and parenting issues were addressed in isolation from the mother's needs and past abuse history	Child protection and parenting concerns were addressed from a trauma-informed position and in conjunction with addressing the mother's needs	Chapter 7
Interagency tensions were 'battled out', often resulting in blame being apportioned to 'resolve' them	Interagency tensions were confronted and held open as problems were solved jointly	Chapter 8

As can be seen from the table above, five of the ten key qualities of multiple practices and *practice multiple* were evident across all four practices, while the remaining five qualities were particularly evident in only one or two of the practices examined. This is to be expected given that the phenomenon of

interagency DFV work is itself unstable, its enactment being shaped by the specific practice which is its context. However, consistent across all four practices was the core quality of enactment from ‘spaces of prescription’ (Fenwick 2010, p. 126) in multiple practices mode, and enactment from ‘spaces of negotiation’ (Fenwick 2010, p. 126) in *practice multiple* mode.

9.4 Effects in relation to victim/survivors

As noted, these two modes of working together, multiple practices and *practice multiple*, generated a range of different effects, resulting from the various translations (Callon 1986, 1991; Latour 1987, 1988) and intra-actions that occurred (Barad 2007, 2008). A core concern in this study was the different effects of practice in relation to victim/survivors.

Table 9.3 presents the relatively predictable effects of multiple practices and *practice multiple*, as they were enacted in interagency DFV work in Westville. The same caveats apply to the interpretation of this table as for Table 9.2.

Table 9.3: Effects of multiple practices and *practice multiple* in relation to victim/survivors

Multiple practices	<i>Practice multiple</i>	Particularly evident in
Victims became peripheral in interagency DFV work (sometimes disappearing), with practice becoming an end in itself	Victims were central in interagency DFV work, with practice being the means to the end, the end being better outcomes for victim/survivors	Chapters 5, 6, 7, 8
Victims were assembled and treated as unidimensional ‘cases’	Victims emerged as multidimensional and responses were holistic and comprehensive	Chapters 5, 6, 7
Managing risks to service providers was at least as important as managing risks to victim/survivor	Managing risks to victim/survivor safety was paramount	Chapters 5, 6, 8
Past trauma was not considered, increasing the possibility of secondary victimisation by the system	Past experiences of abuse and the current effects of these on victim/survivors were considered, to minimise secondary victimisation	Chapters 6 & 7
If the adult victim/survivor was a mother, she was either explicitly or implicitly punished/blamed for ‘failing to protect’ her children	If the adult victim/survivor was a mother, she was supported in her parenting, and the risks to her and her children were assessed concurrently	Chapters 6 & 7

As can be seen, not all the effects of multiple practices and *practice multiple* were evident across all four interagency practices examined. However, a core quality of *practice multiple* was a focus on victim/survivor wellbeing, as this was seen across all the practices enacted in this mode. This is not to say that this may *never* be a focus in multiple practices. However, in this study, the findings suggest that when victim/survivors became peripheral to interagency practice, or were treated as unidimensional ‘cases’ to be processed through a system, this happened in the multiple practices mode of working together.

Likewise, the importance of mitigating possible risks to service providers was more apparent in multiple practices, whereas assessing and managing risks to the victim/survivor assumed more importance in *practice multiple* mode. Similarly, when practice was enacted in multiple practices mode the possibility of revictimisation was heightened, because the victim/survivor’s past trauma was not adequately considered. In multiple practices mode, a focus on the safety of the primary victims (invariably the mothers) tended to be sidelined, and abused mothers were frequently blamed, either explicitly or implicitly, for ‘failing to protect’ their children, while the perpetrator of the abuse was often ignored as the primary source of risk (see Humphreys & Absler 2011; Radford & Hester 2001, 2006; Stanley et al. 2011; Thiara & Humphreys 2015).

Importantly, enacting interagency practice in *practice multiple* mode enabled the practitioners to keep visible the impacts of the offenders’ behaviour on the victims, and hold the perpetrators of the violence to account, to better support and serve the interests of both the adult and child victims simultaneously (Stanley & Humphreys 2014), while reducing the likelihood of secondary victimisation by the system (Parsons & Bergin 2010).

In summary, in the absence of interagency networks, there is no *practice multiple*, and without *practice multiple*, there is a risk of interagency DFV work losing its focus on the victim/survivor. By extension, if this focus is missing, then service provision is not fully integrated, as the victim/survivor is integral to the enactment of DFV practice. While interagency responses can be (and are) enacted

without *practice multiple*, to call this work ‘integrated’ is a misnomer. Based on the evidence presented, this thesis contends that collaborative interagency responses to DFV are only properly ‘integrated’ when the interests of victim/survivors are foregrounded (Kelly & Lovett 2005), as happens in the performance of *practice multiple*.

9.5 The textured Möbius of integrated interagency DFV practice

This section makes the final move in the novel theorisation of interagency DFV work proposed in this thesis. As discussed, both multiple practices and practice multiple co-existed in interagency DFV work in this study, producing service provision that emerged from ‘a texture of connections’ (Gherardi & Perrotta 2014, p. 147). However, this texture varied depending on which networks were enacting a practice at any given time. The texture produced by multiple practices was often smooth, unfolding as per prescribed procedures, but in terms of interagency work, it was loosely woven, often with large holes, through which victim/survivors could slip. This was because multiple practices were not necessarily enacted in connection, but often in parallel with each other, failing to intersect appropriately/sufficiently.

On the other hand, the texture produced by *practice multiple* was more tightly woven, often knotty and lumpy. This texture was created by service providers working together in a way that their practice intersected, often surfacing tensions and differences. The resulting texture, while knotty in places, was taut enough to pull the threads of multiple practices together (even if only temporarily) into a web of safety for victim/survivors. It was precisely the entwined nature of multiple practices and *practice multiple* that gave the interagency DFV work in this study this complex texture.

Rather than the image of a package of discrete services quilted together that the term ‘wraparound’ service provision often conjures (see, for example, Birenbaum 2014), the topology of fully integrated interagency DFV service provision may be better visualised as a Möbius band. Taking up Latour’s (2005) point that

networks are poor metaphors for visual depiction, the single-double-sided, three-dimensional, non-orientable Möbius band may offer a richer metaphor, one that combines and rounds out the 'nodes...edges...and potato-like circles' (Latour 2005, p. 800) that typify diagrams of networks. To elaborate on this analogy, I suggest that integrated interagency DFV service provision has a texture that has two-sides-in-one, because *practice multiple* and multiple practices co-exist, not as alternatives or opposites of each other, but as entangled modes of working together. It is three-dimensional because what results is greater depth in the delivery of more fully developed holistic service provision. It is non-orientable because movement or action in any direction, starting from any place, will eventually end up at the starting point, in this case, the victim/survivor.

Invoked as a metaphor for the paradoxical, this apparently two-sided-but-actually-one-sided continuous band with a half-twist has come to symbolise phenomena that might appear contradictory, but are not. In an ongoing co-creative exchange of 'inside' and 'outside', the Möbius intrigues and illuminates. A minor twist in the fabric of interagency DFV working opens new possibilities, illusions of separateness recede and integrated interagency DFV working may be perceived as a single phenomenon, made up of multiple entangled threads of practices woven together. Figure 9.2 shows the textured Möbius of integrated interagency DFV practice (permission to use this image has been granted by the knitter, Linda Oliver).



Figure 9.2: The textured Möbius of integrated interagency domestic and family violence practice

9.6 Concluding thoughts

This chapter has synthesised and theorised the study findings referring to the evidence generated in relation to four key interagency DFV practices. The discussion presented in this chapter, and the commentary woven throughout this thesis, provide a rich description of how interagency DFV work was enacted in Westville and the effects of these enactments in relation to victim/survivors. Importantly, the discussion illuminates how the concepts, methodology and analytic approach adopted in the study created the framework for responding to the research questions.

Referring to the wider focus of this research, the study builds on previous research regarding key aspects of interagency DFV work. However, it also substantially extends existing understandings, empirically, conceptually and methodologically, as will be discussed in the next and final chapter. Chapter Ten builds on the synthesis and theorisation of the empirical findings presented here to explicitly and directly answer the research questions posed in Section 1.2. The originality and the significance of the contributions to scholarship made by this study are articulated, implications are discussed and suggestions for future research are canvassed.

Chapter Ten: Illuminating What Matters

10.1 Introduction

The aim in this study was to investigate the complexity of interagency collaboration in working to address the wicked problem of domestic and family violence (DFV). Motivated by a need to understand how this work is enacted in practice and what happens, specifically in relation to victim/survivors, this empirical study of the diverse networks involved in interagency domestic and family practices in a local site – Westville, New South Wales, Australia – used a novel methodological and conceptual approach. Combining actor-network theory (ANT) (Callon 1986; Latour 1996; Law 1992) and new material feminism (Alaimo & Hekman 2008; Coole & Frost 2010), this thesis has developed an expanded understanding of practice in this context. It also proposes a new way of conceptualising interagency practice, as two entwined modes of working together, multiple practices and *practice multiple*.

The study makes a substantial and unique contribution to scholarship in three key ways:

- Empirically, it contributes principally to the field of DFV research. Specifically, the study adds to the research on integrated interagency work in practice, drawing on rich descriptions of the entangled day-to-day workings of multiple actors. The picture of practice that emerged prompts a rethinking of interagency differences and responds to an identified gap in the interagency DFV literature in relation to empirical studies of practice.
- Conceptually, it contributes a unique theorisation of interagency work as textured service provision that enfolds two modes of working together, multiple practices and *practice multiple*, that emerge from, and are sustained by, different networks. This provides clarity, yet captures the inherent complexity and multiplicity of the work and addresses a

shortcoming in previous research that has tended to conceptualise interagency DFV work in a binary or continuum-based fashion.

- Methodologically, it contributes a new approach to DFV research, a sociomaterial feminist approach combining ANT and new material feminist thinking. The diffractive analysis enabled tracing the effects of interagency collaboration particularly in relation to victim/survivors. This addresses a focus that is often missing in studies of the effectiveness of interagency collaboration in DFV work.

This chapter provides answers to the research questions posed in Section 1.2, highlighting the key contributions to knowledge made by this study, in terms of both originality and significance. The key findings from Chapters Five to Eight, synthesised in Chapter Nine, inform consideration of the implications of the study. These are discussed first in relation to interagency DFV practice and policy, and then for collaborative professional practice and learning more generally. This is followed by suggestions for future research and critical reflection on the study and the decisions taken in conducting the research.

10.2 The research questions revisited

The specific research questions that this study aimed to answer are now revisited, in terms of how the study was set up to respond to the questions and the answers that emerged.

- How is interagency DFV work *enacted in practice*?
- What are the *effects* of these enactments in relation to *victim/survivors*?

10.2.1 How is interagency DFV work enacted in practice?

The first and overarching research question was addressed through detailed examination of four interagency DFV practices, using a diffractive analysis approach that entailed ‘plugging one text into another’ (Jackson & Mazzei 2013), and thinking through the data with theory. This produced a very deep and rich description of how interagency DFV work was enacted in practice in Westville,

providing the basis for the new conceptualisation that was developed in this thesis.

From this analysis and theorisation, interagency DFV work is shown to be enacted in practice by multiple intersecting single agency and interagency actor-networks. Two modes of working together emerge from, and are sustained by, these networks: multiple practices and *practice multiple*. Multiple practices are enacted by single agency networks, while practice multiple is enacted by interagency networks. The first mode is characterised as working together, but *apart/separately*, while the second mode involves a more integrated way of working together, *together*. Interagency DFV work entails constant movement between these two modes, which co-exist in entanglement, distinct from each other, yet enacted in practice as inseparable.

Further to this, reimagining the lumpy fabric of 'wraparound' (Burchard, Bruns & Burchard 2002) interagency service provision as a double-yet-single-sided, three dimensional, non-orientable Möbius strip offers a unique and useful understanding of interagency DFV work as a complex 'texture of practices' (Gherardi 2012b, p. 15). Visualised stereoscopically like this, multiple practices and *practice multiple* are enacted concurrently, with all the actors, including the victim/survivor, entangled together (see Section 9.6). Services do not 'wrap around' victims; rather, victims are *part of* the fabric itself, embedded in its very warp and weft, sometimes occupying a focal node (as in *practice multiple*), but too often as peripheral actors (as in multiple practices), in a loosely coordinated arrangement.

10.2.2 What are the effects of these enactments in relation to victim/survivors? Using an ANT-derived methodology to 'follow the actors' (Latour 2005, pp. 12, 68) and infusing this with new material feminist concepts (in particular those of Barad), allowed a focus on the intra-actions (Barad 2003, 2007) that generated effects specifically in relation to victim/survivors.

A focus on enactment enabled a different analysis of actions and their effects, and showed that, while closely entwined, they are not locked in a predetermined cause-and-effect embrace. This is to say that the slightest alteration in action at one node in an actor-network can and does impact on the outcome produced. This shifts practice towards a model that allows for practice change in multiple directions simultaneously, generating potentially profound effects from apparently minor actions.

Importantly, this tracing revealed that the network effects of interagency DFV work vary for victim/survivors, depending on the mode of working together. Practice enacted in *practice multiple* mode has a clear victim-focus, foregrounding the safety and long-term wellbeing of victim/survivors. On the other hand, when interagency work is enacted in multiple practices mode, other interests tend to take precedence, frequently marginalising victim/survivors in the very networks that are intended to support them. Importantly, *practice multiple* integrates the victim/survivor fully into the textured fabric of interagency practice.

10.3 Contributions to knowledge

This section expands on the succinct answers to the research questions provided in 10.2, showing how they, and related methodological features of the study, form the basis of the empirical, conceptual and methodological contributions to knowledge.

10.3.1 Empirical contribution

This praxiographic study (Mol 2002) of interagency DFV working in the local site of Westville presents an expanded view of the complexity of interagency DFV work in practice. As an ethnographic study of practice, extensive data were collected during 21 field visits, over six months, through structured workplace and participant observations (including attendance at seventeen meetings) and semi-structured interviews (eighteen individual and two group). This generated 186 pages of field-notes and 135 pages of transcription. Drawing on this substantial dataset, the study contributes a very detailed and deep description of

the intricate and entangled networks of the multiple agencies that participated in enacting interagency DFV work, bringing to life its complexity and multidimensionality.

The study focuses explicit and close attention on the minutiae of *practice*, *how it is enacted* and the *effects* that result. This focus responds to a limitation in much of the existing research in the DFV field, which has primarily attended to identifying key success factors and barriers to effective interagency collaboration (see Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013; Murphy & Fanslow 2012). The empirical descriptions of the regular practices of interagency DFV work in Westville challenge many of the long held assumptions about collaboration in interagency DFV work that imply that interagency differences are the source of the problems encountered in working together (Banks, Dutch & Wang 2008; Zanettino & McLaren 2012). These assumptions have led to the widespread notion that these differences are obstacles to be overcome for diverse practitioners to work effectively together (Laing, Irwin & Toivonen 2012).

Rather, this study argues that what is needed in the DFV field in relation to interagency practice is not so much a new way of working together, but a new way of *thinking* about and *understanding* the challenges of working together, a way that takes interagency differences as a given and foregrounds how the interests of victim/survivors emerge as effects in tension or alignment with other interests. In so doing, it enables 'the different parts of the system to talk to each other and work together' (Batty 2014) in a way that heightens accountability to victim/survivors like Luke and Rosie Batty, but not at the expense of agencies' accountabilities to each other.

This rethinking also provides new insights into the power disparities among agencies, which has been a focus of much previous research (see Laing, Humphreys & Cavenagh 2013; Shlonsky, Friend & Lambert 2007; Tapley 2010). Involving a shift away from a framework in which there is a unidirectional account of agency, a more ecological approach suggests itself, in which power is understood in terms of 'reciprocal agentive effects' (Frost 2011, p. 71). Seen in this

way, interagency differences appear in a light that is 'not opposed to sameness, nor synonymous with separateness' (Trinh, cited in Barad 2014, p. 170).

What this means for interagency work is that all participating agencies may share a common goal without giving up their own identities/roles. This way of understanding interagency differences places value on the work of all partners and is a refreshing counterpoint to deficit-laden accounts of what is 'missing' in interagency work, such as a 'lack of institutional empathy' (Banks, Dutch & Wang 2008, p. 887). Importantly, differences among agencies are neither smoothed over nor seen as barriers to be overcome, but are part of the textured fabric of interagency work. Consequently, a lowest common denominator approach to working together is avoided and the specialist expertise that each professional group brings to the interagency negotiating table is undiluted.

Moreover, thinking of interagency differences as part of the texture of interagency work, rather than as impediments, suggests that the complexity of interagency work can be managed responsively, rather than reductively, as previous approaches have tended to do (Hood 2014). A different view of power relations opens a move to a progressive dismantling of the unhelpful binaries that are often communicated in interagency procedural manuals and good practice guides (for example, legal and non-legal needs). Instead, as Frost (2011) suggests, there would be a move towards practice that is informed by 'political humility' (Frost 2011, p. 79), recognising that complexity can only ever be artificially reduced, and not mastered.

10.3.2 Conceptual contribution

This study contributes a unique theorisation of interagency work as a textured fabric of entanglements. Borrowing Mol's (2002) conceptualisation of the multiple phenomenon and extending it in a new direction, interagency work is seen to be enacted by multiple diverse networks of things, ideas and people, from which two distinctive, yet entangled, modes of working together emerge. These are conceptualised as *practice multiple* and multiple practices (see Section 4.4). This way of thinking about interagency working is a departure from established

conceptualisations of interagency collaboration (see Section 2.2) in terms of a continuum (see Fine, Pancharatnam & Thomson 2000, 2005; Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013; Keast, Brown & Mandell 2007) or typology (see Gray 2002; Murray & Powell 2011).

In this novel analysis of the interagency DFV practices in Westville, multiple practices emerge from multiple single agency actor-networks and are performed with multiple different foci for action. *Practice multiple* emerges from interagency actor-networks that arise from practice that is performed with a singular, but multi-dimensional, victim-focus for action. The effects of interagency DFV work on victim/survivors vary depending on the mode of practice that is being enacted. When *practice multiple* is performed, the effects tend to be more positive for victim/survivors because their interests are fully integrated into practice, and so the service provision may be said to be genuinely 'integrated' (see Section 9.5). However, when multiple practices are dominant, the interests of service providers may take precedence, sometimes contributing to negative effects for victim/survivors. In this case, services may still be coordinated, but the practices connect in a different way, with different outcomes.

This is not to say that to be effective interagency work should *only* be enacted via *practice multiple*. This is not possible, and to suggest it would be naïve, because *practice multiple* can only emerge *in relation to* multiple practices (see Section 9.4). Indeed, the interagency networks, through which *practice multiple* is enacted, emerge from existing individual agency networks, through the enactment of interagency practice. Therefore, the conceptual and enacted potency of *practice multiple* relies on the continued performance of multiple practices, in and through the single service provider networks (as illustrated in Figure 9.1). This is noteworthy because it highlights that, while *practice multiple* needs multiple practices, the reverse does not necessarily hold. Multiple practices do not need *practice multiple* and so there is always the possibility of *practice multiple* disappearing, its enactment contingent on the formation and maintenance of interagency actor-networks which, as this study suggests, are less stable and

durable than single agency networks. Thus, the fragility of interagency networks (and therefore of *practice multiple*) is highlighted and the importance of facilitating their maintenance for integrated service provision is shown to be vital.

This original conceptualisation of interagency work makes a significant contribution to knowledge because it provides a crucial distinction between modes of interagency working that in turn connects with effects for victim/survivors, accounting for its intrinsic complexity, while also offering clarity. This is a significant step forward in understanding this challenging work for two reasons. First, it enables the partner agencies in integrated responses to trace more clearly how their work together has consequences (effects) in relation to victim/survivors. Second, it equips practitioners to grapple with the intricacy of their work in a way that lightens the burden on them of being responsible for making interagency work 'work', distributing this responsibility more broadly among a range of entangled actor-networks, including those acting at a distance from the frontline.

Further to this, the different ways of working together are reconceptualised in a non-hierarchical relationship, helping to clarify the contested terminology that has been a stumbling block in past approaches (see Section 1.2). In this account, coordination is understood as the way that the various elements of interagency responses to DFV are made to 'hang together' (Mol 2002, p. 55), to 'overlap in productive ways' (Law 2004b, p. 55). Collaboration then becomes a way of coordinating services that enables a shift towards integration, but this can only happen when *practice multiple* is enacted, fully integrating the victim/survivor into practice.

10.3.3 Methodological contribution

Methodologically, the study contributes a new sociomaterial feminist approach to DFV research. Taking an ANT approach to 'follow the actors themselves' (Latour 2005, p. 12) and combining this with new material feminist thinking (see Alaimo & Hekman 2008) enabled the complexity of the work to be investigated

in an innovative way. The resultant sociomaterial feminist line of enquiry facilitated the tracing of the *effects* of collaboration in relation to victim/survivors, shining a light on how it happens that not all interagency work does benefit victim/survivors and there are often unintended consequences (Jaffe, Crooks & Wolfe 2003; Murray & Powell 2011).

The diffractive analysis approach, which enacted a process of ‘cutting together-apart’ (Barad 2014, p. 168), enabled the study to differentiate between modes of working together, without separating them, showing that ‘entanglings entail differentiatings, differentiatings entail entanglings’ (Barad 2014, p. 176). Recognising that ‘differentiating is a material act that is not about radical separation, but on the contrary, about making connections and commitments’ (Barad 2014, p. 184) is a major contribution because it does not erase the differences among agencies, but rather illuminates them, showing them to be integral to interagency working.

The integration of a feminist politic into the data analysis, based on new material feminist thinking about engagements with matter (Barad 2007, 2008; Haraway 2004), contributes a new form of feminist scholarship to the study of DFV work. Foregrounding gender as a substantial matter of concern in DFV research is particularly consequential when service providers are operating in sociopolitical contexts in which DFV is being de-gendered and feminist analyses of violence against women are at risk of being sidelined (see Hague 2005; Hague & Bridge 2008; Murray & Powell 2009; Summers 2016).

10.4 Implications

The empirical findings, methodological approach and new conceptualisations to emerge from this study have profound implications for understanding interagency DFV practice and policy, as well as suggesting implications for other areas of collaborative practice in the sphere of complex health and social issues. This new understanding in turn has implications for how collaborative professional practice and learning are understood and addressed.

10.4.1 Implications for DFV practice

What might such a sociomaterial approach to complexity look like in the context of interagency DFV work? First, practice would proceed from an understanding that nothing exists in stable isolation and connections are always in a state of flux and have material effects, even if these are not immediately visible. The implication of this is that, in the development of integrated approaches to DFV, the effects of introducing new elements, or of making changes to components of systems and frameworks, would be considered in terms of both outcomes and process. A change enacted here effects a change over there and it is vital to understand how this occurs. For example, as was noted by one of the participants in the study, changes to the referral intake form had resulted in their service receiving more referrals for men than in the past (see Section 5.3). This was because the form was revised based on a very broad, gender-neutral definition of DFV, which in turn required adaptations to interventions for clients of the service. Because DFV is a gendered phenomenon (see Section 1.1), this shift has problematic implications for both victim/survivors and service providers.

Second, non-human participants would be taken seriously, not as mere tools, passive things in the background, but as active players in the enactment of practice (Zukas & Kilminster 2012), of equal standing with practitioners and in their entanglement with ‘people factors’ (Atkinson 2007, p. 145). The implication of this is that the design of practitioner resources such as referral protocols and risk assessment forms would take account of how practitioners engage with these tools, how technology might ‘push back’, and what impacts this might have. Gillingham’s (2011) caution about decision-making tools unintentionally reducing complex practices to box-ticking activities serves as a salutary reminder in this context.

Third, it would be expected that the implementation of integrated approaches would rarely happen in practice as planned or intended. The translations that inevitably occur cannot always be predicted and so systems need to be agile and flexible enough to respond to such unanticipated consequences. This supports

the case for resourcing for ongoing monitoring of integrated responses, throwing into relief the need for constant maintenance and modification of systems and procedures to adjust to rapidly changing environments.

Several specific implications for interagency DFV practice flow from the empirical findings discussed. In relation to the evidence discussed in Chapter Five, risk assessment in interagency responses needs to inform referral decisions, and that specialist DFV practitioners need to be at liberty to exercise their professional judgement when assessing risk and not be bound by actuarial models inscribed into generic risk factor checklists (Robinson & Rowlands 2009). The study findings also suggest that there is a need for a range of victim support services, so that referrals are made based on risk and needs assessment, rather than on service capacity, as sometimes appeared to happen in this study (see Section 5.3).

Regarding the provision of legal support for DFV victim/survivors, the findings strongly point towards advocacy as a vital aspect of assistance through the often protracted and gruelling processes involved in seeking police protection and/or legal redress (Bybee & Sullivan 2002; Goodkind, Sullivan & Bybee 2004; Parsons & Bergin 2010; Stover, Meadows & Kaufman 2009; Stover et al. 2010). The importance of allocating a dedicated interagency space was evident in the study, as the Safe Room in Westville court was shown to literally make room for consideration of the full spectrum of victim/survivors' needs.

Victim advocacy was seen to be essential to keeping the victim/survivors' interests in view in interagency DFV practice (see Chapters Six and Seven). The need for victim advocates to be present at the interagency negotiating table was particularly evident in the management of case coordination. Acting as proxies for the victim/survivors themselves, advocates informed by an understanding of the role of gender in DFV must therefore be key elements of any integrated response to DFV (Robinson & Payton 2016) and preferably take a coordinating role in case management to ensure that the practice hangs together collaboratively.

DFV case coordination and management should be trauma-informed (Kezelman 2013), and there needs to be an ongoing concurrent process of addressing risks to both adult and child victim/survivors, so as not to further damage the bond between the non-offending parent (in most cases, the mother) and the child, which typically has been undermined by the perpetrator of the abuse, who is most often the father or the mother's make partner (Stanley & Humphreys 2006, 2014).

Finally, working together against DFV cannot be assumed to be a cost-neutral enterprise, because it is not time-neutral (Saunders 2005; Walby & Allen 2004). As was seen, especially in relation to governance processes in this study (see Section 8.3), frontline service providers already have crippling workloads and often unreasonable time pressures. However, monitoring of impacts is vital to improving integrated responses and interagency practices are key sites for interagency learning in this regard. These implications point to the fact that integrated responses to DFV need dedicated funding streams (Keast et al. 2008; Purcal et al. 2011; Warshaw et al. 2003).

10.4.2 Implications for DFV policy

This thesis opened with framing DFV as a wicked problem (see Section 1.1), a complex public policy issue (Ross et al. 2011) that requires a response that accommodates this complexity. Inevitably, the study therefore raises important policy implications.

Filtered through an ANT lens, policy 'changes its character...in interesting and provocative ways' (Law & Singleton 2013b, p. 4). Observing that 'policy usually assumes that there is a *single reality* (which changes over time)', Law & Singleton (2013b) note that 'differences between practices then get framed as reflecting different perspectives – or mistakes' (Law & Singleton 2013b, p. 11). ANT 'points us in the direction of a much more fluid version of policy' (Law & Singleton 2013b, p. 12), that 'might be better conceived of as a list of questions or issues, of considerations that might be relevant to the policy, or the policy concerns' (Law & Singleton 2013b, p. 17). Further to this, any 'rules' would reflect and respect

‘the fact that the world is irreducibly multiple and irreducibly distributed between different practices across time and space’ (Law & Singleton 2013b, p. 17). So how would DFV policy get reframed and enacted in a world where multiple realities are the new normal?

First, policy would need to reflect the complexity of interagency DFV work and support the development of responsive practice (Hood 2014), providing clear guidance in both the single agency and multi/interagency contexts (Humphreys et al. 2001).

Second, policy development and systemic reform processes would proceed as negotiated ‘settlements’ (Latour 2005) among the multiple agencies that have a part to play in responding to DFV. It is important that single agency policy and interagency policy intersect in productive ways and that multi-agency initiatives are genuinely multi-agency and not dominated by the concerns of a handful of stakeholders (Reeves 2013).

Third, if policy reform processes are to genuinely reflect a joined-up whole-of-government, whole-of-community approach, then consideration needs to be given to how policy is translated into program development and service delivery (Ross et al. 2011), ensuring that the priorities of non-government organisations (NGOs) working alongside/in partnership with government agencies are held by integrated governance structures (Radermacher et al. 2011).

This thesis argues that current efforts to simplify and streamline interagency DFV work, through for example, the introduction of common tools and processes intended to promote shared understandings, may only ever reduce complexity on the paper on which the policy is inscribed. Instead, it might be more useful to ask, what are the effects of this standardisation and a relentless promotion of uniformity? As policy moves in the direction of broadening the definition of domestic violence (DV) and towards mainstreaming responses (Hague 2005), policy-makers and reformers might also usefully ask, for example, what are the gendered effects of these shifts?

The new conceptualisation of interagency DFV work offered in this study helps to answer such policy questions. Adopting the distinction between *practice multiple* and multiple practices and proceeding from an understanding of interagency DFV work as enacting entangled practice, the non-negotiable bottom-line policy 'rule' would be to maintain a focus on victim impact in all interventions. The much-needed systemic reform repeatedly identified by numerous inquiries into responses to DFV (see Section 1.1) would proceed from this basis and action would become a matter of local negotiation. Failures of policy implementation would be recast as inevitable translations, and unintended effects as opportunities for learning. Approaches to evaluation of coordinated and integrated responses may also be reconsidered, tracing instead the effects of various associations, and 'joining the dots' of these effects, rather than trying to assess the effectiveness of individual components of particular models. This would help to address the need for evaluation methodologies that examine how interactional, organisational and systemic determinants of collaboration intersect (San Martin-Rodriquez et al. 2005), sometimes producing unforeseen consequences.

In the light of this study's findings, it may be inferred that the emergence of *practice multiple*, and the corresponding stability of interagency networks, is facilitated by specialist victim-focused DFV services assuming coordinating roles in integrated interagency responses (Bagshaw et al. 2000; Hague & Bridge 2008). An important implication for policy then, and by extension for funding providers, is that expecting integrated responses to deliver optimal outcomes for victim/survivors in the absence of such specialist services is unrealistic. As this study shows, specialist DFV services help to stabilise interagency networks, fostering the development of *practice multiple*, which is vital to achieving the purpose of anchoring interagency practice to both adult and child victim/survivors (Humphreys et al. 2001).

10.4.3 Implications for interagency professional practice and learning

While this study did not set out to specifically investigate interagency learning, it is relevant to briefly discuss the implications of the study findings for interagency professional development and learning.

In the last decade, there has been much innovative research on professional learning that posits practice as a significant mode and site of emergent learning and knowing (Fenwick & Nerland 2014; Nicolini 2011; Reich & Hager 2014). However, learning curricula for professional development continue to be dominated by 'decontextualized individual competencies, disembodied cognitive decision-making and de-materialised knowing and practice' (Fenwick & Nerland 2014, p. 1). Viewed through a sociomaterial lens, learning is a network effect of practice (Fenwick & Edwards 2013), inextricably entangled with it (see Section 3.2). The core of interagency collaboration is what happens at the multiple material connections, where human and non-human entities work upon one another to become part of a network of coordinated actions. However, it is this material dimension that is effectively sidelined by dominant learning theories, and precisely this which provides a powerful counter-story to conventional developmental views of learning and professional practice (Fenwick & Edwards 2010a). Professional learning and practice are phenomena that emerge not separately, but together, from a tangled mess of weblike relations. A sociomaterial perspective on (inter)professional learning significantly expands the focus on the complexity of the knowledge processes involved in working together (Fenwick 2014) and needs to be integrated into efforts to promote interagency collaboration.

The findings of this study provide further evidence of the need to reconceptualise professional learning in a way that accounts for its close connection with practice (Fenwick & Nerland 2014), making a strong case for work-integrated professional development that does not bracket off learning from practice, as is currently the norm. For the disjuncture between training and workplace practice that currently exists to be addressed (Gillingham & Humphreys 2010),

interagency professional development needs to be understood as situated workplace learning that occurs in the context of enacting entangled practices together.

This illuminates the limitations of the training paradigm of professional development (Antonacopoulou 1999, 2001) and the need to rethink (inter)professional learning in relation to interagency DFV work and collaborative practice more generally. This is not to suggest that there is no place for formal structured training programs for practitioners tasked with working together. Rather, what is suggested is that learning to work together is unlikely to happen exclusively in a classroom, or through attendance at conflict resolution or communication workshops designed to improve collaboration by encouraging professionals to understand and respect each other's perspectives (see Markoff et al. 2005).

Interagency work has the potential to forge new knowledge frontiers and make a material difference in meeting the complex challenges of wicked issues such as DFV. However, this knowledge-making can only occur as a 'collective endeavour' (Gherardi & Nicolini 2000, p. 329) if practitioners are given the time and legitimacy to work together, as part of their regular work (Johnson et al. 2003), and plentiful opportunities are provided for 'taking a pedagogic stance at work' (Edwards et al. 2009, p. 83) with colleagues from diverse agencies, as they learn with and from each other, while working together.

10.5 Further research

The framing of the research problem in this study provides the basis for several questions in search of answers, suggesting ways in which this research could be extended. Specifically, the findings point to several areas of interagency DFV practice that warrant further investigation.

For example, further exploration of how referral procedures intersect with DFV risk assessment is recommended. As risk assessment was shown not to be a routine feature of the referral process (see Section 5.3), research into how diverse

practitioners engage with shared resources, such as common risk assessment tools and frameworks, would help to deepen understanding of the effects of interagency DFV work. Practitioner-informed research is vital in this respect to ensure that the tools and processes being promoted in policy do not in fact hinder practitioners in drawing on their professional expertise (Hood 2014).

Moreover, as materiality is shown to be integral to all forms of work and professional practice becomes increasingly mediated by technology (Orlikowski 2007), a specific focus in future research on the effects of information technology developments in interagency DFV work is warranted. An ANT-based approach to such a study is likely to enhance understandings of such developments (Cresswell, Worth & Sheikh 2010).

Tracing the effects of victim support strategies, such as the yellow card system (see Chapter Eight) might help to establish the need for differential responses for victim/survivors, while contributing to calls for more sophisticated evaluation frameworks (Healey, Humphreys & Wilcox 2013). While this study did not set out to evaluate interagency DFV work in Westville, the findings do point to the value of framing evaluation studies differently. A focus on tracing effects, in terms of both process and outcomes, may lead to a different type of evidence-based practice, one that considers all the diverse actors that participate in enacting entangled practice, viewing them as interconnected (Day et al. 2010).

The study revealed the criminal justice system (CJS) to be a dominant player in the integrated interagency strategy (see Section 6.4), suggesting two possible lines of further enquiry. One is further exploration of how non-legal avenues of support for victim/survivors may be more strongly incorporated into integrated responses and how victim/survivors might be facilitated to access this support. The other is an in-depth examination of the relationships that exist between justice system actors and the other players involved in interagency work.

While there is a burgeoning body of research that focuses on the interface of DFV and child protection work, the chasm that has historically existed between

services for adult and child victim/survivors is yet to be bridged (Humphreys & Absler 2011). The tendency for child protection concerns to be addressed separately from considerations of support for their abused mothers, noted in this study (see Section 7.3), emphasises the need for ongoing research into how mother and child protection and support efforts may be better integrated (Humphreys et al. 2015; Potito et al. 2009; Thiara & Humphreys 2015). A practice-based sociomaterial approach to analysing this problem may yield fruitful results.

A related, potentially fruitful area for further research is how work with perpetrators of violence intra-acts with victim-support and child protection services. The sphere of family law is where these three areas of professional work frequently collide, often with less than optimal results, sometimes with disastrously destructive consequences (Hester 2009b; Hester 2011). An ANT-based praxiographic study that focuses specifically on tracing the actor-networks between Hester's (2011) 'three planets' of (child-focused) child protection, (adult-focused) DV and (parent-focused) child contact/family law might generate valuable insights to contribute to this body of work.

Resourcing was revealed to be a major issue in the delivery of the local integrated DFV response, requiring the service providers to all dedicate additional time to address the problem they had identified in relation to their yellow card referral system (see Section 8.3). This finding raises the question of how review processes can be sustainably built-in to integrated responses. Investigation into how different models of interagency collaboration in different local sites monitor progress and outcomes, with varying levels of resourcing, would go some way to answering this question.

As noted, this study did not set out to specifically explore professional learning in the context of interagency work. However, as it may be concluded that the practitioners were indeed learning to work together *while* they were working together (Edwards et al. 2009), the nexus between interagency learning and 'knowing-in-practice' (Gherardi 2008, 2014; Gherardi & Strati 2012) in the sphere

of DFV work is ripe for further exploratory research. While there is now a growing body of literature in relation to sociomaterial approaches to professional learning and development (Fenwick & Nerland 2014; Fenwick, Nerland & Jensen 2012), there research that addresses itself specifically to *interagency* learning and practice (as distinct from *interprofessional* learning and practice), particularly in the DFV field, is still limited. Indeed, apart from ubiquitous references to the need for ‘more training’, to date learning in and for interagency DFV work has been largely invisible on the agenda for integrated responses (Stewart 2014). More research into workplace learning in the context of interagency work generally would potentially enhance collaborative practice.

Finally, exploring the applicability of the theorisation developed in this thesis to spheres beyond the tertiary end of intervention in DFV investigated in this study may be fruitful. A vital area for research into the future is the prevention of violence against women and children. While prevention work was outside of the scope of this research, the concepts developed here could provide a much-needed new point of view on prevention. Similarly, applying the concepts to arenas of collaborative practice beyond DFV may assist in finding a way forward in addressing the increasingly numerous other wicked social problems that characterise life in the 21st century.

10.6 Critical reflection

As a framework for critically reflecting on the methodological decisions and outcomes of the study, Shenton’s (2004) concepts of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability are used in this section. These are drawn from Guba’s (1981) constructs for assessing the trustworthiness of naturalistic/qualitative inquiries. These were discussed briefly in Section 3.4 of the thesis, and are revisited here to demonstrate how the research approach adopted enabled the contributions articulated at the start of this chapter.

10.6.1 Credibility

The research methods adopted in this study have been shown to be not only appropriate to the nature of the inquiry, but necessary. Indeed, it is precisely *because* the study was conducted within the framework of the highly theoretical methodology described in Section 3.3 that the outcomes could be achieved. Further to this, the results have been thoroughly and transparently reported, including where the theorisation appeared not as robust as hoped. For example, in Section 9.4, the core qualities of multiple practices and *practice multiple* were outlined, noting that while half of these were evident across all four interagency practices examined, not all features were equally evident across all practices. Providing an explanation as to why this variation existed, and suggesting that such a pattern would be expected, given the unstable nature of the phenomenon under investigation, contributes to the credibility of the results.

10.6.2 Transferability

The decision to conduct the study in a single site, while partly a pragmatic decision, also afforded a deeper engagement with the participants and enabled a greater closeness to and immersion in the data than would have been possible across several geographically dispersed sites. Moreover, the ANT sensibility adopted for the study rejects notions of scale, contending that the global lies within each site (Law 2004a), providing further justification for the single-site approach. The background data establishing the context of the study and the detailed description of the phenomenon under investigation provided in Section 1.1 allow for researchers to take up the key findings of this study and the approach for use in other sites.

10.6.3 Dependability

In terms of dependability, ‘overlapping methods’ (Shenton 2004, p. 73) were employed in data collection and analysis, and meticulous records of observations and interviews undertaken were kept. The detailed description of methodology and the worked example of the process of diffractive data analysis provided in

Section 3.4, in addition to the inclusion of excerpts of raw data in Chapters Five to Eight, increases the dependability of the findings.

10.6.4 Confirmability

Regarding confirmability, more than one source of data was collected, to reduce the effects of researcher bias. I also clearly located myself, from the outset, in terms of the assumptions that I was bringing to the research. Having said this, I am fully cognisant of the limitations of being a sole researcher. This is, however, an inevitability in much doctoral research. Acknowledging that I am inextricably entangled in the research process, it is likely that my presence as an observer did influence the proceedings, to some extent. However, this does not necessarily compromise the integrity of the findings, which may be scrutinised via the audit trail described in Section 3.4. Indeed, it may be argued that my experience and the insights derived from having been a practitioner myself, prior to becoming a researcher, add to the authenticity of the findings.

The shortcomings of an ANTish methodology were acknowledged in Section 3.3 where the critiques of this sociomaterial approach were discussed. However, in the light of the study's substantial contributions, it is argued that this methodological choice was justified, particularly when used in conjunction with the resources offered by the new material feminisms.

10.7 Closing comments

Chapter One framed the dominant story about interagency DFV work as characterised by gaps between silos of service provision, fraught with interagency conflict rooted in intractably divergent professional perspectives (see Section 1.4). This thesis has reimagined the story in terms of networks connected by threads of action, held as necessary and inevitable tensions in practice and managed through negotiated trade-offs.

The significance of the study lies in its empirical, conceptual and methodological contributions. Its novelty derives from the methodological and analytical framework developed. By employing an innovative diffractive methodology 'to

transgress what we already know' (Taguchi 2012, p. 267), this research has deviated from the usual ways of studying the fraught issue of working together in DFV. The value of the research is thus embedded in this originality because, in viewing the complexity of this work differently, newness has been 'incited' from the data (Taguchi 2012, p. 270), guiding the gaze towards what is *made to matter*, transforming interagency DFV work from a 'matter of fact to a matter of concern' (Latour 2011, p. 799). This means that action may be taken to ensure that responding to DFV is 'responsible/response-able' (Barad 2014, p. 184) to victim/survivors, and that responsibility is taken 'to contest and to rework what matters and what is excluded from mattering' (Barad 2003, p. 827). While reframing interagency DFV work in sociomaterial feminist terms has not 'tamed' the wicked problem of DFV, it has deepened understanding of the phenomenon of interagency collaboration in this context, proceeding from 'the assumption that other and better worlds are possible' (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 485).

Engaging with multiple translations and entwined intra-actions and exploring the 'contingencies of power' (Law & Singleton 2013a, p. 485), this inquiry has woven a knotty story of associations and alliances, of people and things. Showing that complexity arises from a rich interconnectedness, the study has unravelled a narrative of knowledge-making that emerged in and through the entangled networks and practices of working together. Drawing on the rich conceptual resources offered by ANT and the new material feminisms, the phenomenon of interagency DFV work has thus been defamiliarised, arriving at a valuable fresh understanding of collaborative practice that has significant implications. This new approach provides clarity without reducing complexity. Eschewing singularity, it captures the multiplicity that is intrinsic to the project of working together. Importantly, it illuminates what matters in enacting entangled practice in interagency DFV work.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Learning domestic violence interagency work: enacting “practice multiple”



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Learning domestic violence interagency work: enacting “practice multiple”

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Abstract

Purpose – This paper aims to shed light on the complex multiplicity of domestic violence interagency work. It proposes a new conceptualisation that reflects the entangled nature of professional practice and learning.

Design/methodology/approach – The research on which this paper draws is an ethnographic study of practice in an integrated local domestic violence initiative. Data include focussed workplace observations, semi-structured interviews and key documents. The study draws on practice-based sociomaterial approaches and the conceptual framework, and methodology is informed by actor-network theory, in particular, the work of Annemarie Mol.

Findings – Findings suggest that interagency work that starts from the victim and traces threads of connection outwards is able to “hang together” as “practice multiple” in integrated service provision. I argue that the learning that happens in these circumstances is a relational effect and depends on who and what is assembled in the actor-network.

Research limitations/implications – The research has significant implications for framing understandings of domestic violence interagency work, as it firmly anchors “working together” to victims. Findings are expected to be of interest not only to practitioners, educators and researchers but also to policymakers.

Originality/value – The paper addresses a current gap in the literature, applies a novel research approach and proposes a new conceptualisation of domestic violence interagency work.

Keywords Workplace learning, Actor-network theory, Domestic violence, Interagency work, Practice-based studies, Sociomaterial approach

Paper type Research paper

Introduction

For several decades, it has been acknowledged that domestic violence is a complex and multi-faceted issue that requires a coordinated and multidimensional response (Krug *et al.*, 2002). The urgent need to address “wicked problems”[1], such as the contested area of domestic violence[2], has led to increasing emphasis on working across professional and sector boundaries in search of solutions. Indeed, interagency work has become, internationally, a cornerstone of domestic violence policy.

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This is not surprising given the complicated interdependencies involved in domestic violence. What *is* surprising is the lack of attention to how practitioners *learn* to do this demanding work together, given the historical (and persistent) orientation to working “in silos”. National plans to address domestic violence increasingly emphasise the need for “joined-up” integrated service delivery which requires professionals in a range of diverse settings, spanning the health, human services and legal and justice systems, in government and non-government organisations, to “work together” (Commonwealth of Australia, 2012). Often operating with divergent organizational priorities, differing mandates and professional perspectives on the issue, practitioners are exhorted to “collaborate”, but often receive little guidance and few additional resources to assist them to navigate the structural and systemic road blocks, not to mention epistemic clashes that interagency work inevitably surfaces.

The focus of this paper is on interagency work and learning in the context of domestic violence interventions. I suggest that there is a conceptual deficit in current theorisations of this sort of work and a lack of understanding about the (inter)professional learning that it involves. By taking an actor-network theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005) perspective and drawing specifically on the work of Annemarie Mol, I propose a new conceptualisation of domestic violence interagency work as “practice multiple” which brings into clear focus the manifold entanglements of practice and learning that are involved in this work. Distinguishing between “practice multiple” and “multiple practices” as different forms of working together is important because it has implications for practitioners’ learning and for how this demanding work is supported (or not) in workplaces and by policy. I locate my work within a growing and increasingly diverse set of overlapping approaches, referred to variously as practice-based (Gherardi, 2012) and sociomaterial (Fenwick *et al.*, 2011).

First, I discuss the relative invisibility of learning in domestic violence interagency work in the research literature. I then outline the research study from which this paper derives. The study explores how practitioners from a range of different agencies, across various service sectors, work and learn together, as they enact domestic violence interagency work in one particular setting in NSW, Australia. Third, I present a data vignette, followed by analysis, to illustrate my use of this new conceptualisation. The paper concludes with the argument that theorising interagency work in this way may open up fruitful directions for further research into ways of supporting inter-professional and inter-organisational learning, within the domestic violence context.

The invisibility of learning in domestic violence interagency work

Increasing emphasis on the need for integrated and coordinated responses to domestic violence across service systems and between government and non-government sectors has generated much policy that elevates interagency work to the status of “best practice”. This, in turn, has spawned considerable research into different models of interagency work and an international drive to establish “what works”. However, apart from (ubiquitous) references to the need for “training”, this expanding body of work takes little account of practitioner *learning* in the context of domestic violence interagency work.

Alongside this expansion of literature in the domestic violence field, there has been a growth in research interest in inter-professional work and learning (Hammick

et al., 2007). This has been particularly evident within the medical and health and social care settings (Lidskog *et al.*, 2008; McMurtry, 2010). Interagency and interprofessional learning in the area of child protection and children's services has also attracted considerable research activity (Carpenter *et al.*, 2011; Charles and Horwath, 2009). A major contribution to improving inter-professional collaborations and understanding of interagency learning in the area of child well-being is the work of Anne Edwards and her colleagues in the UK. The *Learning in and for Interagency Working* (Edwards *et al.*, 2009) project examined how professional and organizational learning are intertwined, highlighting the importance of organisational support for such learning to take place. Utilising an interventionist methodology based on cultural historical activity theory (CHAT), this study not only recognised the tensions and contradictions that are inherent in interagency working, but worked with these, as part of the "expansive learning" (Engeström, 2001) process.

However, while not discounting the large body of literature and worthwhile contributions in related areas, learning in and for interagency work specifically in the contentious area of domestic violence has garnered little attention to date. The literature that does exist in this area is largely limited to curriculum descriptions (Forgey and Colarossi, 2003) and evaluations of formal interagency training and interprofessional education programmes (Jones *et al.*, 2002). While most of these evaluation studies find that participants generally report that they have more positive attitudes towards collaborative work, as a result of these programmes, long-term outcomes on practice remain uncertain (Szilassy *et al.*, 2013). Significantly, while the limitations of training are acknowledged, little attention is paid in the literature to the situated workplace learning that takes place beyond the training room.

While government strategies and professional development agendas invariably accent the importance of interagency work in terms of better outcomes for victims, they tend to render invisible the actual work, infrastructure and professional learning that it involves. This erasure obscures its discursive interplays, often reducing its complexity to simplistic slogans. Indeed, while much policy, practice and training literature perpetuates the notion that interagency work is the "solution" to inconsistent and fragmented responses to domestic violence, we still know little about how practitioners enact and learn to do this inherently intricate (and largely unseen) work. However, as invisible as it may be in the policy and research literature, learning in interagency domestic violence work is happening all the time and is integral to many practitioners' daily work. What is needed then is a way of *seeing* it in practice, so that we may better understand who is learning and what is being learned.

A practice-based sociomaterial approach

I suggest that seeing domestic violence interagency work and learning as a sociomaterial entanglement enables a new conceptualisation that foregrounds a number of its key dimensions. A conceptual framework that draws on ANT and is located within a broader practice-based, sociomaterial approach provides the scaffolding needed to build this new understanding.

A practice-based approach to research highlights connections and relationships and provides a way of viewing "knowledge" as something other than a mentalist construct and "knowing" as more than a cognitive process (Gherardi, 2009). Seeing learning as something that happens not only inside individual practitioner's heads but also between

and among them, as they interact and relate with each other and with their environment, is key to understand the relationship between practice and learning (Hager, 2011; Hager *et al.*, 2012). Contemporary workplace learning theories offer this multi-dimensional view of learning.

Attending to practices as emergent sociomaterial phenomena, as Fenwick *et al.* remind us, invites us to seriously consider how material arrangements become entwined in and form part of everyday work (Fenwick *et al.*, 2011; Fenwick *et al.*, 2012; Nicolini *et al.*, 2012). Interagency alliances and coalitions are always fragile and subject to change, especially if mutual interests are not met, so we need to be able to see how practices manage to hang together; we need a way of tracing how their various elements come together or fall apart. An ANT perspective offers this analysis (Fenwick and Edwards, 2010). In ANT, “networks” are understood as unsteady assemblages of actors, diverse and assorted webs brought together through the strategy of “enrolment” and linked through performing particular functions. Through ANT eyes, we do not see the grand panoramic policy vision of a “seamlessly integrated system” in which all the parts flow smoothly together. What we *do* see is the work that is done, not only by human actors but also by materials, objects, artefacts and environments. While ANT does not have its roots in learning theory (as does CHAT, for example) what ANT provides for a study of professional learning is both a conceptual frame and a methodological sensibility (Fenwick *et al.*, 2011) that enables us to see in a new way. Unlike other sociomaterial approaches, it offers a way of mapping relations that are simultaneously social, material and semiotic. Moreover ANT’s refusal of a “rigid separation between the material and immaterial, human and non-human” (Fenwick *et al.*, 2011, p. 109) shows us how different actors are dominant at different times in shifting loci of power. This way of seeing sheds new light on the (inter)professional learning that takes place as a relational effect of the actor-networks involved in interagency domestic violence work (readers unfamiliar with ANT may want to refer to Callon and Law, 1982; Latour, 1996, 2005; Law, 1992, 2009).

ANT has been taken up in a diversity of ways by researchers and a number of empirical studies amply demonstrate ANT’s versatile capacity to illuminate multiplicity in disparate worlds of work and learning (Mulcahy, 2012; Nespor, 1994; Singleton and Michael, 1993). However, for the purposes of the argument being made here, I focus on one such study that has particular resonance for my own research. Mol’s (2002) *The Body Multiple: Ontology in Medical Practice* looks at the diagnosis and treatment of an ordinary disease, atherosclerosis, in an extraordinary way. At first glance, this ethnography-of-a-disease may appear to have little in common with a study of domestic violence interagency work. However, it is in Mol’s linked method and conceptual approach that the parallels lie. By focussing on enactment, she argues, a shift is enabled “from an epistemological to a praxiographic inquiry into reality” (Mol, 2002, p. 32), the term “praxiographic” denoting an ethnographic exploration of practice and a focus on “enacting” leaving open “who or what the actor is” (Mol, 2002, p. 143). Attention shifts from philosophy of knowledge to knowledge practices. Mol suggests that while we ought to take difference seriously, we ought not to view it as “a pluralism that fragments society into isolated individuals, but as a tension that comes about inevitably from the fact that we somehow have to share the world” (Mol, 2002, pp. 114-115). Her claim that more than one does not *have* to mean fragmentation into many is captured in her combining of a singular noun with a plural adjective, in the phrase “body multiple”.

This is where her work resonates with my own. Just as different medical specialists may enact their treatment of the same disease without fragmenting “the patient”, so also may the interagency frictions that we see in domestic violence work be seen as elements that are to be expected, without practice having to fracture the experience of “the victim”.

Mol’s way of looking at the body as it is enacted (by the medical system) results in seeing it multiply into more than one. Significantly, however, in this enactment, the patient remains singular, as a range of different medical practices, attending to different bodily systems, are coordinated and distributed around her/him. What it is to “hang together” becomes a question to be opened up for study. Using Mol’s method and adapting her concept, I am able to see how domestic violence interagency work can emerge as “practice multiple”. Starting from a central core of responding to the singular victim (and her children, if she is a mother) and following the threads of connection, multiplicity emerges. Interagency work, when enacted this way, emerges as multiple in its accomplishment, while retaining the singularity of the victim(s) at its core. Just as sufferers of atherosclerosis experience the disease as a singular phenomenon, so also do women and children who experience domestic violence, live it as a singular, often totally encompassing experience. Service system responses, however, are frequently enacted in ways that fracture this subjective experience, more often than not rendering people as disembodied collections of “issues” to be “addressed” by a range of separate service providers with different perspectives and priorities. Enacted like this, interagency work easily becomes a matter of how agency A’s practice relates to agency B’s practice, relates to agency C’s and then how these multiple practices might be made to “wrap around” victims. This way of working may be characterized as a *multi-agency* approach that starts from a priori agency perspectives and is enacted through *multiple practices* that may or may not hang usefully together around a victim of domestic violence.

This is in contrast to an *interagency* approach that starts with the victim(s) from whom practice emerges. I argue that while interagency work does (necessarily) involve a number of services and a multiplicity of practices, these practices are able to coalesce into something that hangs together, as *practice multiple*, in integrated service provision. The focus shifts as practice emerges not from resolving interagency differences but from tracing connections from the victim(s). Instead of tracing paradigmatic gaps between practitioners (the focus of much research on domestic violence interagency work), we might begin to see what Mol calls “clashes that bind” (Mol, 2002, p. 83) and “crystallise out into patterns of co-existence”. The point is that “even if stability is never reached, tensions are tamed” (Mol, 2002, p. 181) and practitioners can get on with the work of assisting victims.

A “praxiographic” study to see domestic violence interagency work differently

In this section of the paper, I outline the research project on which this paper is based. The study was designed as a “praxiographic” study (Mol, 2002) to explore the relationship between interagency domestic violence work and the (inter)professional learning that it entails, through close observation of a local integrated strategy in practice. The location of the study is an outer metropolitan suburb of Sydney, NSW, Australia. “Westville” (not the real name of the area) is a socio-economically disadvantaged and culturally and linguistically diverse area. It also has one of the highest recorded rates of domestic violence in the state. Ten years ago, in response to

these high levels of violence, substantial state government funding was injected into the area. Following extensive community consultation and much robust discussion and negotiation about how the money should be spent, a local domestic and family violence response strategy was collaboratively developed by key service providers. Although it has undergone changes over time and all the original funding has now been expended, the strategy is still in operation a decade after its inception, thus suggesting itself as a research location that would yield valuable insights about domestic violence interagency work.

Data were generated via focussed workplace observations and semi-structured interviews. Observations took the form of attending a range of interagency meetings and joint activities that were integral to the overall strategy, as well as shadowing key practitioners in their daily work. Individual and group interviews took place with 16 frontline practitioners and 13 operational managers who were employed in a range of government and non-government agencies that participated in the local strategy. Key documents and artefacts were also examined with a view to understanding them as “actors” in the interagency networks. Twenty-one fieldwork visits took place over a period of six months, between January and June 2013. Ethics approval for the study was granted by the UTS Human Research Ethics Committee.

In this paper, I focus on an observation of interagency work “in action” that takes place in a space that had been identified by study participants as where interagency work “happens”: the integrated case coordination meeting. This is a key component of the local strategy. It is an actor-network that has been performed into being every month, for the past two years. The aims of the meeting are outlined in a protocol that has been jointly developed and signed-off at senior levels by the four partner agencies, three of which are large government departments and the fourth is a small non-government organisation. The protocol articulates the purpose of the partnership as increasing the safety of family violence victims by targeting “high-risk offenders”. The meeting enacts the practice of integrated case coordination.

What follows is a vignette from my field notes to illustrate my use of the “practice multiple” concept:

The monthly integrated case coordination meeting takes place (as always) at the local police station, as this is the only place where the police computerised database can be accessed. The usual small but diverse group is assembled today. Gathered together are the local operational managers from police, corrective services (probation and parole), community services (the statutory child protection agency) and the family violence casework service (which, while part of the government child protection agency, occupies a unique position as it has no statutory authority). A representative from the non-government women’s support service which auspices a specialist domestic violence housing program is also present.

We all sit crammed together in a small interview room (this is the only room available today). There is a desk and computer and too many chairs. It is high summer, and the ancient noisy air-conditioner is on full-blast, making it hard to hear each other. Each member of the group has a large bundle of papers. The papers are case-plans for each of the “high-risk offenders” currently on today’s list. The case-plans have been developed by the partner agencies, and there is always one lead agency that initiates discussion of the case. The meeting lasts for two hours and is punctuated by visits from various caseworkers, who attend for specified time slots to present reports.

The different responsibilities and concerns of the agencies filter through the discussion: the prime concern of the family violence service is the protection of the women and their children; the focus of the women's support worker is secure accommodation for the victim; for police, the priority is to arrest the offender (and preferably have him incarcerated); probation and parole's key focus is the offenders' compliance with court orders ("clean urines" feature heavily where drug and alcohol issues are involved); child protection's priority centres on parenting capacities. However, if the focus shifts too far from the agreed common priorities, the family violence service manager steers the conversation back on track.

Today the police are reporting on a particularly high risk case saying that the victim "doesn't seem to really want their help". Referring to her client file, the family violence casework manager speaks of the appalling abuse experienced by this woman, also relating stories of police inaction in the past. A police officer listens to how the victim has "lost faith in the system" and asks "Why doesn't she just leave the mongrel?" The casework manager continues conveying the victim's perspective and focussing on her needs, patiently explaining that "it's just not that easy to get up and leave when you have three kids and nowhere to go and all your family is in another country". The women's support worker adds that the woman is "totally run-down and exhausted, as you would expect her to be".

As the pieces of the picture start to slide together, the police officer's understanding starts to grow. 'So she's not just being difficult and making our job harder by refusing to give a statement; I guess she's really scared of the repercussions from him [...]' The other police officer checks the database for details of previous incidents [...] and with good reason, by the look of it'. The police officers agree to step up their efforts to get the offender charged and to try an alternate strategy to restore the victim's confidence in them. The family violence service manager says that she 'gets' that the police need 'a co-operative victim' to prosecute their case and says that her service will 'do their bit' by continuing to convey the message to their client that the police are 'on her side'.

(field visit #3, 21/1/13)

Hanging together in "practice multiple"

The actor-network described in this snapshot story is a heterogeneous assemblage of entities, human and non-human; people and technology are enrolled in the network and together shape practice. The meeting is generally referred to locally as the "high-risk offenders" meeting, reflecting a shift in the weight of intervention emphasis from victim to offender. On the one hand, this may be suggestive of the law enforcement interests that tend to dominate. Police control of the computerised database, a critical agent in the network, embeds their power in the relationships. This is also reflected in the "law and order" discourse that shapes discussion at the meetings. All the partners know that there would be no meeting without the police on board.

However, access to the police database is shared within the confines of these highly confidential meetings, suggestive of a degree of power sharing. The shift in focus from victim to offender is also indicative of the success of feminists to bring the "invisible man" (Burke, 1999) into the spotlight to make him accountable for his actions. Moreover, the power of the "knowing-in-practice" (Gherardi, 2009) of the casework manager and the women's support worker is not to be under-estimated in this confederacy. Nor is the child protection agency's statutory authority to be ignored. A range of sometimes conflicting interests and professional knowledge-worlds weaves through the conversations at the meeting. But they somehow manage to "hang together", for now at

least. This is a space where diverse discourses and networks intersect, jostle in tension, and seem to settle into a state of (temporary) denouement.

The work that is done at and by these meetings is a “practical and collective activity” (Gherardi, 2009, p. 354) that is not only discursively-produced but also materially-mediated. It is not only humans who are working here. The agency of various non-human actors is apparent as they do their jobs, making a tangible difference to the action. As Nicolini *et al.* (2012) point out, objects are crucial in getting work done. The protocol does the job of getting the partner-actors to the table and of “stabilising” the network, governing actions, activities and practices. It may be “only a piece of paper”, but without it, the partners agree, it is unlikely that this actor-network would have stayed together for as long as it has. The information sharing provisions outlined in the protocol, that have been painfully negotiated by the partner agencies, do the work of enabling certain types of confidential information that would otherwise be “off-limits” to “outsiders”, to be shared in cases involving children. Here we see the beginning of a blurring of insider/outsider boundaries, facilitated by a key change in legislation that occurred as a result of an inquiry into child protection in NSW a few years ago. Case-plans and spreadsheets have also been enrolled into the network and do the work of coordinating the individual agencies’ actions, while the police database links disparate pieces of information with dates, times and event numbers. Client files and reports held by each agency help to fill gaps in police narratives (such as ages of children involved, previous addresses, etc.) and elaborate the circumstances surrounding the “incident”. They also do the important job of keeping the victim and her children’s interests on the table, enabling them to act from a distance, through their advocates.

Practice and learning are happening simultaneously here, peer-to-peer, between and among the actors, in a multi-directional way, as they supply missing pieces of convoluted pictures to each other and make links across their various ways of knowing. The learning that is happening here is a “relational effect” of the network. Knowing is a material-discursive enactment, enabled by the relationships of collegiality and trust that have developed over time. Through the processes of “enrolment” and eventual “mobilisation” there has been a mutual “translation” of interests. What happens in the meeting demonstrates learning that is beyond cognitive; it is learning that has affective, embodied, social and material dimensions. This professional learning is intrinsically enmeshed with the contentious activity of confidential information-sharing that is happening at organisational perimeters. This hinges, importantly, around victim consent and this is one reason that domestic violence interagency work has become a space of heated debate. Indeed, the practice of integrated case coordination enacts discursive tensions that are at the very heart of interagency domestic violence work. Law enforcement agencies argue that in certain extremely high-risk circumstances, confidential information needs to be shared among agencies because it is in the “public interest”, regardless of a victim’s wishes. However, many women’s services (as well as civil libertarians) assert that information-sharing without victim consent is not only an infringement of personal privacy, but also disempowers victims and, in some cases, may constitute abuse by the system. The challenge in this practice is to strike a negotiated agreement between privacy and safety.

Each of the actors participating in this actor-network is also enrolled in a number of other networks. This meeting is but one node of one network that is located within a larger network, or what Nicolini (2009, p. 1412) calls a “practice net”. The players

are diverse, with differing roles, responsibilities, foci and goals but they are all “working together”, in the sense that they are all in the same place, at the same time, addressing the same issue, in an inter-connected way, but this is a temporary, unstable performance that will not be enacted in precisely the same way next month. The actors here are intricately linked, simultaneously engaging in shared activity as they do “their bit”. However, they have not stopped knowing or practicing as police officers or as probation and parole officers, or as family violence or child protection caseworkers, or as women’s support workers, but they are producing a new kind of layered knowing together, at this time, as they enact the entanglement of “practice multiple”. I suggest that what we see here is what Mol calls “an intricately coordinated crowd” (Mol, 2002, p. 8), of things and people, precariously connected, but at this moment in time and space, materially engaged in joint activity, using common tools to work towards the shared goal of safety for victims and accountability of perpetrators of domestic and family violence.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to follow the trail of this particular practice to trace its effects beyond what Nicolini (2009, p. 1392) calls the “here-and-now of practicing” to the “elsewhere-and-then of other practices”. However, such a tracing would certainly “enhance our capacity to re-present practice” (Nicolini, 2009, p. 1391), enabling us to better see the connections between this micro- and macro-picture within which it sits.

Conclusion

In summary, the argument advanced in this paper is that the concept of “practice multiple” offers a way of approaching domestic violence interagency work that starts with the victim(s). Tracing multiplicity in this way not only makes visible the sociomaterial complexity of the work. It also sheds light on the nexus between practice and learning – who learns and what is learned is shaped by who and what is assembled in the actor-network. This radically reframes how we may understand domestic violence interagency work, accounting for the messy, embodied and material emergence that we now understand as central characteristics of work and learning. The project of “working together” becomes one that focusses less on smoothing the jagged interfaces between abstract and generalised working practices based on different professional perspectives (such as policing, social work etc.), and more on anchoring practice to what matters to victim(s).

Moreover, approaching interagency domestic violence work not as a collection of many different agency practices that have to somehow “fit together”, but rather as “practice multiple”, where the attention is on the practice (which in this paper, is case coordination) and outcomes for the victim(s) enable us to maintain a consistent focus. While we still see the discursive contradictions and philosophical differences at play, we can also see beyond them to infuse policy catch-phrases such as “victim-centred” with the matter that really matters. Undoubtedly, such “practice multiple” is fragile and difficult to sustain, hanging together as it does only intermittently and uncertainly. However, that it can be achieved at all illustrates the possibility of co-existing heterogeneous ontologies in this fraught work.

Unravelling work practices and learning by way of a sociomaterial analysis suggests a number of implications, not only for practitioners and those interested in professional development but also more broadly for policymakers and researchers. Future research, for example, could usefully focus on how to better integrate structured interagency

training with situated workplace learning to support integrated service delivery. Another focus for future research is whether the design of technology and tools intended for shared interagency use promote “practice multiple” or produce a proliferation of “multiple practices” in which a focus on outcomes for victims becomes secondary to agencies’ need to “tick the interagency box”.

Notes

1. The term “wicked problem” is a phrase used to describe complex problems that are particularly difficult to solve. The concept was originally described in a treatise by Rittel and Webber (1973) but has been used widely more recently to refer to a range of apparently intractable problems.
2. It is important to note that there is no one universally accepted definition of domestic violence, and this is partly what makes it such a contested terrain. Increasingly, in NSW, Australia, it is used together with, or is replaced by, the term “family violence”, which encompasses a broad range of relationships including, but not limited to, intimate partner violence. In this paper, I use both terms, recognising that the overwhelming majority of victims of this violence are women and children and that intimate partner violence is primarily a gendered phenomenon (Wangmann, 2010).

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Appendix 2: Participant Information Sheet – Frontline Practitioners

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR FRONTLINE PRACTITIONERS

LEARNING TO DO INTERAGENCY DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (DV) WORK

(UTS HREC approval number 2012-272A)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Sarah Stewart and I am a doctoral student at the Research Centre for Learning & Change, in the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). My supervisors are Ann Reich (PhD, Senior Lecturer, Learning Cultures & Practices Group) and Roger Dunston (PhD, Associate Professor, Communication Studies Group). I also work at the Education Centre Against Violence (ECAV), NSW Health

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research is to find out about (inter)professional learning and inter-agency working in responding to DV. The aim of the research is to improve our understanding of how professionals from diverse practice contexts actually learn to work together in the process of delivering integrated and coordinated services. By closely examining what happens in practice, as frontline practitioners from criminal justice, health and human services agencies, learn together and work together, I hope to contribute to new ways of thinking about inter-agency work that enable enhanced responses and improved outcomes for victims and their children.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will ask you to allow me to do one or more of the following:

- **Observe you in an inter-agency work ‘in action’ workplace situation** (such as in the DV support room or in a joint case coordination meeting or in a local DV inter-agency committee meeting)
- **‘Shadow’ you for a day as you go about your usual work.**
- **Ask you, in a recorded interview,** about your understanding of DV inter-agency working and learning

ARE THERE ANY RISKS?

There are very few, if any, risks involved in participating. However, it is possible that you may feel a little self-conscious about being observed at work and being recorded in an interview. You may also be concerned about being able to be identified in any material that is published. This is natural and I understand these concerns. In relation to confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used in any publications and I will make every effort to protect participants’ privacy. I recognise that it may take a little while for you to feel relaxed with me. Please be assured that this research has no evaluation purpose. It is not about assessing how well individuals or agencies are working together; my aim is to explore the issues and to understand the processes

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You have been asked to participate because you work for an agency that participates in the delivery of the XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX and you are an active frontline practitioner in this program in your local area. This places you in an ideal position to give me the information I need to find out about learning for inter-agency work in responding to DV.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time during the data collection period and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE INFORMATION THAT I GIVE?

All data will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only I and my supervisors will have access to this data. The information will be used primarily in the writing up of my thesis. Any other published material, such as conference papers and journal articles, that are based on the research will contain de-identified data.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I (or my supervisors) can help you with, please feel free to contact me on [REDACTED] (or Ann on 9514 3857 or Roger on 95143846).

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9615, and quote this number (UTS HREC Approval Number 2012-272A).

Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet – Managers

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET FOR MANAGERS

LEARNING TO DO INTER-AGENCY DOMESTIC VIOLENCE WORK

(UTS HREC approval # 2012-272A)

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is Sarah Stewart and I am a doctoral student at the Research Centre for Learning & Change, in the Faculty of Arts & Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney (UTS). My supervisors are Ann Reich (PhD, Senior Lecturer, Learning Cultures & Practices Group) and Roger Dunston (PhD, Associate Professor, Communication Studies Group). I also work at the Education Centre Against Violence (ECAV), NSW Health.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research is to find out about (inter)professional learning and inter-agency working in responding to domestic violence. The aim of the research is to improve our understanding of how professionals from diverse practice contexts actually learn how to work together in the process of delivering integrated and coordinated services. By closely examining what happens in practice, as frontline practitioners from criminal justice, health and human services agencies, learn together and work together, I hope to contribute to new ways of thinking about inter-agency work that enable enhanced responses and improved outcomes for victims and their children.

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will ask you to:

- Tell me, in a **recorded group interview** with managers from other agencies, who are in leadership roles, about your understanding of DV inter-agency working and your role in supporting inter-agency learning
- Provide me with **key documents** related to my agency's participation in DV interagency work generally and in the XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX specifically. These documents include: Memoranda of Understanding, Inter-agency Service Agreements and Protocols, relevant strategy and policy documents.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS?

There are very few, if any, risks involved in participating. However, it is possible that you may feel a little self-conscious about being recorded in an interview. You may also be concerned about being able to be identified in

any material that is published. This is natural and I understand these concerns. In relation to confidentiality, pseudonyms will be used in any publications and I will make every effort to protect participants' privacy. I recognise that it may take a little while for you to feel relaxed with me. Please be assured that this research has no evaluation purpose. It is not about assessing how well individuals or agencies are working together; my aim is to explore the issues and to understand the processes.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You have been asked to participate because you are a manager in an agency that participates in the delivery of the XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX. As a manager in a leadership role you are in an ideal position to give me information I need to find out about support for learning for inter-agency work in responding to DV.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time during the data collection period and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO THE INFORMATION THAT I GIVE?

All data will be stored securely in a locked filing cabinet and on a password-protected computer. Only I and my supervisors will have access. The information will be used primarily in the writing up of my thesis. Any other published material, such as conference papers and journal articles, that are based on the research will contain de-identified data.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I (or my supervisors) can help you with, please feel free to contact me on [REDACTED] (or Ann on 9514 3857 or Roger on 9514 3846).

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9615, and quote this number (UTS HREC Approval # 2012-272A).

Appendix 4: Participant Consent Form – Frontline Practitioners

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR FRONTLINE PRACTITIONERS

I _____ agree to participate in the research project **LEARNING TO DO INTER-AGENCY DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (DV) WORK** (UTS HREC approval reference number 2012-272A) being conducted by **Sarah Stewart** (sarah.stewart@student.uts.edu.au mob: _____) of the University of Technology, Sydney for her professional doctorate (Doctor of Education) degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is to improve understanding of how professionals from diverse practice contexts learn to work together, across agency and organisational boundaries, to produce good outcomes for victims of DV and their children.

I agree to participate in this research in the following ways (please tick whichever applies):

☐ **Being observed** by the researcher in a workplace setting that involves DV **inter-agency work ‘in action’, over a period of two to three hours**. I understand that the time and place of this observation will have been approved by my manager. I understand that the researcher will be taking detailed field-notes during the observation, the content of which will be checked with me afterwards.

☐ **Being ‘shadowed’ by the researcher for a full day as I go about my usual work**. I understand that the day for this will be negotiated with me and that my manager will have approved this. I further understand that the researcher will be taking detailed field-notes during the observation, the content of which will be checked with me afterwards.

☐ **Being interviewed** by the researcher for approximately **one hour** about my understandings of DV interagency work and of interprofessional learning. I understand that this interview will be audio-recorded

I am aware that I can contact **Sarah Stewart** or her supervisor(s) (**Ann Reich on 95143857 or Roger Dunston on 95143846**), if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time during the data collection period, without consequences, and without giving a reason. I agree that **Sarah Stewart** has answered all my questions fully and clearly. I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me personally, but may identify the type of agency for which I work.

_____/____/____
Signature (participant)

_____/____/____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

NOTE TO EXAMINERS: Please note that I transferred from an EdD to a PhD in 2013 and that the title and focus of the research project also changed.

Appendix 5: Participant Consent Form – Managers

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM FOR MANAGERS

I _____ agree to participate in the research project **LEARNING TO DO INTER-AGENCY DOMESTIC VIOLENCE (DV) WORK** (UTS HREC approval reference # 2012-272A) being conducted by **Sarah Stewart** (sarah.stewart@student.uts.edu.au mob: _____) of the University of Technology, Sydney for her professional doctorate (Doctor of Education) degree.

I understand that the purpose of this study is to improve understanding of how professionals from diverse practice contexts learn to work together, across agency and organisational boundaries, to produce good outcomes for victims of DV and their children.

I understand that my participation in this research will involve the following:

- **Providing the researcher with key documents** that are relevant to my agency's participation in DV inter-agency work generally and to the _____ specifically
- **Being interviewed** by the researcher in a **group interview** for **1.5 to 2 hours** about my understandings of DV interagency work and of interprofessional learning and of my role as a manager in supporting this work. I understand that this interview will be audio-recorded

I am aware that I can contact **Sarah Stewart** or her supervisor(s) (**Ann Reich on 95143857 or Roger Dunston on 95143846**), if I have any concerns about the research. I also understand that I am free to withdraw my participation from this research project at any time during the data collection period, without consequences, and without giving a reason.

I agree that **Sarah Stewart** has answered all my questions fully and clearly.

I agree that the research data gathered from this project may be published in a form that does not identify me personally, but my role as a manager and the type of agency for which I work may be identified.

_____/____/_____
Signature (participant)

_____/____/_____
Signature (researcher or delegate)

NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au) and quote the UTS HREC reference number. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 6: Interview Guide

SEMI-STRUCTURED INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

DOMESTIC & FAMILY VIOLENCE INTER-AGENCY WORK AND LEARNING

Broad areas / topics for exploration in interview:

1. History / development of the local integrated DFV strategy – the ‘story’ of how it got started and developed up to this point, milestones etc.
2. Roles/functions of inter-agency partners in this initiative
3. The nature of DFV interagency work – whether and how it is different to ‘regular’ DFV work – when, in what situations, you feel as if you’re ‘doing’ DFV interagency work
4. Work practices / activities that are specific to DFV interagency work – things you wouldn’t do if you weren’t ‘working together’
5. Most pressing problems in relation to DFV work and whether you think interagency work can help to address these – how?
6. Any specific ‘tools of trade’ or material objects (e.g. forms, protocols) that are important / help in the DFV interagency working environment
7. What is / has been useful in terms of helping people (to learn) to work together (e.g. particular events, training, just ‘doing it’...)
8. Any other issues that you think are relevant to the broad area of DFV interagency work and learning...

Appendix 7: Observation Guidelines

GUIDELINES FOR DIRECTING FOCUSED WORKPLACE OBSERVATIONS
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Type of activity / event / meeting:

Location:

Date & Time:

Category	Focus	Reflections
The work of the activity / event / meeting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the articulated purpose? What is the focus of the work? How are decisions made? 	
Human actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How many? What agencies? What are their roles? What is their purpose for being there? Are there status differences? 	
Non-human actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What are they? How are they present? How are they used? When are they used – in relation to what? What difference (if any) do they make to the action? 	
Sayings & doings (Schatzki 2006)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is said and done? What language is being used? Do some words/ terms recur? By whom? When? How? In relation to what? 	
Relatings (Kemmis)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> What is the interpersonal tenor? How do people behave towards each other? Who participates? When and how? Who and what is interacting? How are the various elements of this activity/event related? 	
Time (record in 10-15 minute timeslots)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> When are things happening? Is the activity/event unfolding quickly or slowly? Is there a sense of rushing? Inertia? 	
Space (draw a map/diagram of room layout)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> How is the physical space configured? Do things and people move around? From where to where? How? 	

Issues to follow-up:

- Does anything need clarification? Does the observation suggest further lines of enquiry?

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