

**TRANSFORMING DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SERVICE DELIVERY:  
A STUDY OF MARY ANDERSON LODGE**

**BY**

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## **ABSTRACT**

This study examines the underpinning culture, service philosophy and a number of significant factors that have influenced the service delivery at The Salvation Army's domestic violence service, Mary Anderson Lodge. The significance of research into the changing nature of The Salvation Army's response to domestic violence is in understanding the ways in which internal values and culture interact with those of the wider community, the women's sector, government standards and funding requirements. Understanding how and why changes have taken place within the culture of The Salvation Army's Mary Anderson Lodge can provide useful frameworks for further service delivery improvement.

Mary Anderson Lodge grew out of rescue and court work for women in the first half of the nineteenth century and was named after a well known Salvation Army officer who received an M.B.E. for her work, along with the Order of the Founder, the highest internal recognition in The Salvation Army. Domestic violence was an issue closely related to the early history of this work and became an ongoing focus as the reality and the scope of the problem was understood. Women's temperance groups, as well as the theological and social views of Catherine Booth, a co-founder of the movement, influenced The Salvation Army's understanding of violence against women. Specific mention of targeted domestic violence services for women is scant in the literature of early Salvation Army history, although domestic violence has long been understood as part of Salvation Army programmes for social justice.

The methodology used for this project has been qualitative in nature with interviews of five staff members from successive time periods in the history of Mary Anderson Lodge. No clients were interviewed for this study as the focus has been on policy development instigated by staff and not the direct experience of domestic violence itself. The participants included former and current staff members and interview questions were based on staff members' experiences of service delivery and the associated culture, policy and processes that informed the delivery of the service. Textual research has taken the form of the analysis of Salvation Army publications such as the *WarCry* as well as the archives from Mary Anderson Lodge including annual reports, procedure manuals and reviews that document changes in service delivery. Research and literature relating to the wider field of domestic violence has also informed this study.

The research findings indicate that some of the important influences on the service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge have been the same as those affecting the wider sector, such as government policy, legislation and Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP) funding requirements. While these influences have been identified as significant, the internal culture of The Salvation Army has created challenges regarding the role of the officer (clergy) manager and the expertise required in the role at services such as Mary Anderson Lodge. The development of clarity around the separate although complementary expertise of the officer, as operations manager, and an experienced practitioner, as programme manager, have the potential to be significant steps forward in addressing the issue.

Although the current service model bears little physical similarity to that of the early rescue homes for women more than a century ago, the commitment to social justice and the sanctity of women's lives remain common threads. The relocation, and renaming, of the service as Mary Anderson Family Violence Service in 2006 has opened up opportunities to develop a more flexible and diverse range of responses to women experiencing domestic violence. It is hoped that the understanding and insights gained during this study will contribute to the development of present and future services for women, particularly within The Salvation Army.

## **STATEMENT**

I affirm that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_

## INTRODUCTION

This study charts the changing tradition of service delivery to women seeking refuge from domestic violence at The Salvation Army's Mary Anderson Lodge in Melbourne, Australia. This tradition can be traced back through the forerunners of Mary Anderson Lodge to the early beginnings of Salvation Army women's services in Australia and beyond this point to the co-founder of The Salvation Army, Catherine Booth, and her struggle to improve the lives of women.

Mary Anderson Lodge maintains this tradition as part of the crisis response to women and children experiencing domestic violence in Victoria. There are currently 40 services providing support and assistance to women and children in Victoria, of which 27 are women's refuges that provide crisis accommodation.<sup>1</sup> Each of these refuges has its own unique history and philosophy of practice that affects its service delivery. Mary Anderson Lodge, as part of a church based organisation, has developed within the Salvation Army's theological, mission values (see Appendix A) and social justice frameworks of reforming society respecting human dignity.<sup>2</sup> In doing so, it has needed to maintain congruence with the theological understanding of marriage and family as sacred institutions as well as the reality of violence against women and children within families.

McGregor argues that it is difficult for many people in the wider community to accept that the 'sacred place called home can, for many people in our society, be a violent

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<sup>1</sup> Department of Human Services. *Family and Domestic Violence*. [on-line]. Available WWW: <http://hnb.dhs.vic.gov.au/OOH/ne5ninte.nsf/childdocs>. [viewed 13 May 2007].

<sup>2</sup> *Future Now!* Strategy Planner and Bookmark. Melbourne: The Salvation Army, 2001.

place'.<sup>3</sup> Domestic violence contradicts the idealised notions of home and family, where family members live in harmony and treat each other with love and respect. It remains an unaddressed topic within the church as is evident from a survey confirming that respondents could not recall hearing about domestic violence in sermons.<sup>4</sup> Mary Anderson Lodge remains part of the Christian Church based Salvation Army culture that has since its inception held marriage and family as sacred theocentric institutions.

The concept that a service like Mary Anderson Lodge existed for women who were permanently or temporarily abandoning their marriages and relationships, and the traditional two-parent nuclear family, operates very strongly against these values. Furthermore, the functionalist notion that the family is the foundational element of a cohesive society juxtaposes patriarchal theology against the reality of the violence experienced by women and children regularly presenting at services like Mary Anderson Lodge.<sup>5</sup> Patriarchal church tradition has long resisted the reforms of the Markan text particularly where Myers contends, 'the whole social system of patriarchy, which renders tyrants strong in the world and women subject in the home, must be overturned'.<sup>6</sup>

The broadly functionalist notions of the family have underpinned the belief that it was preferable to stay in a violent relationship to 'keep the family together for the sake of the

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<sup>3</sup> Heather McGregor, *Breaking the Silence on Domestic Violence* (Canberra: Australian Early Childhood Association, 1990), p. 3.

<sup>4</sup> *Attitudes against Domestic and Family Violence in the Diverse Australian Community* (Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, 2000).

<sup>5</sup> Margaret Sargent, Pamela Nilan, and Gabriele Winter, *The New Sociology for Australians*, 4th ed. (Melbourne: Addison Wesley Longman, 1977), p. 107.

<sup>6</sup> Ched Myers, *Binding the Strong Man* (New York: Orbis Books, 2000), p. 281.

children'.<sup>7</sup> Many other reasons exist that make leaving a violent relationship difficult and potentially dangerous for women. In leaving a relationship women may risk threats to their safety, as well as their children, friends, and extended family, lack of resources and housing, lack of financial support for their children and a woman's lack of confidence and self worth can also be a barrier.<sup>8</sup>

Contradictions existed in the promotion and acceptance of the sacred nature of marriage and family and the rights of individual women. These contradictions crystallise the historical influence of Catherine Booth and the social justice traditions of The Salvation Army. Catherine's staunch belief and forthright promotion of the equality of women on theological grounds and her own feminist understandings, although laced with the maternal feminism of her generation, informed the development of a social justice ideology, an ideology that at its best is capable of overriding the duplicitous patriarchal and androcentric hegemony that afflicts much of the Christian Church. Such an ideology intuits Johnson's invocation, of Segundo's warning to the church, 'that our unjust society and our perverted idea of God are in close and terrible alliance'.<sup>9</sup> The social justice traditions that respect the rights of individual women are, therefore, theologically congruent within the wider context of Salvation Army history and the service delivery practice at Mary Anderson Lodge. A further discussion on the effect of the notions of the sacred nature of the family, as they are relevant to services at Mary Anderson Lodge, is contained in chapter three.

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<sup>7</sup> Suellen Murray, *More Than Refuge: Changing Responses to Domestic Violence* (Perth: University of Western Australia Press, 2002).

<sup>8</sup> *Against the Odds: How Women Survive Domestic Violence* (Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, 1998).

<sup>9</sup> Elizabeth A Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 2003), p. 14.

This social justice tradition has its first expression in women's services that began with Salvation Army rescue homes, both internationally and domestically, before the turn of the twentieth century. Mary Anderson Lodge did not commence until 1966 when its forerunner, Hope Hall, in Drummond Street, Carlton, could no longer cope with the demand for services. The nature of these services had evolved from requiring a general rescue home to a custom built women's refuge.<sup>10</sup> The new premises in Richmond was extensively renovated before the Hope Hall programme was shifted into the site with an official name change to Mary Anderson Lodge to honour Salvation Army officer Major Mary Anderson and her work with women in the courts.

Major shifts have occurred in organisational culture and practice over time and these have been the result of disparate causes. On occasion, such shifts are the result of changes in the internal culture of The Salvation Army; on others, they have been affected by changing social and community attitudes or, at other times again, significant changes have been a result of government administrative requirements. Significant among the changing internal organisational culture at Mary Anderson Lodge have been issues including the role of The Salvation Army officer,<sup>11</sup> case management philosophy, housing models and cultural diversity. These changes form the basis of the analysis of this thesis.

The major shifts in organisational culture and practice at Mary Anderson Lodge can be understood in terms of the effects of internal and external pressures on the service culture.

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<sup>10</sup> John Kirkham, *Southern Soup-Soap-Salvation* (Melbourne: The Salvation Army Southern Territory Archives & Museum, 2003), p. 92.

<sup>11</sup> The terms 'Salvation Army officer' and 'the officer' appear in this study to designate professional Salvation Army clergy.

Significant change has occurred to the composition of The Salvation Army workforce in recent decades driving further internal organisational change. Furthermore, the rapidly changing wider social culture and the empowerment of women in recent decades have contributed to changing service delivery approaches. This study examines some of the significant influences that have driven changes to service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge. To achieve this aim a feminist theoretical approach is taken to this investigation, an approach that has its locus grounded in the experiences of women.

It must be noted, however, that the history of responses to domestic violence into the early part of the twenty-first century is a work in progress. The small gap filled by this study is yet another step in the process of validating and recording the struggle of women to respond to unequal gender power relations, with their resultant violence, that continues to blight Australian society.

### **Significance**

My own personal interest in the ways in which domestic violence responses have evolved and developed comes from two decades of working with women and men within The Salvation Army. Over those years I have been involved with the delivery of welfare services, alcohol and other drug rehabilitation for women, welfare support work and management in four states of Australia. There has not been one role over this period of time that has not required me to have had either a primary or secondary involvement with women experiencing domestic violence. Even the most recent management role in the field of education has required engagement with women staff members experiencing

domestic violence. The consequence of such violence has been extraordinarily pervasive with severe ongoing and detrimental consequences for women and their families.

The extent of domestic violence in the wider community is reflected in research findings. The 2005 *Personal Safety Survey* records that sixteen percent of women, over the age of fifteen years, reported having been physically assaulted by a previous male partner.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the personal cost to individuals is clearly enormous and impacts all levels of society. However, the sheer scale of the problem is apparent when the annual cost, in purely economic terms, is considered. The Australian Government commissioned report, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy*, identified the annual economic cost of domestic violence for 2002/03 at \$8.1 billion dollars.<sup>13</sup> Women's refuges are a part of the urgently required response to this problem.

Why a study of Mary Anderson Lodge specifically? An appealing aspect of Mary Anderson Lodge is the link it provides between current practice and that of the early Salvation Army social services for women, beginning in Australia in 1880. I bring these interests and experiences to this study as well as formal study in the field of gender and feminist theology. Mary Anderson Lodge as part of the response to the problem of domestic violence, therefore, provides a logical point of intersection for these complementary interests.

Moreover, the history of change in staff culture and service delivery has not been analysed systematically at Mary Anderson Lodge in response to changes in wider

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<sup>12</sup> Australian Bureau of Statistics, *Personal Safety Survey* (Canberra: Commonwealth Government, 2005), p. 6.

<sup>13</sup> Access Economics, *The Cost of Domestic Violence to the Australian Economy: Part II* (Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, 2006).

community understanding of domestic violence, although annual reports and reviews exist. Systematically archived records are fragmented and much of what exists in The Salvation Army, mostly in the official publication *WarCry*,<sup>14</sup> was written for a wider public audience and is largely the work of apologists. Therefore, this research is significant in terms of both its focus and its theoretical approach in that it makes a contribution to filling a gap in the historical records by analysing interactions within practice. This study examines the ways in which Mary Anderson Lodge has responded to the challenge of domestic violence and the ways that the values and mission of The Salvation Army have been reflected in this process. Furthermore, it provides a feminist framework to analyse and investigate staff experiences of delivering a domestic violence service through the auspice of an evangelical Church.

## **Structure**

To contextualise this study a literature review follows which has been conducted by compiling views and perspectives from the wider fields of history and domestic violence. A search of materials relating to Mary Anderson Lodge reveal some archival material, however, the literature that is available, is fragmented and incomplete. This study goes some way to drawing these fragments together within the broader context of the investigation.

Beyond the literature review, a brief discussion on the methodology used provides the investigative parameters for this study. The feminist perspective and attention to the

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<sup>14</sup> The masthead for The Salvation Army publication *WarCry* was previously *The War Cry* and was changed to the form used in this study in to reflect the new millennium.

voices of women via five key interviews will also be outlined in this first chapter. No clients were interviewed for this study given the focus on policy development rather than the direct experience of domestic violence itself. Understanding some of the reasons for change that has occurred provides insights that will assist future responses not only at Mary Anderson Lodge but also at collegiate services.

Chapter two overviews the historical environment from which Mary Anderson Lodge developed. The chapter briefly investigates the theological and historical beliefs and values that underpin the subsequent chapters. The revivalist evangelical philosophy of the founders of the movement, William and Catherine Booth, are analysed in relation to the direction they set for The Salvation Army's social services, particularly in relation to women.

Chapter three uses archival material and staff interviews conducted for this study that focus on the 1980s and 1990s. Regrettably, staff from the late 1960s and early 1970s are no longer available with the exception of Major Laurel Pearce who had brief contact in the 1970s as a social work student, before becoming manager in 1986. The two former Salvation Army officer managers that have given particular assistance for this period via interviews are Majors Laurel Pearce and Jenny Begent. A phone interview was also conducted with social service manager Graeme Gowan, who co-ordinated a conference relating to Salvation Army domestic violence networks in 1986. The chapter examines the influence of funding changes, and the effects on the service, of some of the developing understandings of domestic violence in the women's sector.

Chapter four reviews some of the changes that have occurred between the 1998 internal organisational review and the present relocation and restructuring of the service to Coburg in 2006. Changes in the model of service delivery that provide flexible responses to women experiencing domestic violence will be discussed in this chapter. The period under review has experienced rapid change and past and present staff members Billi Clarke, Anne Davies and Captain Lynda Van Gaalen-Pentice have provided interviews for this chapter.

Finally, the conclusion draws together the research and analysis of the proceeding chapters and summarises some of the significant developments and implications in service delivery that have occurred at Mary Anderson Lodge. These developments have occurred as a result of changes both internally within the service and from external factors. Significant among these changes are funding via the Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP), the development of case management systems that have evolved to include children as clients, the relationship of the service within the women's domestic violence sector, the role of the officer manager and the new decentralised model. The conclusion notes that the tradition of women's services that began with Catherine Booth, co-founder of The Salvation Army, has been maintained and some of the contradictions relating to the empowerment of women in a patriarchal church organisation have been resolved over time. The renamed Mary Anderson Domestic Violence Service, with its new model of clustered units for women, retains the strong commitment to social justice that has been a core element of The Salvation Army's services for women.

## **CHAPTER ONE: The beginning of a tradition**

This chapter provides a brief discussion of the underpinning literature and methodology used in the development of this study. The literature review gathers together a range of sources that provide some background for this review and a context within which this research has been conducted. Given that the literature around the theme of domestic violence is extensive, key themes have been chosen as relevant to the project aim that examines the changing internal organisational culture at Mary Anderson Lodge.

This chapter also presents the data collection and analysis methods used within this research. Qualitative interviews with a number of past and present staff are the primary method of data collection. In addition, there is an indication of the data collected via archival and textual sources.

### **Literature review**

A search of the relevant literature revealed a number of perspectives that are helpful in foregrounding the contextual site of this study. These themes include the development of The Salvation Army's domestic violence work with women, the patriarchal church environment in which Mary Anderson Lodge has operated and domestic violence and the women's refuge movement.

A review of the literature on Salvation Army work with women who have experienced domestic violence reveals that services for women have developed over time. An influential source for the analysis of Salvation Army history has been Murdoch, who as

an historian positioned outside membership of the organisation, provides a critique of early Salvation Army history that is less constrained than many internal Salvation Army histories.<sup>15</sup>

According to Murdoch, lay Salvationist women were the catalysts for commencing work with women by the provision of shelters and rescue homes.<sup>16</sup> Sandall records the purpose of shelters and rescue homes as havens that provide prostitutes, ex-prisoners and homeless women with 'rescue' at the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>17</sup> However, Kirkham identifies Salvation Army reports of that period identifying a group of 'women and children in crisis.'<sup>18</sup> Hull acknowledges that the Salvation Army's early work with women, with its focus on prisoners and prostitution, was not unique and other individuals and organisations were also engaged in providing support to women,<sup>19</sup> such as The Women's Christian Temperance Union, as Spearritt records.<sup>20</sup> A review of the literature revealed that the causal nature of domestic violence in women's wider behaviour and experience was not named or understood in Salvation Army rescue work with women. This reflected the wider social culture and in its inability to name the issue specifically. It is, therefore, not surprising that a cohesive body of literature documenting Salvation Army responses to domestic violence could not be located and the discussion of domestic violence begins around the mid 1970s. Larsson is part of this process of naming domestic

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<sup>15</sup> Norman H. Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1994).

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>17</sup> Robert Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army: Volume Three, Social Reform and Welfare Work*, (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd, 1955), pp. 11-30.

<sup>18</sup> Kirkham, *Southern Soup-Soap-Salvation*.

<sup>19</sup> Walter Hull, *That Peculiar Body: The Salvation Army's Social Work Beginnings in Australia 1883-1887*, (Melbourne: The Salvation Army Southern Territory Archives & Museum, 2004), pp. 22-34.

<sup>20</sup> Kate Spearritt, "New Dawns: First Wave Feminism 1880-1914," in *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Marrickville, NSW: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

violence in her examination of historical aspects of rescue work and making a connection between domestic violence and some women's resort to prostitution.<sup>21</sup>

The recognition of domestic violence as an issue of social justice is reflected in an Australian Southern Territory 'Positional Statement' or statement of belief that recognises the rights of women and children to live violence free lives.<sup>22</sup> In the review of the literature Bolton, in 1980, identifies the naming of domestic violence and the development of women's refuges in The Salvation Army as a direct response to social changes of the 1960s and 1970s in Australia.<sup>23</sup> The development of Mary Anderson Lodge is an outworking of that process. The *Australian Southern Territory Domestic Violence Policy*, of 2000, is a result of the intervening period and the progression to a considered gendered analysis of domestic violence and underpins significant changes to Mary Anderson Lodge that took place in 2006. These will be discussed further in this study in chapter four.

No literature review in relation to Mary Anderson Lodge would be complete without reference to the influence of the wider Christian Church within which it has operated. Furthermore, no literature review would be coherent without necessarily examining the theological background that informs, either directly or indirectly, the ways in which women have been conceptualised within the church. The Salvation Army, as part of the wider Christian Church, was confronted early in its history regarding the place of women in the church, which in turn influences an understanding of women generally and has its

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<sup>21</sup> Flora Larsson, *My Best Men Are Women* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1974).

<sup>22</sup> *Salvation Army Positional Statement 11* (Melbourne: The Salvation Army, n.d.).

<sup>23</sup> Barbara Bolton, *Booth's Drum* (Lane Cove NSW: Hodder & Stoughton, 1980).

outworking in the ways in which women experiencing domestic violence are conceptualised.

While it may be claimed that The Salvation Army has been radical on some fronts for example, it has already had two single female world leaders. In other ways it reflects the conservative nature of androcentric theology, with its subordinate role for women. Available literature reveals a dichotomy of promoting and valuing female ministry on the one hand and tacitly acquiescing to male leadership in the family on the other, according to Mayne Kienzle and Walker.<sup>24</sup> Female ministry has traditionally been defined in male terms, which has meant that senior organisational management responsibility for Mary Anderson Lodge has frequently resided with male, married officers (clergy).<sup>25</sup> A married woman officer in a position of greater power than her husband has been the exception rather than a common occurrence, although there has been the occasional single woman. Of course, in much of the wider church grievous misogyny exists, women in general are problematic and, in leadership, are an aberration or simply absent.

The theological approach that recognises the ‘headship’ of the male partner may put some women’s safety at risk in that it justifies and promotes unequal power relations between men and women. For example, Isherwood’s research indicates that the incidence of domestic violence is greater in some fundamentalist Christian areas in America than the national average.<sup>26</sup> Johnson locates the exclusion and subordination of women generally

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<sup>24</sup> Beverly Mayne Kienzle and Pamela J. Walker, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity* (Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1998).

<sup>25</sup> Margo Dennis, "In Her Own Right: Women Officers and Equality in the Salvation Army" (Deakin University, 1998).

<sup>26</sup> Lisa Isherwood, *Introducing Feminist Christologies* (London: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), p. 28.

as having its roots in the early churches exposure to androcentric Greek philosophical tradition and thought and she argues that, “the feminist perspective, which honours women’s humanity, women as *imago Dei*, finds this classical tradition profoundly ambiguous in what it has meant for female well-being”.<sup>27</sup> The operation of Mary Anderson Lodge, within a church based organisation, has been underpinned by these traditions. Porter goes further in her research on sexual abuse in the church when she claims:

Historically, Christianity has had just two models of womanhood, that of virgin or whore. Effectively all women, then, have been left stranded between the two in an uncomfortable ambiguity.<sup>28</sup>

While Porter chronicles a sorry litany of sexual abuse within the church in Australia, Schussler-Fiorenza<sup>29</sup> and Ruether,<sup>30</sup> as hermeneutic reconstructionists, look for the world of women behind the religious texts and create a feminist theological perspective around the lives of women by piecing together their stories. Catherine Booth, co-founder of The Salvation Army, and a strong advocate for women experiencing violence and exploitation, insisted on the spiritual equality of men and women as part of the natural order and this tradition forms a counter balance to theological misogyny. A further discussion on Catherine Booth is found in chapter two.

The Sophia wisdom traditions are drawn on in the literature by Johnson to reclaim the dignity of women and proclaim their agency.<sup>31</sup> Others, like rejectionists Daly<sup>32</sup> and Hampson,<sup>33</sup> have abandoned the project as impossible and work to create an alternative separatist paradigm free from traditional theological constraints.

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<sup>27</sup> Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse*, p. 9.

<sup>28</sup> Muriel Porter, *Sex, Power and the Clergy* (South Yarra, Victoria: Hardie Grant Books, 2003), p. 153.

<sup>29</sup> Elizabeth Schussler Fiorenza, *In Memory of Her*, 10th ed. (New York: Crossroads Publishing Company, 2000).

<sup>30</sup> Rosemary Radford Ruether, *Sexism and God Talk: Toward a Feminist Theology* (Boston: Beacon, 1983).

<sup>31</sup> Johnson, *She Who Is: The Mystery of God in Feminist Theological Discourse*.

<sup>32</sup> Mary Daly, *The Church and the Second Sex* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975).

<sup>33</sup> Daphne Hampson, *Theology and Feminism* (Blackwell: Oxford Press, 1990).

That is not to say that millions of women, like Catherine Booth, have not understood the subversive messages hidden within the founding texts of the church that challenge, as Myers claims, the “whole social system of patriarchy”.<sup>34</sup> Nonetheless, in practice, the church’s approach to women, both within its own community and outside, has at best been ambivalent and at worst chronically misogynist, and this has added a level of complexity to the operation of Mary Anderson Lodge.

Literature in the fields of domestic violence and the women’s domestic violence sector is extensive. The review of this literature has focused, for the most part, on the contribution of feminist literature given the intentional identification that Mary Anderson Lodge makes with feminist approaches to service delivery. Therefore, Lake’s analysis of gendered violence, as a part of the larger historical struggle for equality, provides an important framework for the historical context of this study.<sup>35</sup> Johnson,<sup>36</sup> Murray,<sup>37</sup> Orr,<sup>38</sup> and McGregor and Hopkins<sup>39</sup> provide insights into the histories of refuge services that provide points of similarity and divergence from the development of Mary Anderson Lodge, and earlier rescue home models.

Lake analyses the patriarchal and androcentric culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, where feminists promoted a maternal feminist citizenship for women, in which the ‘values of heart and home’, would bring about a welfare state where

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<sup>34</sup> Myers, *Binding the Strong Man*, p. 281.

<sup>35</sup> Marilyn Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1999).

<sup>36</sup> Vivien Johnson, *The Last Resort: A Woman's Refuge* (Melbourne: Penguin Books Australia, 1981).

<sup>37</sup> Murray, *More Than Refuge: Changing Responses to Domestic Violence*.

<sup>38</sup> Liz Orr, "Challenging Violence against Women," in *Women Working Together*, ed. Wendy Weeks (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1994).

<sup>39</sup> Heather McGregor and Andrew Hopkins, *Working for Change: The Movement against Domestic Violence* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991).

maternal values would be the basis of their emancipation.<sup>40</sup> This ideological stance is reflected in early Salvation Army rescue homes for women where rescue from exploitation meant becoming good wives and mothers.<sup>41</sup>

Later feminists, according to Murray,<sup>42</sup> and Bagshaw and Chung<sup>43</sup> campaigned to be included in every sphere of public life recognising that they had a contribution to make that went beyond the maternal stereotype. Feminists have long understood that the 'personal is political' and agitated to have domestic violence dealt with as a serious public issue requiring urgent change. Murray captures the community perception and historical attitudes at the advent of the women's refuge movement writing, 'before the 1970s domestic violence was not a term and barely a concept'.<sup>44</sup>

The literature reveals a growing momentum for change in the development of contemporary domestic violence services and theoretical understandings of domestic violence. This study draws on the work of writers and activists such as Pizzey,<sup>45</sup> Curthoys<sup>46</sup> and Summers<sup>47</sup> who critique the private and hidden nature of violence against women, and the struggle to respond to the result of unequal power between men and women. Others such as Scutt expand this theme by revealing the pandemic of domestic

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<sup>40</sup> Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*.

<sup>41</sup> Hull, *That Peculiar Body: The Salvation Army's Social Work Beginnings in Australia 1883-1887*, pp. 22-69.

<sup>42</sup> Murray, *More Than Refuge: Changing Responses to Domestic Violence*, p. 11.

<sup>43</sup> Dale Bagshaw and Donna Chung, *Women, Men and Domestic Violence* (University of South Australia, 2000).

<sup>44</sup> Murray, *More Than Refuge: Changing Responses to Domestic Violence*, p.3.

<sup>45</sup> Erin Pizzey, *Scream Quietly or the Neighbours Will Hear* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1974).

<sup>46</sup> Ann Curthoys, "Doing It for Themselves: The Women's Movement since 1970," in *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Marrickville, NSW: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

<sup>47</sup> Anne Summers, *Damned Whores and God's Police: The Colonization of Women in Australia* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1993).

violence across all class and social barriers.<sup>48</sup> Weeks draws ‘lessons’ from women working collaboratively to facilitate change, reflecting, and theorising on these practices thereby bringing about social action and change.<sup>49</sup> Weeks points to the unique social location of women to research their own experience, pursuing questions that are often outside the experience and, therefore, minds, of male researchers.<sup>50</sup>

Therefore, within this body of literature the significance of understanding effective responses to domestic violence provides an underpinning catalyst for this study. The conclusion in Lake’s book confirms the urgency of confronting violence against women when she says,

Women, of course, are not alone in their vulnerability to violence, but it is overwhelmingly men who are the perpetrators of violence and women who are the victims of their sexual and domestic assaults. Women live in fear of male violence in our society and order their movements, design their houses and plan their timetables in the light of that fear. Their freedom of movement and expression is quite severely curtailed as a result.<sup>51</sup>

My work will join this body of literature and is the result of personal and professional experiences of working with women who have experienced domestic violence. It attempts to reconcile the feminist framework of practice that has developed at Mary Anderson Lodge within a patriarchal church organisation.

## **Methodology**

The methods of investigation employed for this study are contained within a feminist framework that positions the experiences of women at the centre of the inquiry. Feminist

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<sup>48</sup> Jocelyn Scutt, *Even in the Best of Homes: Violence in the Family* (Melbourne: Penguin, 1983).

<sup>49</sup> Wendy Weeks, *Women Working Together* (Melbourne: Loungman Cheshire, 1994).

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, p.11.

<sup>51</sup> Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*.

research is an approach to, or perspective through which, knowledge making occurs rather than any one set of methods.<sup>52</sup> Additionally, a feminist framework acknowledges the gendered and unequal power relationships between men and women in social and familial experiences.<sup>53</sup> Feminist frameworks posit that knowledge is not created in a vacuum rather it is located within social, political and ideological systems resulting traditionally in the predominance of androcentric outcomes that view the masculine as the universal norm. In such a schema women's voices and experiences have routinely been subsumed or omitted. The central question for feminist methods is then 'whose knowledge and for what purpose'.<sup>54</sup> These questions are significant in this study as the aim of the research is to be transparent with the use of knowledge gained from those involved in direct service delivery. The purpose of this study is to identify some of the significant issues in the development of the service and their implications for the future. Further, it is acknowledged in this study that feminist methods of research have consistently challenged the notion of research as value-free.<sup>55</sup> Feminist research methods question the 'traditional barrier between researcher and researched' recognising the construction of knowledge within a subjective environment, and making visible the beliefs and values of the researcher.<sup>56</sup>

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<sup>52</sup> Shulamit Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

<sup>53</sup> Liz Stanley and Sue Wise, *Breaking out Again: Feminist Ontology and Epistemology* (London: Routledge, 1993).

<sup>54</sup> Catherine Waldby, "Feminism and Method," in *Transitions: New Australian Feminisms*, ed. Barbara Caine and Rosemary Pringle (St Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 1995).

<sup>55</sup> Mary Field Belenky et al., *Women's Ways of Knowing* (United States: Basic Books Inc., 1986); *Information and Infrastructure: Improving Policy, Planning and Practice in Preventing and Responding to Domestic Violence* (Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, 2003); Renate Klein, "How to Do What We What to Do," in *Theories of Women's Studies*, ed. G Bowles and R.D Klein (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983); Patti Lather, "Reinscribing Otherwise: The Play of Values in the Practices of Human Sciences," in *The Paradigm Dialog*, ed. E.G. Guba (Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, 1990); Weeks, *Women Working Together*.

<sup>56</sup> Victoria Robinson, "Introducing Women's Studies," in *Introducing Women's Studies*, ed. Diane Richardson and Victoria Robinson (London: Macmillan Press, 1993), p.18.

Interviewing, a primary data collection method in this study, is a method of knowledge making that embraces and acknowledges the experiences of women,<sup>57</sup> and complements the use of textual sources, archival material and policy and internal Mary Anderson Lodge review documents. Five women staff, past and present, have shared their knowledge and experience of the changes in service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge, via semi-structured in-depth interviews. The participants were all given the same series of questions in advance and during the interview were asked to respond to them in relation to their experience at Mary Anderson Lodge. Each of the interviews was approximately an hour long and framed by Oakley's feminist approach that builds rapport and includes respect for different views of reality.<sup>58</sup> All participants received a copy of the transcript of the interview and were invited to provide further feedback. Feedback from the interview was positive and transcripts were confirmed as accurate records.

Textual sources have included Salvation Army publications such as the *WarCry* and archives as well as the material available from Mary Anderson Lodge, including annual reports, procedure manuals and service review reports that document changes in service delivery. Induction and staff manuals along with training and policy documents have also been analysed in this study.

An analysis of the information provided by participants in the interviews and archival sources was conducted around the general themes suggested by the questions, internal

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<sup>57</sup> Janet Finch, "Its Great to Have Someone to Talk To: The Ethics of Interviewing Women," in *Social Researching: Politics, Problems and Practice*, ed. C Bell and H Roberts (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984).

<sup>58</sup> Ann Oakley, "Interviewing Women: A Contradiction in Terms," in *Doing Feminist Research*, ed. H Roberts (London: Routledge, 1981), pp. 30-61.

verses external influences on the service, internal Salvation Army policy and procedures, the understandings of domestic violence in the broader community and practices in the women's domestic violence sector. (See Appendix B for the list of interview questions). A coding system was developed using categories relating to the themes that developed from the questions, and applied to the interview transcripts to analyse major trends and anomalies. The resulting analysis has produced an understanding of some of the influences that have facilitated improvement in service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge.<sup>59</sup>

This study is a reflective analysis of some strengths and weaknesses in the evolving praxis of Mary Anderson Lodge and provides insights into some of the ways in which change in internal organisational culture is reflected in service delivery. The following chapter examines some of the historical development in the beginnings of The Salvation Army. These influences are significant in that they frame the culture that Mary Anderson Lodge negotiates in the provision of domestic violence services to women.

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<sup>59</sup> Angela McRobbie, "The Politics of Feminist Research: Between Talk, Text and Action," *Feminist Review* 12 (1982); Reinharz, *Feminist Methods in Social Research*.

## **CHAPTER TWO: Background and Influences on Tradition**

This chapter discusses the historical and wider cultural locus from which The Salvation Army grew and developed. The influences of the founders Catherine and William Booth are briefly outlined, exploring their beliefs and values as nineteenth century reformers and revivalists. It is by no means a comprehensive overview of the founders' lives, nor The Salvation Army's history, as such a task is well beyond the scope of this project. A brief overview of the beginnings of The Salvation Army and significant events and influences are all that can be undertaken in this chapter. Catherine Booth and her influence and beliefs about women, couched as they are in many of the prevailing beliefs and values of nineteenth century England, are a central focus of this chapter.

Of particular interest is rescue work for women, the antecedent for Mary Anderson Lodge, which came from a Victorian sense of morality. Within the patriarchal and androcentric culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, feminists promoted a maternal feminist citizenship for women in which the 'values of heart and home,' would bring about a welfare state where maternal values would be the basis of their emancipation.<sup>60</sup> In a similar way Catherine Booth was involved in rescue work for 'fallen' women, with the aim of reforming women into respectable wives and mothers. However, Catherine Booth's theological thinking on the status and place of women moved well beyond the bounds of maternal feminist ideology and influenced the early internal culture of the movement. Catherine insisted, on theological grounds, that women were co-workers with men, not subordinate to them. Mary Anderson Lodge can trace

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<sup>60</sup> Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, p. 49.

this feminist theological tradition back through its evolution to Hope Hall, then further to the beginnings of rescue work for women and the legacy of Catherine Booth.

### **Overview of The Salvation Army**

The Salvation Army is a part of the Christian Church, although distinctive in government and practice. The Army's doctrine follows the mainstream of Christian belief and its articles of faith emphasize God's salvific purposes. The Salvation Army emerged from the Methodism of John Wesley, coming as it did from the Anglican tradition. Its objectives are 'the advancement of the Christian religion of education, the relief of poverty, and other charitable objects beneficial to society or the community of mankind as a whole'.<sup>61</sup> The Salvation Army, so titled in 1878 and originally known as The Christian Mission that had been founded in 1865 by William and Catherine Booth, has spread from London to 109 countries and territories, encompassing every major continent in the world. The Salvation Army conducts its work in 175 languages. Membership stands at more than one million soldiers (lay members) and hundreds of thousands of adherents (associate members). Officers (clergy) number 17,199 and employees 107,369, which is an indication of the development of Salvation Army services beyond its local church function. Social welfare programmes number in the thousands, including schools, aged care, drug and alcohol rehabilitation, second hand stores, crisis accommodation services and hospitals.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> The Salvation Army. *History of The Salvation Army*. [on-line]. Available WWW: <http://salvationarmy.org/ihq/international/statistics>. [viewed 18 April 2007].

<sup>62</sup> Ibid.

Increasingly, The Army's indigenous membership allows it to cooperate in culturally appropriate ways with international relief agencies and governments alike. The largest Salvation Army membership now comes from the African and Asian continents, although the western Salvation Army remains organisationally and politically dominant. The organisation's partnerships with both private and government agencies enables social programmes to grow in an exponential manner beyond that which its own membership could support.

A significant Salvation Army practice relates to the status of women, who from the beginning of the movement have exercised leadership in The Salvation Army, a direct result of Catherine Booth's influence.<sup>63</sup> It is unique in having had two female world leaders (Generals), Eva Booth from 1934 to 1939 and Eva Burrows 1986 to 1993, in its comparatively short history.

## **Founders**

To understand the development of Mary Anderson Lodge in its present form requires not only an historical perspective of the development of Salvation Army Social Services but also an understanding of the influences on which the organisation itself was built. The underpinning philosophy of the service that exists today is predicated on events that occurred half way around the world, more than a century ago in England. At the epicentre of such events stand William and Catherine Booth, founders of The Salvation Army. It is to them that any investigation must naturally look for its beginnings.

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<sup>63</sup> Larsson, *My Best Men Are Women*, pp.17-19.

William Booth was born on 10 April 1829 in Sneinton, Nottingham.<sup>64</sup> In 1842 at the age of thirteen William was apprenticed to a pawnbroker, a trade he grew to dislike intensely. William had embraced the reformist cause in part as a result of his exposure to the deprivation and poverty he experience around him as a child and then as a teenage pawnbroker.<sup>65</sup> William witnessed firsthand the deprivation of the industrial revolution and wrote in the preface of his 1890 book, *In Darkest England and The Way Out*,

When but a mere child the degradation and helpless misery of the poor Stockingers of my native town, wandering gaunt and hunger-stricken through the streets droning out their melancholy ditties, crowding the Union or toiling like gallery slaves on relief works for a bare subsistence, kindled in my heart yearnings to help the poor which have continued to this day and have had a powerful influence on my whole life.<sup>66</sup>

William Booth met Catherine Mumford at a temperance gathering convened by Edward Rabbits, a boot maker and wealthy benefactor who was supporting Booth's lay preaching at the time.<sup>67</sup> Uncertainty followed as William endeavoured to find a place among the reformers, then the Calvinist Congregationalists. He was finally offered a position as an evangelist in 1857 within the Armenian Methodist New Connexion. Catherine and William were married during this time on 6 June, 1855, sharing a conviction in the importance of women's ministry.<sup>68</sup> The first of their eight children, William Bramwell, was born in March 1856.

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<sup>64</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*.

<sup>65</sup> Craig Campbell, "Emerging Images of Salvationist Mission: For the Glory of God and the Benefit of Your Generation", Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Melbourne College of Divinity, (Melbourne, 2004), pp. 52-53.

<sup>66</sup> William Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out* (London: McCorquodale and Co, Ltd, 1890).

<sup>67</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*.

<sup>68</sup> Roy Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*. (London: Little Brown and Company, 1999).

Catherine was born on 17 January 1829 in Ashbourne, Derbyshire to Sarah and John Mumford. Her father was a carriage builder by profession and a committed Methodist lay preacher with an active interest in the political sphere. Catherine received only two years of external schooling due to the cloistering influences of her mother and persistent and extended illness.<sup>69</sup> Catherine was however an avid reader and became cognisant of the arguments around many of her personal interests such as cruelty to animals, church history, theology and gender. Her father John's gradual descent into alcoholism and his growing distance from the church had a profound influence on Catherine and galvanised her belief in total abstinence. W.T.Stead, personal friend and editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, claims Catherine's personal family experience caused her to be 'just a little prejudiced against the doctrine of the man's superiority'.<sup>70</sup>

Drawing from puritan Wesleyan orthodoxy, the Booths were austere in their self-denial. Fine clothing, jewellery and tobacco, reading novels, which puritans believed romanticised the human condition, and theatre, were all forbidden. Perhaps as a result of such austerity or indeed the lack of their formal education, they were also anti-intellectual. In many ways they were spiritual reformists fundamentally interested in the moral behaviour and spiritual identification of their generation. Murdoch identifies the great achievement of both the Booths as the ways in which they spoke to their generation.<sup>71</sup> This was the locus of their impact.

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<sup>69</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*.

<sup>70</sup> W.T. Stead, *Catherine Booth* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1979).

<sup>71</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p.13.

## **Industrial Revolution**

The 1733 invention by John Kay of the flying shuttle revolutionised the textile industry and provided a trigger for the launch of the Industrial Revolution. The consequent influx of displaced agricultural workers to the cities and growing mechanisation led to diminished family ties, and favoured smaller mobile family units who could respond to the labour needs of factories and the industrialisation of many previously cottage based industries.<sup>72</sup> The ongoing exploitation and social injustice suffered by the working class exercised the conscience of revivalists and social reformers like Catherine and William Booth. Roger Green, Salvationist historian and theologian, summarises the period as one in which rampant individualism and wealth creation benefited only a proportion of the population. For the disadvantaged and poor in the urban centres life was a struggle and working conditions often extremely unsafe. However, Green adds,

All was not lost. The nineteenth century witnessed an increased exposure to the general public of the problems brought about by the Industrial Revolution. That came from two sources. First, there was a rising humanitarianism throughout the nineteenth century in England, often expressed through radical politics. This resulted in a systematic defence of the cause of the poor and the disenfranchised. Some of that humanitarianism was religiously based and some was not.<sup>73</sup>

Catherine and William Booth were part of the religious response and believed that the ultimate imperative for mankind was of a spiritual nature, social services provided a vital first step in alleviating the suffering of the disadvantaged but nothing short of spiritual enlightenment would bring about permanent change and hope for mankind.

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<sup>72</sup> Renate Howe and Shurlee Swain, "Fertile Grounds for Divorce: Sexuality and Reproductive Imperatives," in *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Marrickville, NSW: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

<sup>73</sup> Roger Green, "The Salvation Army and the Evangelical Tradition," *Word and Deed* Vol 5, no. No 2 (May 2003).

## **Revivalism**

Catherine and William Booth were part of the revivalist movement that swept America and crossed the Atlantic to England in the mid nineteenth century. While, as Green notes, they aligned themselves theologically with Wesleyan Methodism and the Armenian doctrine of redemption for all, they nonetheless looked to the work and methods of others as models for their own ministry.<sup>74</sup> The Booths were influenced and inspired by American evangelists such as James Caughey, Charles G. Finney and Phoebe Palmer. Palmer, an American lay teacher and social activist who experienced a great deal of misogynist criticism, particularly influenced Catherine. The criticism of Palmer by Reverend Augustus Rees stirred Catherine into action in a thirty two-page pamphlet of reply entitled, *Female Ministry: or, Women's Right to Preach the Gospel*, in 1859.<sup>75</sup>

## **Female Ministry**

The late 1800s was a particularly challenging time for women like Catherine who supported female suffrage. Women began to develop their own agency and find a voice for their aspirations. Such influences engendered a culture that enabled revivalists like Palmer to exercise a ministry in America and England. While Palmer, with her husband's support, promoted her work as teaching and prophecy, which was deemed an acceptable role for women, Catherine moved well beyond such a framework. As Kienzle and Walker have noted,

The most innovative and ultimately significant aspect of Catherine's thinking was her assertion that women could possess spiritual authority as women and

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid.

<sup>75</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*.

could preach as Christian women in their own voices as part of the natural order.<sup>76</sup>

In fact, Catherine went on to take the controversial step of preaching herself when she rose to speak to the congregation on Pentecost Sunday in 1860. Catherine became a notable speaker often supporting the family in difficult financial times with her speaking engagements and the payments they attracted. Murdoch comments, ‘thus were launched thirty years of preaching in Britain, during which time, many agree, no man exceeded her in popularity or results’.<sup>77</sup>

In 1864 Catherine supported the campaign of Josephine Butler to repeal the *Contagious Diseases Act*, regulating the activities of prostitutes. The objection from Catherine, along with other reformers, was that the legislation defined the prostitute, commonly female, as the guilty party rather than the clients. The following year she became associated with the Midnight Movement, a group dedicated to the rescue of prostitutes. Catherine insightfully understood women as victims, and their wealthy patrons as oppressors.<sup>78</sup>

Hattersley’s claim in his book, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*, has strong evidence to assert that Catherine’s commitment to the poor and disadvantaged both preceded her husbands and was more passionate.<sup>79</sup>

The significant participation of women cannot be underestimated in the formative years of The Salvation Army. Walker astutely recognises Salvationist women as part of a long

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<sup>76</sup> Mayne Kienzle and Walker, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, p. 292.

<sup>77</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p. 33.

<sup>78</sup> John Cleary, *Boundless Salvation* (Draft Six. An unpublished document of the Theology in Mission Focus Group, 2004), p. 39.

<sup>79</sup> Hattersley, *Blood and Fire: William and Catherine Booth and Their Salvation Army*.

tradition of 'nonconformist radicalism' that challenged the passivity of female religiosity in the later part of the nineteenth century. Catherine Booth was in the vanguard of the development of women as an integral part of The Salvation Army. An early set of regulations for officers contained a brief chapter on the position of women. Larsson provides these excerpts,

Women have the right to an equal share with men in the work of publishing salvation.  
A woman may hold any position of authority or power in the Army.  
A woman is not to be kept back from any position of power or influence merely on account of her sex.  
Women must be treated as equal with men in all the intellectual and social relationships of life.<sup>80</sup>

The Hallelujah Lasses, as women Salvationists were known, caused a great deal of controversy and were considered scandalous by many and a novelty by others. What is clear is that, 'Salvationist women preached and assumed positions of leadership and authority at a time when few Protestant denominations or other working-class organisations allowed women to perform such work'.<sup>81</sup>

When Catherine Booth died in 1890 from cancer 30,000 people lined the streets of East London for her funeral procession.

### **Early Social Reform**

In 1865 William and Catherine Booth formed the Christian Mission, independent of denominational affiliations. Their original intention was to run revival meetings and then send the converts back to mainstream churches. However, it became apparent that this

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<sup>80</sup> Larsson, *My Best Men Are Women*, p. 18.

<sup>81</sup> Mayne Kienzle and Walker, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, p. 288.

would not work as the churches could not accommodate the needs and culture of those they sent. William Booth set about providing for his converts and reordered the mission along military lines, reflecting the pervasive influence and popularity of British militarism and empire. In 1878 the mission was renamed The Salvation Army and, in time, William Booth took the title of General. Catherine never formally took a title, she remained Mrs Booth, often known as The Army Mother.

Financially, the revivalist model of 'soup and salvation' proved beyond William Booth's resources and he largely abandoned the practice by 1874. Booth believed that urban social mission along with Sunday schools was a waste of the evangelist's energies and resources. Murdoch notes the failure of the revivalist ideals precipitated Booth's focus on social services.<sup>82</sup> However Cleary<sup>83</sup> and Campbell<sup>84</sup> both challenge this view and insist that the development of social services was consistent with Booth's personal background and theological views. Meanwhile Salvationist women, following their own initiative and the example of Catherine, commenced working in the slums of East End London. Women in The Salvation Army responded to the publication in 1883 of Andrew Mearn's *Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, which chronicled the squalor of East End London by pressuring William Booth to take practical action. Mrs Cottrell, a Salvationist, initiated a response by taking displaced and at risk young women home with her, until in 1884 William Booth responded to pressure and provided a rescue home in Whitechapel.

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<sup>82</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p. 114

<sup>83</sup> Cleary, *Boundless Salvation*, p. 37.

<sup>84</sup> Campbell, "Emerging Images of Salvationist Mission: For the Glory of God and the Benefit of Your Generation," p. 41.

William Booth's *In Darkest England and the Way Out*, published in 1890, offered a grand scheme to reform England's social ills of poverty, unemployment and vice.<sup>85</sup> The most notorious social activism engaged in by the Booths at this time was undoubtedly the Maiden Tribute affair. It launched The Salvation Army on a public social reform agenda that still echoes today. In 1885, W.T. Stead, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, recruited Catherine and William Booth in his crusade to promote the Criminal Law Amendment Bill that proposed raising the age of consent to sixteen to prevent young girls from being recruited for prostitution. A former brothel keeper, Rebecca Jarrett, who had become a Salvationist agreed to help procure a girl, Eliza Armstrong, thirteen years of age, from her mother for two pounds. The simulated procurement completed, Eliza was sent to work in France while Stead published his article depicting the ease of the abduction and abuse of Eliza (whom he called Lily) to galvanise public pressure to pass the Bill. Mrs Armstrong meanwhile sought the return of Eliza and while she agreed that Eliza was safe and sound and had received double wages she also signed charges against those who had participated in the event, W. T. Stead, Rebecca Jarrett and Bramwell Booth, William's son and deputy. While Booth was acquitted, Stead and Jarrett received three and six month's goal respectively. The Bill, however, was passed setting the age of consent at sixteen, although this was short of the eighteen years that Catherine wanted.

Other social action followed and in 1890 the match industry with its use of yellow phosphorus caught the attention of The Salvation Army. The Salvation Army bought a match factory and produced the first redhead safety matches, raised the workers wages to almost double their original rate and captured public imagination. Within the decade the

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<sup>85</sup> Booth, *In Darkest England and the Way Out*.

use of yellow phosphorus had ended, and the resultant illness, 'phossy jaw', disappeared. The Salvation Army sold the match factory and moved to other issues.<sup>86</sup>

Early social programmes within the fledgling Salvation Army were in response to the changing nature of economic and social paradigms exacerbated by the Industrial Revolution. Regardless of the nature of disadvantage, the consistent response was one of advocating for the temporal and spiritual rights and advancement of the poorest sectors of society.

## **Australia**

While the social service expression of The Salvation Army was developing in England, it was simultaneously emerging around the globe with the evangelical mission of the movement. Lay work began in 1880 in South Australia under a gum tree in Adelaide's Botanic Park. The chance meeting of John Gore and Edwards Saunders had resulted in the first public meeting of The Salvation Army, conducted from the back of Gore's fruit cart. The message was twofold, reflecting the directions that The Salvation Army was taking: evangelism with John Gore's added addendum, 'If there's a man here who hasn't had a meal today let him come home with me.'<sup>87</sup>

Australia in the 1880s was a country undergoing rapid growth and development. The gold rush and the discovery of Australia's mineral wealth had brought prosperity and people to the colonies. The notion of an Australian identity with its bush mythology was

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<sup>86</sup> Caughey Gauntlett, *Social Evils the Army Has Challenged* (London: Salvationist Publishing and Supplies, 1954), pp. 22-24.

<sup>87</sup> Bolton, *Booth's Drum*, p. 7.

championed in many quarters such as the *Sydney Bulletin* under J.F. Archibald who promoted a 'federated, republican, socialist Australia.'<sup>88</sup>

It was a vibrant period of Australian history with increasingly strong unions fighting for a share of the prosperity for their members in a time of booming employment. Chinese workers, mainly men, numbering half a million, had arrived in the Australia and South Pacific region.<sup>89</sup> No formal welfare system existed which meant that disadvantage and those unable to take advantage of the growing national prosperity experienced poverty. Bolton notes, 'it was a lively, materialistic, unfair and buoyant society and into it, down the narrow lanes of its cities, marched The Salvation Army'.<sup>90</sup>

The Salvation Army found many new opportunities in the young nation. The Salvation Army pioneered film production and presentation in Australasia with its Limelight Brigade. Between 1892 and 1909 it produced three hundred films, including the major multimedia presentation, *Soldiers of the Cross / Heroes Of The Cross*, one of the first feature films in the world. The unit also documented Australia's Federation ceremonies in 1901.<sup>91</sup>

## **Prison Gate**

One of the earliest expressions of The Salvation Army social services in Australia developed from the Prison-Gate Brigades. Prisoners were met upon their release and, in

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<sup>88</sup> Ibid., p. 8.

<sup>89</sup> Clive Moore, "A Precious Few: Melanesian and Asian Women in Northern Australia," in *Gender Relations in Australia: Domination and Negotiation*, ed. Kay Saunders and Raymond Evans (Marrickville, NSW: Harcourt Brace, 1994).

<sup>90</sup> Bolton, *Booth's Drum*, p. 9.

<sup>91</sup> Cleary, *Boundless Salvation*, p 57.

the early stages of the programme, taken to the homes of the Prison-Gate Brigade members to provide for their practical needs and integration back into society. The Salvation Army was not the only responder to the need of prisoners released from a still very harsh and overcrowded prison system. Dr John Singleton had been engaged in the prison system for many years and was a strident activist and proponent of social justice. Ned Kelly is reported to have said of Dr Singleton, 'If ever a protestant gets through the gates of heaven, it will be Dr Singleton.'<sup>92</sup> He was among the first to welcome The Army to Melbourne.

Responding to the growing demand and the inability of the brigade members to house the numbers of prisoners seeking assistance the need to find a satisfactory facility became urgent. In 1883 the first of these facilities anywhere in The Salvation Army world was opened in Australia, for post release male prisoners, in a small house in Carlton.<sup>93</sup>

### **Rescue Homes for Women**

The first rescue home for women opened in Scotland in 1883. Australia followed suit in 1884 with a rescue home in Carlton. The initial emphasis of the work in Australia was to search for missing girls whose parents had appealed for help to The Salvation Army in finding them. By 1886 three rescue homes had been opened in Victoria.

The foundation of work with women had been laid in the days of The Christian Mission. Catherine Booth was involved in an abortive attempt to establish a home for women in

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<sup>92</sup> Hull, *That Peculiar Body: The Salvation Army's Social Work Beginnings in Australia 1883-1887*, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army: Volume Three, Social Reform and Welfare Work*, p. 5.

1868.<sup>94</sup> It was part of the social reform agenda that expressed itself in tangible ways alongside revivalism. However, the organisation and funds were beyond those involved at the time.

To understand the significance of rescue work in Victoria presupposes knowledge of the proliferation of opium dens that developed in tandem with the gold rush, and its influx of migrant workers, particularly Chinese men. Brothels and gambling establishments developed unchecked and pervaded many areas of the Melbourne Central Business District. Public pressure eventually saw The Pharmacy Board prosecuting people for selling opium, listed as a poison, without a licence.<sup>95</sup> However, so endemic was the problem that although individuals and charities made attempts to curtail the activities of opium dens, lack of resources and government support made it tremendously difficult to police and largely ineffectual.

The police were ill equipped to intervene and were not considered the arbitrators of public morals, beyond the point of upholding the law, which afforded little protection to minors from unscrupulous predators. In an extraordinary acknowledgement of the work of Major James Barker, and those who worked under the banner of The Salvation Army in the opium dens, the Victorian Government extended to him the capacity to use statutory power:

In 1888 (5 January) the Victorian Government bestowed upon Barker authority to apprehend without warrant, any child apparently under 16 years found residing in a brothel or associating with or dwelling with a prostitute

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<sup>94</sup> Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army: Volume Three, Social Reform and Welfare Work*, p. 18.

<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

whether the mother of the child or not. Some time later this authority was extended to Mrs Barker.<sup>96</sup>

The Army's early social work in Australia and, indeed, internationally, was not a carefully planned project, resulting from analysis and economic implications and social trends. Rather it was an ad hoc response to need. Its rapid growth and development caused problems with financial capacity and personnel. Nor was it a deceptive evangelical tool. When the social services work of The Salvation Army began it had no trouble packing halls and winning people to the cause. In fact, the success of the evangelical work only further stretched resources.<sup>97</sup>

### **Strategic Social Services**

As early as the 1880s Bismarck had introduced into Germany a national social insurance system. The underlying notions caught on in Britain and Lloyd George introduced a national insurance for health and unemployment in 1911. W. H. Beveridge, whose vision was for the state to provide care 'from the cradle to the grave', had a significant influence on the development of the first comprehensive welfare state instigated in England by the Labour government of 1945-50.<sup>98</sup>

William Booth's 'In Darkest England' scheme, was one of many at the time and had limited success. However, it did open the way for large-scale cooperative social service endeavours with government. Notwithstanding this growing cognisance of the wider mission of The Salvation Army, the Booths maintained the revivalist's view that 'the

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<sup>96</sup> Ibid., p.12.

<sup>97</sup> Bolton, *Booth's Drum*, p. 118.

<sup>98</sup> Nicholas Abercrombie, Stephen Hill, and Bryan S. Turner, *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (London: Penguin, 1994), p. 454.

prodigal with a new home, a new suit, a loaf of bread, and half a crown weekly from the parish would still not be a new man'.<sup>99</sup> Nothing short of the conversion and the life of Christian holiness would make him a new man. These underlying tensions, of the revivalist and reformer streams of The Salvation Army, still persist today.

These events influenced the ongoing developments of The Salvation Army social programmes in Australia along with other western societies. Over the past half century, The Salvation Army has become part of the complex, government funded, charitable sector response to social need in Australia. Many Salvation Army programmes now operate in complex joint funding arrangements with the resultant tensions and struggle for the locus of control over the fundamental purpose of the particular programmes.

It is clear from this brief overview of the beginnings of The Salvation Army, and particularly the influence of Catherine Booth, that the commitment to the wellbeing of women was part of early Salvation Army tradition and theological understanding. Catherine Booth's theological and reformist beliefs were the driving force for Salvation Army rescue work with women and that legacy is reflected in the existence of many services around the world today such as Mary Anderson Lodge. Chapter three explores the outworking of this legacy and history in the analysis of influences that have impacted Mary Anderson Lodge and its service delivery to women.

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<sup>99</sup> Murdoch, *Origins of the Salvation Army*, p. 148.

### **CHAPTER THREE: Changing with the times**

This chapter looks at the development of Mary Anderson Lodge from its forerunner, Hope Hall, with the corresponding changes from women's rescue work to the development of a specific women's refuge programme. These changes are located within the context of The Salvation Army's organisational system and the wider societal understandings of domestic violence. Also significant has been the development of government funding and regulatory systems. The central focus for this chapter is on the decades of the 1980s and 1990s, not that the intervening periods are of no interest or significance. However, the changes of these decades have been significant steps towards the current service model, additionally first hand accounts of these decades are still available.

This chapter comments on some of the changes that occurred as the programme transitioned from the traditional rescue home model to a specific service focused on women escaping domestic violence. These changes include the funding model, case management systems, the accommodation model and philosophical shifts in the internal organisational culture of Mary Anderson Lodge.

The Salvation Army's services for women developed quickly after the arrival of the movement in Australia in 1880. The initial concern had been for women leaving prison, escaping prostitution or in crisis situations. Various 'rescue homes' were opened to meet the need of these women, one of which was the original Hope Hall in Exhibition Street, Melbourne. in 1887. Women experiencing domestic violence and its associated

homelessness were often conceptualised as 'women in crisis' without an understanding of the nature of that crisis. However, The Salvation Army was not the only charitable organisation to respond to the needs of women at this time. Prominent organisations such as the first national women's organisation, The Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) of Australasia, championed the cause of women suffering violence from drunken partners.<sup>100</sup> In 1892 the WCTU opened a hostel in Spencer Street, Melbourne.<sup>101</sup>

As the demands on The Salvation Army service, Hope Hall, grew a larger building was sought and in 1927 it was relocated to Drummond Street, Carlton. Hope Hall operated along institutional lines with dormitory style accommodation and communal facilities and the women assisted in the day-to-day domestic tasks of running the institution. Hope Hall was later moved to Burnley Street, Richmond, in 1966 and renamed Mary Anderson Lodge.

The significance of Mary Anderson Lodge in the women's domestic violence sector in Victoria is underscored in a report for the 1996/7 period in which Mary Anderson Lodge was identified as the largest women's refuge in Victoria, assisting 150 families with 280 associated children. The service comprised twelve separate units for women and children, eight transitional community based houses and an outreach worker supporting up to twenty-five women in the community.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>100</sup> Spearritt, "New Dawns: First Wave Feminism 1880-1914."

<sup>101</sup> Weeks, *Women Working Together*, p. 32.

<sup>102</sup> Jenny Begent, *Report on Mary Anderson Lodge* (Melbourne: The Salvation Army, 1997).

The developing professionalism of staff and the theoretical basis for the analysis of domestic violence are acknowledged as specific catalysts driving change in the policy and direction of Mary Anderson Lodge during these decades, in this the service was not alone. An increasing professionalism in the sector was encouraged, for example, during the 1980s by, Hawke Government training initiatives, developed by a tripartite industry training committee for community service sector workers.<sup>103</sup> Another catalyst for change at Mary Anderson Lodge includes the introduction of funding in the form of the Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP), a Federal Government funding initiative in response to homelessness. SAAP funding resulted in changes to the ways that services operated by requiring a case management approach be developed towards service users. Consequently greater staff professionalism was required to retain SAAP funding.

Other factors specifically identified by the interviewees for this chapter relate uniquely to Mary Anderson Lodge, such as the nature of its relationship to the wider women's domestic violence sector and contested ideas of the sacred nature of the family. These issues will be examined in greater detail in this chapter.

As a foreground to this chapter it will be helpful to note that a significant cultural shift had begun in this period as the professionalisation of Salvation Army staff, in general, challenged the traditional cultural equilibrium. New staff members with no attachment or particular stakeholding in The Salvation Army, and its religious mission, disturbed the long established status quo of Salvation Army officers (clergy) who constituted the

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<sup>103</sup> Weeks, *Women Working Together*, p.124.

majority of employed staff. The growth and development of Salvation Army social services in particular exceeded the supply of Salvation Army officers and lay Salvationists, requiring a growing number of non-Salvation Army personnel. A balance between preserving a Salvation Army culture and employing staff with specialised domestic violence qualifications and experience challenged the essence of distinctive Salvation Army identity at the service. These issues remain a fundamental site of contest within the wider organisation.

In many ways Mary Anderson Lodge staff and management have been situated between the patriarchal system of the organisation and the feminist philosophy of much of the women's domestic violence sector. Successive managers and staff have been required to negotiate this contested site while delivering a client focussed service for women experiencing domestic violence.

### **Rescue home to women's refuge**

While acknowledging that the beginning of the feminist women's refuge movement in Australia was the opening of the 'Elsie' women's refuge in Sydney in March 1974,<sup>104</sup> women who had experienced domestic violence had always been part of The Salvation Army's work,<sup>105</sup> as it had been for numerous other churches, charitable organisations and individuals from the early days of the colonies. It is, therefore, important to acknowledge significant events in the historical background of The Salvation Army's work with women to contextualise the background to shifts in policy at Mary Anderson Lodge.

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<sup>104</sup> Anne Summers, *Ducks on the Pond: An Autobiography 1945-1976* (Melbourne: Viking, 1999).

<sup>105</sup> Bolton, *Booth's Drum*.

However, a specific focus on domestic violence emerged slowly and women with a complex variety of needs used the services of Mary Anderson Lodge's forerunner, Hope Hall.

The Victorian Attorney General, W. Slater, along with The Salvation Army's Commissioner Hugh Whatmore opened Hope Hall, Carlton, in October 1927 and described it as a home for deserted mothers and children, women turned out of their homes by their husbands, women discharged from prison or on remand, and those escaping prostitution.<sup>106</sup> This property was the first home for women owned by The Salvation Army and its purchase alleviated the need for frequent moves from rental properties such as the original Hope Hall in Exhibition Street, Melbourne.

Women experiencing domestic violence were not identified as a specific needs group at this stage, mostly due to a lack of understanding of the causal nature of domestic violence in issues of homelessness.<sup>107</sup> For more than three decades Hope Hall operated from this site and provided accommodation and support services to women. At the end of those decades, as the 1960s began, an increasing awareness of the need for specialised domestic violence services began to be recognised, although it was yet to be named and understood as such.

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<sup>106</sup> The Salvation Army, *The War Cry*, 21 October 1927.

<sup>107</sup> Ros Thorpe and Jude Irwin, *Women and Violence: Working for Change* (Sydney: Hale & Ironmonger, 1996), p.1.

It was not until 1966 that a purpose built premises was provided by The Salvation Army to accommodate 'women with young families in crisis situations'.<sup>108</sup> While many workers at Mary Anderson Lodge discerned the causal nature of domestic violence in the crisis women were experiencing, the organisation as a whole, and community at large, had neither the vocabulary nor the insight to articulate such an analysis of women's experience. It may be tempting with hindsight to deplore this lack of understanding at an organisational level; however, the hegemonic ideal of family life, with its functionalist ideology, rendered domestic violence invisible in most public forums. Luminaries like Anne Summers, who had been working on the classic feminist text *Damned Whores and God's Police* for two years, had not thought to investigate violence against women before becoming involved in the refuge movement in 1973.<sup>109</sup>

As the 1970s progressed, a rapid development in the women's refuge movement had taken place and the public discourse around second wave feminism, more popularly known as women's liberation, had begun to have an impact on the service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge. Laurel Pearce was a member of the relief staff while studying social work and recalls,

When I look back at my time there in the 70s it changed quite a bit. We still did not have much of an understanding of domestic violence but we had begun to develop an understanding that domestic violence required specialised responses. Saying that, domestic violence was not taught as a specific issue at that time, when I was studying social work.<sup>110</sup>

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<sup>108</sup> Kirkham, *Southern Soup-Soap-Salvation*. p. 72.

<sup>109</sup> Summers, *Ducks on the Pond: An Autobiography 1945-1976*, p. 316.

<sup>110</sup> Pearce.

Mary Anderson Lodge, as an established service for women, took time to respond to the development of the refuge movement in Victoria. However, Lodge staff quickly recognised the value of participating in the women's refuge movement and have now been participants for decades. It took a little longer, however, to develop an internal network of Salvation Army domestic violence services on a whole of territory basis.<sup>111</sup> This partly reflects the cost and difficulty of bringing together services from the states. Nonetheless, a conference was held in Adelaide in 1986 to confront the emerging issues faced by Salvation Army domestic violence services.

One of the outcomes of the conference was the establishment of a network of domestic violence services within the organisation. The significance of domestic violence within frontline Salvation Army services had become apparent to those in client service delivery. The aim of the network was to support similar Salvation Army services by providing a 'networking experience and forum' to share common issues and information and provide a voice for domestic violence services within the organisation.<sup>112</sup>

Concurrent with this was a developing understanding of the needs of women experiencing domestic violence and these influenced the rebuilding of Mary Anderson Lodge in 1986. The remodelling provided twelve self-contained units that moved the service from the highly institutionalised paternal model of the past, with its strong regulatory framework, shared and communal living, to one with a degree of autonomy for

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<sup>111</sup> The Salvation Army is divided into two territories in Australia. The Eastern territory includes the Australian Capital Territory, New South Wales and Queensland. The Southern Territory includes Western Australia, South Australia, The Northern Territory, Tasmania and Victoria.

<sup>112</sup> Graeme Cowan, Interviewed by Elli McGavin, 10 January 2007.

women. Women now had their own space with cooking facilities and an opportunity to retreat from the larger communal setting of the Lodge. Pearce reflects,

The change in the accommodation model itself helped, where women had their own space, their own room, and they could cook for themselves. It wasn't as institutionalised as before and was better for the women. There weren't as many arguments and women could spend time together in the lounge room and chat or if they wanted to get away from each other they could as well, they had their space.<sup>113</sup>

While the new building provided units for women and their children, the shared communal experience was still very much part of the refuge philosophy as Stuart and Walker reflected in the internal organisational review in 1998: 'the communal experience is central to refuge philosophy, to break down [the] isolation of women and children experiencing violence'.<sup>114</sup> Many activists, however, discovered that communal living was not without difficulties and stresses, particularly for women already in crisis.<sup>115</sup> Mary Anderson Lodge, during this period, provided both community and privacy for women and their children.

Significant though trends in the wider sector were on the change of accommodation model, Laurel Pearce had seen this operational model in a Salvation Army setting during a trip to England in 1983. Subsequently some of the features she observed were incorporated into Mary Anderson Lodge. Organisational behaviour in The Salvation Army has often dictated that the experience of other Salvation Army programmes in comparative cultures influence the development of similar programmes. The accommodation model at Mary Anderson Lodge demonstrates the internationalism and

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<sup>113</sup> Pearce.

<sup>114</sup> Jayne Stuart and Prue Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report* (Melbourne: The Salvation Army 1998).

<sup>115</sup> Johnson, *The Last Resort: A Woman's Refuge*, p. 4.

centralised culture, history and power of the organisation. It echoes the experience of early cultural responses such as rescue homes for women, which commenced in Scotland and were transplanted into Australia, with its comparable community and Salvation Army cultures.<sup>116</sup>

With the remodelling came other practices such as the small shop that was set up on the premises stocking tinned and non-perishable supplies that women could purchase. Other services such as childcare were provided for children along with some after school care. In this model various services were brought into the Lodge for women, as Pearce comments,

We had a craft group going for a while, relaxation class met; someone was coming and doing the class. That was optional they didn't have to be in it but we brought services in to the Lodge.<sup>117</sup>

The model of service was high security, reasonably self contained and supportive. Under this regime women swapped a measure of empowerment and autonomy for a sense of physical security and personal and emotional support. On the one hand, this style of accommodation, which is the current model for many refuges, created a sense of safety for women residents; on the other hand, it also isolated and disempowered women in the maintenance of their autonomy and independence.<sup>118</sup> Begent astutely notes that women 'want to go into hiding but when they get there they actually don't like it very much'.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Sandall, *The History of the Salvation Army: Volume Three, Social Reform and Welfare Work*.

<sup>117</sup> Pearce.

<sup>118</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework* (Victorian Government, 2002), p.19.

<sup>119</sup> Jenny Begent, interviewed by Elli McGavin, 11 October 2006.

## **Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme Funding (SAAP)**

Commenced in 1985, SAAP funding is a federal government scheme that provides funding for supported accommodation services. It is administered and partly funded through state bodies such as the Department of Human Services in Victoria. Funding from SAAP supports accommodation programmes targeted at a range of groups, some of whom includes children and adolescents, domestic violence survivors and homeless men. The funding conditions prescribed minimum standards, the use of case management models, financial accountability, data collection, occupational health and safety, maintenance of the building, and minimum staff qualifications.<sup>120</sup>

In 1985 Mary Anderson Lodge received SAAP funding for the service, which produced significant change in financial arrangements for the Lodge. Previously funding had been sourced exclusively through The Salvation Army with its limited and often overstretched resources. Staff, particularly officers, worked long shifts and were required to fill multiple roles. SAAP funding provided needed resources; however, these were not without demands on the service. Documentary requirements and acquittal processes began to shape the policy and culture of the service. Pearce recalled the changes that permeated through the service,

SAAP funding helped, before that it was mainly funding from The Army and it was tight and limited. You worked long hours with minimal staff, so you couldn't give the range of services to women that you desperately needed to. As SAAP funding arrived so too did SAAP guidelines and they helped in the development of policy as well.<sup>121</sup>

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<sup>120</sup> Department of Human Services, *Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP): Programme Framework and Funding Guidelines 2002/2003*. (Canberra: Commonwealth Government of Australia, 2002).

<sup>121</sup> Pearce.

The development of the refuge movement from grassroots feminist activism had meant that many refuges operated from collective community committees having rejected the hierarchical structures of patriarchal management models.<sup>122</sup> The gradual professionalisation of the sector and the credentialing of workers created dilemmas for grassroots feminist refuges who negotiated the need for funding within a flat structured community based management ideology. Further to this, Orr notes that an early feature of refuges was that women who had used the refuge frequently went on to become workers.<sup>123</sup> By contrast, Mary Anderson Lodge came from a highly structured hierarchical management model and traditionally appointed staff outside the client group to professional roles.

Given the experience and framework from which women approached the increasingly regulatory practices of funding requirements, it is not surprising, as Murray notes, that services such as Nardine in Western Australia began to view 'the intrusion of the state' as incompatible with feminist philosophy, and resisted for some time.<sup>124</sup> In Victoria the women's refuge movement fought a protracted public battle with the Community Services Department after a request in 1978 that all refuges provide physical location addresses. A compromise was reached that provided for an inspection of the location annually by a mutually agreed person.<sup>125</sup> Such resistance did not form part of the official response from Mary Anderson Lodge given the cooperative relationship The Salvation Army has historically enjoyed with state and federal government authorities, although access to the address of the Lodge has always been carefully managed.

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<sup>122</sup> Summers, *Ducks on the Pond: An Autobiography 1945-1976*.

<sup>123</sup> Orr, "Challenging Violence against Women," p. 208.

<sup>124</sup> Murray, *More Than Refuge*, p. 39.

<sup>125</sup> Weeks, *Women Working Together*, p. 215.

Significant differences operate between Salvation Army services such as Mary Anderson Lodge and those of smaller stand-alone community refuges. As part of one of Australia's largest charitable social welfare organisations Mary Anderson Lodge operates from a position that is supported by the larger organisation of The Salvation Army, of which it is a part. It potentially, therefore, operates from a position of greater power and influence with government bodies. Further, the staff at Mary Anderson Lodge had significantly different responses to the professionalisation of the refuge movement. This was in large part a result of the patriarchal and hierarchical organisational structure of The Salvation Army. Although historically some of the original rescue homes for women may have been instigated by grassroots lay women, a common feature of community based refuges, Salvation Army services were quickly colonised by the professional clergy, Salvation Army officers, and regulated in accordance with Salvation Army culture and values with their attendant patriarchal and hierarchical culture.

Whereas some refuges strived to balance feminist philosophy with funding and management requirements, Mary Anderson Lodge and, at times, The Salvation Army as a whole, struggled with the 'dilution' of the religious mission. The view that Salvation Army officers, and lay Salvationists, were uniquely qualified and accredited within the organisation to carry out its mission conflicted with the increasing necessity to engage non-Salvationist staff. Campbell clarifies this point:

Thirty years ago officers, drawn by calling and conviction from within the faith community and trained in Salvation Army life and mission, made up approximately eighty per cent of the paid workforce. Officers now comprise ten per cent of the workforce. Employees, while valued as mission partners, do not necessarily come from within a Salvationist or other Christian faith community...These figures should not be misused to denigrate the contribution of employee mission partners. However, the underlying mission

capacity, expressive of the essential holistic mission of The Salvation Army, is in danger of dilution to a point that threatens identity and even ongoing existence.<sup>126</sup>

The notion that a Christian, preferably a Salvationist, was the ideal staff member gave rise to difficulty in recruitment practices. This is not to say that other church based services may not have confronted similar issues, or that the training and professionalism of staff may not have been an issue for other refuges. However, The Salvation Army with its military jargon, hierarchical structure and focus on mission culture is not universally suitable to all potential staff members.

For Mary Anderson Lodge, the added dilemma of sourcing staff who understood the Christian mission and social justice perspectives of the organisation added an extra layer of complexity to staff selection. Pearce notes that while the organisation wanted people sympathetic to its mission, and respectful of its values, it was lay Salvationists, rather than clergy, who most frequently expressed surprise at employing non-Christian or non-Salvationist staff. Pearce noted that, 'Christian staff were not always the most caring' and that 'traditionally staff selection wasn't always that wise'.<sup>127</sup> Nor were these practices necessarily conducive to widespread acceptance and understanding in the women's domestic violence sector. They served to exacerbate the culture of suspicion in the sector, of Mary Anderson Lodge as a church based group. Consequently the result was a collision between the predominantly feminist philosophy in the sector and suspicion of a church based refuge, given the association of the historic oppression and

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<sup>126</sup> Campbell, "Emerging Images of Salvationist Mission: For the Glory of God and the Benefit of Your Generation," p. 12.

<sup>127</sup> Pearce.

abuse of women by the patriarchal Christian Church.<sup>128</sup> Nonetheless the challenge to retain the distinctiveness of Salvation Army character, while embracing the professionalisation of the sector, has been nurtured on the foundations laid for the organisation by Catherine Booth and her commitment to social justice for women.

### **Case management model**

Case management is an integrated service delivery model that is built on clients as the central focus of the model; it encourages their involvement in the process and has a coordinated solution focus that aims to empower individuals. Case management systems coordinate the needs of women by providing referrals to other services including medical, psychological, children's and housing services. The caseworker assists with liaison and advocacy with government departments and provides information and support to women about their options. Usually a specific worker will take responsibility for a number of particular women and work primarily with them and they become the worker's caseload. Case management aims to tailor individual solutions and programme services to the needs of individuals.

Over the last few decades, case management has developed into a sophisticated system that is used in women's refuges. SAAP management approaches have increasingly required a formal case management framework in funded programmes.<sup>129</sup> Case

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<sup>128</sup> Porter, *Sex, Power & the Clergy*.

<sup>129</sup> Leslie Gevers Community Management Services, *Case Management Resource Kit for SAAP Services*, ed. Community Services and Indigenous Affairs Department of Family (Department of Family, Community Services and Indigenous Affairs, 1997).

management requirements had developed sufficiently, by Stuart and Walker's 1998 review, to require adherence to ten key elements.<sup>130</sup>

In this study successive interviewees discussed case management given its critical function in outcomes for women experiencing violence. Interestingly each interviewee recounted their development of a more 'appropriate' case management model than the model existing on their arrival at the service. This is not to say that previous case management models were necessarily inappropriate; rather, it is an indication of the underlying philosophical and theoretical models that individuals developed during their tenure, and the developing knowledge of effective case management. Improved delivery of case management outcomes via philosophical and theoretical shifts were influenced by staff's personal skills and knowledge, alongside developments in the wider domestic violence sector. These included government funding regimes and feminist research into the nature of women's experience of domestic violence.

Begent identifies SAAP requirements as a catalyst to force change in case management approaches by developing assessment practices that enabled suitable admissions for women to be made. The assessment process she notes began during the initial contact,

We were building a profile long before they even got there. We were starting to build linkages with other services so that we could actually say Mary Anderson is probably the wrong place for you but somewhere else might be the right place.<sup>131</sup>

Case management options for women expanded as a result of changes to Victorian law in 1987. Intervention orders against perpetrators could be ordered by a magistrate and were

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<sup>130</sup> Stuart and Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report*, p. 24.

<sup>131</sup> Begent.

awarded on the balance of probabilities that an offender would reoffend.<sup>132</sup> Conditions for imposing an order meant that the evidence required was significantly less than in criminal cases, which enabled greater access by women. The orders against perpetrators restricted access to property, contact with family members and gun licenses were revoked. Unfortunately, court orders are of themselves unable to keep all women safe. However, in many cases they have been a helpful addition in providing empowering case management options to women.

Moreover, the professionalisation of case management policy and practice cultivated an environment in which the needs of culturally diverse women became imbedded in effective practice. Indigenous women had traditionally used the service and supportive networks had been developed with Indigenous services, which will be discussed in chapter four.

### **Culturally And Linguistically Diverse (CALD) Services**

CALD definitions are dependent on understanding the dominant culture and language of a society and those of homogeneous minorities within it. In Australia the dominant culture is still white, Anglo and English speaking, therefore, culture and language that does not fit this stereotype is classified as CALD or in the case of first Australians as Indigenous. Context is the essential factor in this definition as dominant Australian culture could be considered CALD in contexts where other cultures are dominant. The significance for service delivery is in understanding the difficulty and disadvantage experienced by members of CALD communities when accessing services. Ethnic

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<sup>132</sup> *Crimes (Family Violence) Act (Vic)*, (1987).

(CALD) support workers provide support services in appropriate languages and with first hand understanding of the cultural milieu that women may need to negotiate. They also advocate for women with government agencies and provide referral and translation services to refuges. Cultural and linguistic needs are a vital component of domestic violence case management and service delivery and have been incorporated in service delivery standards.<sup>133</sup>

Mary Anderson Lodge, like many women's refuges, has endeavoured to respond effectively to the needs of women from CALD backgrounds. For example, in 1986, the provision of small kitchen facilities in the units made housing CALD women more appropriate, enabling them to maintain culinary practices and food preferences. Diverse religious practices, while acknowledged, became an intentional focus of service delivery as the programme developed and this response is noted more fully in the next chapter. During this time workers from CALD specific services were used as an additional support service as Pearce explains,

Immigrant women's services understood the cultures and systems that women had come from and different legal systems. The services worked with us so we got a lot of women referred to us because it was helpful. It was working for the referral services and we accepted their workers coming in. Some refuges didn't like the ethnic workers coming in but we did because we appreciated what they were doing and we appreciated that the women needed to have someone to speak in their own language and it needed to be workers. Specific community groups, if it was a small ethnic community, knew everyone. Clients could not go to them and maintain anonymity. And often if you rang up ethnic community support groups they didn't appreciate women leaving their husbands anyway, so you didn't get any support. It was good to have a dedicated service for immigrant women; they could support women in specialised ways that helped a lot.<sup>134</sup>

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<sup>133</sup> Louise Asher, *Report to the Minister for Community Services on Domestic Violence Services* (Department of Human Services, 1994).

<sup>134</sup> Pearce.

As time went by, links with the developing ethnic women's domestic violence service became quite strong, however, as the specialised service developed some issues arose regarding the appropriate use of the service. It began to be expected that all CALD or immigrant women would receive the services of the specialised workers, as Begent explains:

They became quite militant. Now I don't have a problem with militancy because you often have to become militant to grab centre stage but there was a sense in which if we didn't engage them there was some concern about that. However, a lot of women who came into the service didn't want to work with someone from their own culture....Even though we assured them that there is no way their partner would know their location, there was a sense in which they really felt unsafe because of their community. So I am not saying it was totally unsuccessful but it did have its drawbacks particularly with the expectation that they would work with every immigrant woman.<sup>135</sup>

Culturally specific services were clearly essential for many women but the danger inherent was that professionals could create need around their own specialisations rather than allowing women to be empowered to make informed choices.<sup>136</sup> Clearly, for some women the identification with their cultural community only served to reinforce their disempowerment. Many CALD women identify the disclosure of domestic violence as evidence of their failure 'to maintain the family's unity and integrity,' which in turn reflects on their role as wives and mothers.<sup>137</sup> Conversely, for others it was a positive and supportive experience. The key issue for Mary Anderson Lodge was moderating the service referral so that individual women had information on which to base their own decision regarding using the service. Culturally appropriate service delivery became an increasingly necessary element in achieving SAAP funding and acquittal requirements

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<sup>135</sup> Begent.

<sup>136</sup> Theodore Dalrymple, "Addicted to Myths About Opiates: Romancing Opiates " *The Weekend Australian*, January 20-21, 2007.

<sup>137</sup> *Attitudes against Domestic and Family Violence in the Diverse Australian Community*, p. 40.

during the decades of the 1980s and 1990s. CALD sensitivity is now part of regular case management practice.

### **Sacred nature of the family**

Mary Anderson Lodge, as part of a patriarchal Christian organisation, confronted not only the wider societal notion of the family as functionalist but also the theological ideology of the family as sacred. Pearce explains,

Some people in the Army at this time would see that these women should be with their husbands. You don't break up a marriage and sometimes you would have that also with women who had church or Army connections. Their minister or whoever would want to come and counsel them or want to get them back to their hubbies, but we were very careful about that.<sup>138</sup>

In many ways, the capacity to appeal to the traditions of social justice in The Salvation Army have proved a strength for Mary Anderson Lodge. Here Parkin's explanation of the locus of social justice traditions for women in The Salvation Army, as driven by Catherine Booth, are enlightening: 'for Catherine Booth, championing the cause of women arose from her understanding of the liberating effects of the gospel'.<sup>139</sup>

Thus, regardless of the wider Christian and specific Salvation Army ideology in which the service was imbedded Pearce reports that, as manager of Mary Anderson Lodge, she enjoyed significant autonomy. This consequently enabled her to develop educative processes with women using the service and staff as a way of continuing the development of a feminist analysis of domestic violence.

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<sup>138</sup> Pearce.

<sup>139</sup> Christine Parkin, "Pioneer in Female Ministry," *Christian History* 1X no. 26 (n.d.).

Begent, who followed Pearce as manager and built on her framework, while agreeing with the level of autonomy the service was allowed within the organisation, also points to some individual antipathy toward feminist analysis and policy approaches to domestic violence. Begent confronted the issue:

During my time there we actually had a significant shift in that we went to a much more feminist approach to domestic violence. Sitting within a patriarchal organisation that was a bit difficult. And it was difficult too, because in our policies and our procedures we actually started to reflect a strong stand against violence. Women had a right to leave the relationship. It was quite difficult for some workers. We had a chaplain, who was an officer, but found it very, very difficult. Some of her comments were really lacking in understanding. Such as, 'Well, if they kept their house clean they wouldn't get hit', we had to deal with that very harshly in the end.<sup>140</sup>

Contradictory messages were not only difficult for staff to negotiate but very undermining for the women who had experienced domestic violence themselves. It demonstrates a lack of understanding of the causal nature of domestic violence and disavows any theoretical analysis of the role of men's and women's power in intimate and societal relationships generally.

Senior leadership in The Salvation Army, while committed to the values of social justice, also struggled to understand domestic violence and the causal nature of gender power relationships, perhaps largely due to the patriarchal environment of the organisation. Begent illustrated this by describing an incident where a senior Salvation Army officer approached her regarding a disclosure of domestic violence from the wife of an officer couple.<sup>141</sup> At the end of the conversation Begent recalls,

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<sup>140</sup> Begent.

<sup>141</sup> The SA has had a unique stand in relation to married clergy in that up until a few years ago both partners had to be members of the clergy. If one left or was asked to leave due to misconduct their partner also had

So I am telling him what I think needs to happen and right at the end of the conversation he says, 'Do you think she is telling the truth?'<sup>142</sup>

The notion that women are unreliable, emotional and not to be trusted still found currency with those who, on the one hand, gave approval for The Salvation Army Red Shield Appeal advertising featuring women and children experiencing domestic violence but, on the other hand, doubted women in their own organisation disclosing the experience. These attitudes reflect the widely held community belief that women are unreliable and make false claims about the violence they experience.<sup>143</sup> This incident illustrates the unpalatable nature of confronting domestic violence within the ranks of Salvation Army officers, and the constraints on frank and open discussions. Porter asserts that the patriarchal nature of the church with the unchallenged power of the clergy promotes an environment where violence and abuse of women and children have not been addressed.<sup>144</sup>

Nonetheless, the early vision of Catherine Booth that promoted a nonconformist radicalism still persists in the Salvation Army as Mayne McKienzle and Walker note,<sup>145</sup> although the hierarchical and patriarchal structures that promote incongruity were evident at the beginning too, as Bolton writes,

Women officers in those early decades were paid at a lower rate than men. Married women, while officers in their own right, were regarded as their husband's assistants rather than equals...And while more women than men

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their service terminated. Some changes are now allowed but in limited and individually approved circumstances.

<sup>142</sup> Begent.

<sup>143</sup> VicHealth, *Two Steps Forward, One Step Back* (Melbourne: Victorian Health Promotion Foundation, 2006), p. 59.

<sup>144</sup> Porter, *Sex, Power & the Clergy*.

<sup>145</sup> Mayne Kienzle and Walker, *Women Preachers and Prophets through Two Millennia of Christianity*, p. 299.

trained as officers, comparatively few women rose to administrative positions.<sup>146</sup>

The role of officer women, particularly in the family, has been subject to contradictory ideologies of women as primarily care givers and supporters of their husbands, when it suited the purposes of the organisation, but then they have been expected to take leadership roles and put the organisations needs above the family on other occasions.<sup>147</sup>

The legacy of Catherine Booth and a strong commitment to social justice has no doubt tempered some of the excesses of the church within The Salvation Army, however, Porter insists that ‘the church is also the patriarchal institution par excellence, and patriarchy – male dominance over women and children – lies at the heart of all forms of sexual and domestic abuse’.<sup>148</sup>

Therefore, the significance to this study of the internal Salvation Army culture, as it related to women within its own ranks, is that it is indicative of a patriarchal culture and its approach to women in general. This same cultural hegemony informed interactions between staff at Mary Anderson Lodge and those in the wider Salvation Army bureaucracy with whom they were required to interact. As a result Mary Anderson Lodge, and services like it, have on occasion challenged the status quo within the organisation and reflected back the inequality of women within the institution, causing disquiet.

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<sup>146</sup> Bolton, *Booth's Drum*, pp. 154-155.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid.

<sup>148</sup> Porter, *Sex, Power & the Clergy*, p. 122.

## **Women's domestic violence sector**

Mary Anderson Lodge has experienced fluctuating acceptance in the women's domestic violence sector although successive managers have articulated the significance and value of belonging to various representative groups. The capacity to cultivate useful networks and also have a voice in the sector have helped Mary Anderson Lodge develop policy and practice within the service. However, the fact remains that some members of the sector have from time to time viewed Mary Anderson Lodge with suspicion given its church auspice. Pearce expands on this,

Sometimes there were clashes with other services, not necessarily radical, but those that see any church based service as being patriarchal and not understanding of women's issues and I suppose to a certain extent they were right. We would certainly find that in the Army as in other churches varying [domestic violence] understandings amongst officers and ministers. There were other occasions when we developed aspects of the service and received the recognition from other services. They could see that the way you approached women you were not just trying to push your values onto them.<sup>149</sup>

In some ways the promotion of staff as primarily 'Salvation Army' and therefore fundamentally different from other providers in the sector may have added to the creation of barriers on occasion.

The exposure to feminist frameworks within the women's domestic violence sector coincided with developing feminist theological expressions within the Christian Church and The Salvation Army. As a result of these influences officer managers such as Begent began engaging with feminist theological texts and raising women's profile within the movement as well as those using the services of Mary Anderson Lodge. Begent recalls,

Authors like Elizabeth Schuzzler-Fiorenza... and other Christian feminists were being read by a number of us and a few of us read it and it spoke to us,

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<sup>149</sup> Pearce.

and brought us together. So much so that whenever there was an opportunity we would try to get women on the agenda.<sup>150</sup>

Regardless of these changes in thinking within individuals in the wider Salvation Army and those at Mary Anderson Lodge, as part of a church based organisation the service had difficulty being accepted in the wider women's domestic violence sector, as both Pearce and Begent found in succession. Pearce reflects,

When I first joined the Women's Refuge Group there was one person who really downed Mary Anderson Lodge and other people said some of the things that had been happening were not appropriate. However, we built up rapport and continued improving the service to our clients. Better understanding of domestic violence issues, improvements in the building, which helped us, build rapport in the sector.<sup>151</sup>

Begent adds,

It was very difficult and it took us a very long time to be accepted from one particular lobby. We weren't alone, we were not just sitting out there, The Salvation Army on its own, but it still was very difficult to break down suspicion and become part of that wider domestic violence network.<sup>152</sup>

Staff and particularly officer managers sometimes suffered the dichotomy of espousing too radical a feminist philosophy for the organisation, but not radical enough a philosophy for detractors in the women's domestic violence sector.

As we have seen, the progression of a domestic violence specific service from turn of the twentieth century rescue work demonstrates a response to the broader community culture and the developing understanding of the needs of women who have experienced domestic violence. Policy and philosophical changes within the service delivery model at Mary Anderson Lodge have been facilitated by a number of influences. Significantly, external

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<sup>150</sup> Begent.

<sup>151</sup> Pearce.

<sup>152</sup> Begent.

regulatory and SAAP funding frameworks and influences and practices in the women's sector have necessitated responses to the internal Salvation Army culture and practice at Mary Anderson Lodge. In the next chapter we will examine some of those responses as they developed from the 1998 internal review and government social policy initiatives.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: Review, reform and redevelopment**

As we have seen in chapter three of this study, Mary Anderson Lodge is the outworking of services for women that had their beginnings in early Salvation Army rescue work. Mary Anderson Lodge has developed its programmes and accommodation models in response to the changing internal and external environments in which it has operated, as well as a long tradition and sequence of change to this point in time. In the previous chapter we briefly examined some of those changes, particularly as they related to the 1980s and 1990s. These included changing frameworks of staff professionalism, Supported Accommodation Assistance Programme (SAAP) funding, case management and directions in the wider women's domestic violence sector, all of which have also influenced the changes that have occurred in the period under review in this chapter.

This fourth chapter focuses on the most recent period of development at Mary Anderson Lodge. The period between the 1998 internal organisational review<sup>153</sup> and the relocation of the service in 2006 rivals any in the history of Mary Anderson Lodge, given the scale and rapidity of change within the service. These changes encompassed targeted case management to children, changes in case management philosophy and the accommodation model of the refuge, to name a few. It is therefore expected that change of this nature would bring with it dislocation, uncertainty and even resistance from stakeholders both internal and external to the service. Many staff members felt the loss of the service's physical environment as it relocated to Coburg in 2006. The new model is significantly different from the previous Lodge in Richmond, with its administration

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<sup>153</sup> Stuart and Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report*.

headquarters co-located within the Crossroads Network and six accommodation sites for women and children spread through the region in single and clustered units. For some staff, the change in location forced a personal re-evaluation of their work life balance and they moved to more conveniently located services.

However, the 1998 internal organisational review had also meant that some staff positions were lost, all of which contributed to an environment of uncertainty but also one of change and new opportunities. This study acknowledges that the new Mary Anderson Family Violence Service is the outcome of this process and the result of commitment, good will and hard work by staff and volunteers.

It is further acknowledged that one of the underpinning influences on the 1998 internal organisational review was the prior Victorian Government review of SAAP domestic violence services, *SAAP Systems Review*, that was undertaken in 1994.<sup>154</sup> The SAAP review was part of a broad statewide review of all SAAP services, of which domestic violence services were a part, and was in line with government social policy on accommodation for domestic violence services. The results and recommendations of this SAAP review have been significant in the direction that Mary Anderson Family Violence Service has since taken.

However, the trigger for the internal organisational review came primarily from the restructuring programme within the Melbourne Central Division of The Salvation Army in 1998. Previously, Mary Anderson Lodge was part of a Women's Network within the

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<sup>154</sup> Thompson Goodall, *SAAP Systems Review* (Department of Health and Community Services, 1994).

division. The restructuring of the Crossroads Network incorporated Mary Anderson Lodge into Crossroads Family Services, Melbourne Central Division. Crossroads is a social service network within The Salvation Army providing an array of welfare support services that include homelessness, addictions, youth and family programmes. The restructuring programme was intended to streamline the service delivery structure. A number of outcomes emanating from the review will be discussed later in this chapter.

The 1998 internal organisational review resulted in a change of emphasis within Mary Anderson Lodge, moving the philosophy from an internal focus to one that engaged intentionally and strategically with the community, Salvation Army services and the women's domestic violence sector. This cultural and philosophical change linked the praxis at Mary Anderson Lodge with the direction of the sector.

It is not within the scope of this study to engage in an exhaustive examination of the many complex influences that have shaped the changing service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge during this time. However, the following key elements of change will form the basis of this chapter: the 1998 internal review of the service, the emphasis on children as clients, case management portfolios, the role of the officer manager and the 2006 move to Coburg.

## **1998 Internal Organisational Review**

The internal review of the service incorporated findings from the 1994 *SAAP Systems Review* particularly in the areas of case management and support for children.<sup>155</sup> The findings of the internal review process indicated that the programme generally met the aims expressed in the practice principles of the service. Stuart and Walker identify the supportive roles of the staff as a strength of the service. At the same time, they indicate that the strength of these relationships had become the focus of service delivery, at the expense of empowering and promoting independence in the women using the service.<sup>156</sup>

The holistic approach, providing in-house the vast range of services required by women that had been adopted earlier, had proceeded to gradually become a practice rather than a philosophy. Services were routinely brought in to the Lodge and this inadvertently reinforced some women's dependence. Women developed a self-reliance on the service that in some cases may have been unhelpful in encouraging successful coping strategies. The internal reviewers noted that a holistic model should not be confused with the provision of all services to women within the physical environment of the Lodge.<sup>157</sup>

Billi Clarke, a non-officer programme manager, was seconded from the wider Crossroads Network after the 1998 review to implement the findings and she recalls,

Everything that was needed was in house. They had all sort of professionals coming in. One of the first really big things I did was get rid of the shop because there were shops incredibly close. So we just encouraged and enabled women to go out to services because some of the women had been there for a very long time. They were really dependent on the service and

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<sup>155</sup> Stuart and Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report*, p.19.

<sup>156</sup> *Ibid.*, p.7.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*

actually really scared of the outside world. They just weren't learning how to do things.<sup>158</sup>

Ann Davies, a non-officer programme coordinator from 2003 explains further: 'the theory around crisis support is that providing crisis mode support beyond when it is needed becomes the expected mode of support.' She adds, 'that was one of the cultural shifts we needed to achieve.'<sup>159</sup> However, it is vital that additional support and material resources are focussed on empowering women during the initial crisis period, commonly held to be between four to six weeks, with an expanded emphasis on post-crisis outreach services. A brief intervention at the point of crisis in the lives of women and children experiencing domestic violence is understood to be appropriate. The intervention acknowledges that the crisis temporarily renders the woman, who has experienced domestic violence, unable to manage due to a sense of being totally overwhelmed by the situation. After the immediate crisis is contained however, women are then best served by engaging in normalising strength-based behaviours that support their own capacity to cope.<sup>160</sup>

Practical strategies that empower women to re-engage with the local community reflect the underpinning of the Victorian Government's *Family and Domestic Violence Crisis Protection Framework*.<sup>161</sup> The framework's emphasis was on delivering a comprehensive, locally coordinated and flexible service to address the needs of women and children who have experienced domestic violence, providing appropriate accommodation and support services. The framework, was subsumed within the wider

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<sup>158</sup> Billi Clarke, interviewed by Elli McGavin, 23 October 2006.

<sup>159</sup> Lynda Van Gaalen-Prentice and Ann Davies, interviewed by Elli McGavin, 9 October 2006.

<sup>160</sup> Di O'Neil, *Shaping the Future. Practice Framework*, (Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, n.d.).

<sup>161</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*.

*Women's Safety Strategy: A Policy Framework*, which recognised the significant level of violence against women and aims to 'improve women's safety, well-being and capacity to fully participate in Victorian life by reducing the level, and fear, of violence against women.'<sup>162</sup> The strategy has a whole of government approach that requires all government departments to imbed the principles of the strategy into their day-to-day operations.

The internal organisational review of Mary Anderson Lodge should not be seen in isolation from the reassessment that had been taking place in the women's domestic violence sector regarding the dominance of high security shared accommodation models who maintain restricted access to their location and contact details. The Department of Human Services in Victoria had begun to promote alternative models to high security refuges via its *Crisis Protection Framework* policy strategy.<sup>163</sup> The internal organisational review noted a number of concerns among which was the lack of focus on case review and management that may have contributed to longer stays in the case of some women, as exit strategies had not been identified in a 'timely manner'.<sup>164</sup> This finding can be correlated to the lack of resources, especially housing, post the refuge experience with the resultant potential at Mary Anderson Lodge to disempower women.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Department of Human Services, *Women's Safety Strategy: A Policy Framework* (Victorian Government, 2002).

<sup>163</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*.

<sup>164</sup> Stuart and Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report*, p. 21.

<sup>165</sup> *Phase 2- Meta-Evaluation Report* (Canberra: Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government of Australia, 2004).

The Women's Services Emergency Network (WESNET), the national peak body for domestic violence services, identified as significant the fear women experience regarding the short-term nature of refuge accommodation and the lack of post refuge support services. WESNET also identified the need for ongoing post refuge accommodation support programmes that coordinated local services and maintained continuity for women.<sup>166</sup> However, one of the most critical issues in enabling women to move quickly from refuge crisis programmes to post refuge programmes, beyond the funding to run those programmes, continues to be the acute shortage of appropriate housing stock in both the public and private sectors.

This being said, internal policy documents at Mary Anderson Lodge supported women's re-entry into the community and specifically identified the significance of developing women's capacity. Internal policy also supported co-operative decision making with the women; however, the policy initiatives had not been fully implemented.<sup>167</sup> The Salvation Army subsequently developed a specific Domestic Violence Policy for services incorporating the minimum SAAP standards.<sup>168</sup> The review recommendations were aimed at refocussing the service to align with best practice, research findings and

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<sup>166</sup> *Domestic and Family Violence. Raising the Issues: A Snapshot of Current Issues and Responses Arising from National Focus Group Discussions 1999* (WESNET, 2000).

<sup>167</sup> Stuart and Walker, *The Salvation Army Mary Anderson Lodge Review Report*, p. 8.

<sup>168</sup> *The Salvation Army Southern Territory Domestic Violence Policy* (Melbourne: Social Programme Unit, The Salvation Army, 2000).

minimum standards.<sup>169</sup> All of these had been changing in response to the research and evaluation of current practices in Victorian women's refuges.<sup>170</sup>

Billi Clarke, a non-officer, was originally seconded for six months to assist in implementing the recommendations of the review that lasted for five years! The secondment coincided with Billi's tenure as co-convenor of the Victorian Women's Refuge and Associated Domestic Violence Services, the peak body for domestic violence services in Victoria. Billi's experience in the field of domestic violence, spanning more than twenty years, was critical in assisting staff develop strong networks with other service providers. Consistent with previous periods in the history of service development at Mary Anderson Lodge, casework became a particular focus. Clarke explains why,

Good case management drives, policy and procedure. I knew what good case management around domestic violence was, so I mainly concentrated on that.<sup>171</sup>

Case management practice was also extended to children locating them as clients in their own right and with their own particular needs and experiences of domestic violence. This initiative is a significant step forward in the development of case management practice at Mary Anderson Lodge and in the services offered to children.

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<sup>169</sup> Both of the following standards frameworks provided benchmarks for good practice within domestic violence service models: Victorian Women's Refuges and Associated Domestic Violence Services Inc., *Inter Refuge Minimum Standards of Service Provision and Referral*, (1997); Lynne Townsend, *Standards of Practice Manual: For Services Assisting Women and Children Subject to and Escaping Domestic Violence* (Australian Women's Research Centre, Deakin University, 1996).

<sup>170</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*, p. 9.

<sup>171</sup> Clarke.

## **Children as clients**

Gibson argued in a national conference sponsored by WESNET in 1997 that all children presenting at a refuge should have their needs individually assessed as a standard approach to clients experiencing domestic violence. This is in recognition that the needs of children and those of their mother may be quite different.<sup>172</sup> This is in recognition that the needs of children and those of their mother may be quite different. Developing a specific support plan for children necessitates an approach that supports and develops ways to enhance the mother's parenting. As with many other services in the sector at this time, Mary Anderson Lodge was only beginning to understand that children could benefit from an individual case management approach. However, it should be noted that children who exhibited concerning behaviours were referred to support services. It is the systematic nature of the approach to children's case management that changed at this time.

The extent to which case management principles could be applied to children experiencing domestic violence was the subject of a SAAP report that concluded that principles of best practice for working with children included a case management approach to children and children remaining the responsibility of their parents while in SAAP services. However, a feature of the best practice model was continuity for children and the use of extensive collaborative networks of children's referral services.<sup>173</sup> These recommendations were reflected in the 1998 internal organisational review of Mary

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<sup>172</sup> Sarah Gibson, *Why We Need Support Plans for Working with Children, WESNET National Conference* (Melbourne: 1997).

<sup>173</sup> Robert Jaffe, *Case Management with Children in SAAP Services: A Family Approach* (Australian Government Publishing Service, 1997).

Anderson Lodge and were subsequently implemented as part of the philosophy of the service.

The reality for many women in crisis at Mary Anderson Lodge was that they were struggling themselves to cope and make decisions about the future, as well as dealing with what in some cases had become severe behavioural problems in their children.

Clarke explains,

The child's mother was the person through which everything was expected to happen. However, we know that in domestic violence women are often struggling to manage the disturbed behaviour of their children. So we took the onus off the mother and focussed on the children as individual clients thereby supporting and developing the mother's relationship with her children.<sup>174</sup>

Connecting with external services and peer groups expanded the children's support worker role. Case management approaches with children were a direct response to the review recommendations and adoption of a philosophy that saw empowerment as a fundamental principle for working with women and children who have experienced domestic violence. As a result of this philosophy, links were made with the Royal Children's Hospital, a local general practitioner who understood the complex issues of domestic violence, and local schools. Some children required integration back into the regular school curriculum and sometimes this occurred by starting them off for half days with the cooperation and support of the school staff. A constant pattern with children experiencing domestic violence is delayed learning; therefore, engaging them with their schooling has been a critical step in managing their learning development. The childcare

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<sup>174</sup> Clarke.

worker became a pivotal member of the team whereas, previously, with an internal focus, her role had not been as proactive.

Mary Anderson Lodge developed a flexible approach to children coming into the Lodge, particularly male children. Refuges have varying rules relating to the accommodation of male children from not taking them at all, to only taking those in their early years. In fact, finding a refuge that can accommodate a male child over thirteen years old is quite difficult. This situation is challenging for many families who require a more flexible approach. Mary Anderson Lodge responded to this challenge and was able to accommodate older male children as Clarke reflects:

We also took male children of any age because we realised that if they were living with their mum, they were also experiencing domestic violence. We had a twenty year old man in the house in fact; he was a bonus because he would look after the children. If anything he was probably too scared to put a foot out of place because so many women surrounded him, it must have been scary!<sup>175</sup>

Case management that focussed on children and their needs understood this young man to be just as affected by the violence he had been exposed to as any other member of his family. The genius of the physical environment at Mary Anderson Lodge, with its self contained units, and client-focused approach to working with children, enabled the programme to provide flexibility in these cases. This addresses the needs of women who identify not being able to take their older sons into a refuge as a barrier to obtaining assistance.<sup>176</sup>

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> Keys Young, *Against the Odds: How Women Survive Domestic Violence* (Canberra: Partnerships Against Domestic Violence, Office of the Status of Women, Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet, 1998), p. 52.

### **Case management portfolio**

The advent of an outward focussed case management philosophy stimulated workers' professional development by necessitating their involvement in the management of specific portfolios. This process had operated to various degrees before the 1998 review; however, as a result of changes in the service philosophy, workers were encouraged to network proactively with other services and also promote the services of Mary Anderson Lodge. Caseworkers took up specific portfolios to complement their case management and to streamline their requirements. For example, a case worker may develop expertise and networks around housing, providing information and expertise to women and their caseworkers. Greater expertise and stronger networks thus developed and enabled more effective outcomes.

It must be said, though, that the previously internalised focus of Mary Anderson Lodge was not necessarily unique to the domestic violence sector. The *Crisis Protection Framework* identified that high security accommodation models that maintain restricted access to their location, residents and phone contact of their refuges, as having a limited ability to, 'provide a response that can be tailored to the individual circumstances of service users.'<sup>177</sup> The model had developed historically due to lack of resources and funding rather than by a deliberate choice from a range of options.<sup>178</sup> The grassroots nature of early refuges and lack of funding has favoured congregate care models, where women reside together in shared accommodation, as the primary response for women requiring safe accommodation and support. The decision to move to a decentralised

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<sup>177</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*.

<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

dispersed and individual accommodation model was made possible by the sale of Mary Anderson Lodge and is consistent with the latest Victorian Government initiatives contained in *Reforming the Family Violence System in Victoria*.<sup>179</sup> These initiatives promote an integrated service approach that delivers a high quality point of first contact response, with the intention of providing early intervention and ‘preventing the escalation of violence’.<sup>180</sup> The new model will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

One outcome of the development of an outward focus and portfolio work for caseworkers was the connection with Indigenous women’s services. Workers were invited to Mary Anderson Lodge as part of this networking and ways were developed between the services to assist each other by sharing transitional accommodation. This meant that the transitional housing stock could be allocated in ways that kept their location more secure particularly for Indigenous women coming as they did from a smaller close knit community. Such steps are significant within the Indigenous community given the prerequisite availability of culturally appropriate services before family violence is disclosed.<sup>181</sup>

Networking opportunities allowed other services to be exposed to the changing practice at Mary Anderson Lodge, which promoted the service internally within the sector as well as to related agencies, the police and government.

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<sup>179</sup> *Reforming the Family Violence System in Victoria* (Office of Women's Policy, Department of Victorian Communities, 2005).

<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>181</sup> *Attitudes to Domestic and Family Violence in the Diverse Australian Community* (Office of the Status of Women, Commonwealth Government, 2000).

## **Decentralised model**

In January 2006, Mary Anderson Lodge, located as it had been in Burnley Street, Richmond, since 1966, officially ceased to exist. The service became Mary Anderson Family Violence Service operating within the Salvation Army's Crossroads network with the administration offices located in Coburg. The land on which Mary Anderson Lodge at Richmond was located had for the past few years been opposite the large and busy, Victoria Gardens shopping centre. It became apparent a few years previous that land surrounding the Lodge had been purchased by developers and was intended for further building projects. The Salvation Army was approached with a view to sell the Lodge for the surrounding development. A significant factor in deciding to sell the Lodge was that the alternative, to remain in the site and have the development built around the Lodge would not only have proved inconvenient but may have compromised the anonymity of the building.

The Lodge in Richmond has subsequently been demolished. This event marks a significant change not only in location but also in the model of service delivery. While the decision caused grief and sadness in staff that had served women in that location for many years, it was also an opportunity to develop a new approach to the delivery of the service.

A number of factors influenced the model developed for the new Mary Anderson Family Violence Service such as the Victoria Government policy initiative contained in the *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*. This initiative encouraged responses that emphasised 'flexibility' and 'tailored support' in responses to the needs of

women and children.<sup>182</sup> Such flexibility enabled the service to respond to the concerns of women and children in relation to issues that are significant to them such as pets.<sup>183</sup>

Anne Davies explains,

For one woman her two small dogs were all she had and she didn't want to leave them behind. The key is understanding that often pets are used a part of the abuse against women and children or there is a threat against the pet should they leave. Being able to bring pets in to the units is really helpful, especially for children.<sup>184</sup>

Additionally, an approach that enabled women to stay in their local area thereby maintaining familiar networks in a time of crisis was identified as empowering. Further, providing accommodation that was safe yet did not require women to enter 'fortress' style buildings were significant considerations in developing the new model. Anne Davies, programme coordinator, elaborates,

A key philosophical and cultural shift in domestic violence has been to offer women ways that they could be free of violence and feel safe. That being said, without having to totally cut all their networks and change their lives completely. So we looked at using the court system better, using intervention orders better.<sup>185</sup>

The other significant external factor in determining the model for the relocation of the service was the advent of the police initiative in relation to their responses to domestic violence, *The Code of Practice for the Investigation of Family Violence*. The code details a police response to domestic violence that requires attending officers to make a risk assessment regardless of who made the complaint or whether or not the victim makes a

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<sup>182</sup> Department of Human Services, *Family and Domestic Violence: Crisis Protection Framework*, p. 18.

<sup>183</sup> Amy Fitzgerald, *Animal Abuse and Family Violence: Researching the Interrelationships of Abusive Power* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2005).

<sup>184</sup> Van Gaalen-Prentice and Davies.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid.

complaint.<sup>186</sup> This response to individuals experiencing domestic violence is consistent with a framework that has enabled some women to feel safe to remain in the community by promoting ‘more comprehensive action by police and courts.’<sup>187</sup> This approach is congruent with the 2005 Victorian Government policy initiative, *Reforming Family Violence Systems in Victoria*, that promotes an integrated model using court, police, community services and related government programmes in a coordinated system to maximise service delivery to women and children experiencing domestic violence. The integrated model is fundamental to the development of the new service delivery programmes related to accommodation and/or support and ongoing outreach programmes. The model adopted by Mary Anderson Lodge has been in operation in South Australia successfully and formed a basis for the approach taken by the new decentralised service. Women's security remains paramount and is maintained by a number of layers of sophisticated security systems and protocols.

The new model provides twenty four hour access to worker contact and support while enabling women to live and engage in the local community. The advantages in maintaining women in this environment are obviously the lack of disruption to their lives and the potential to become withdrawn in a refuge environment. On the other hand, a disadvantage is the lack of ready engagement with workers and other women should a service user wish to do so. Clarke identified this as a potential difficulty with the new model:

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<sup>186</sup> Victoria Police, *Code of Practice for the Investigation of Family Violence* (Melbourne: Victoria Police, 2004).

<sup>187</sup> *Changing Lives: A New Approach to Family Violence in Victoria* (Office of Women's Policy, Department of Victorian Communities, 2005), p. 4.

The previous model in Richmond with its self contained units within the refuge was quite clever because women could just close their door if they wanted their space or just open it if she wanted company. That is lacking now.<sup>188</sup>

Isolation and disconnection from the support of others in a face-to-face setting is an issue Mary Anderson Family Violence Service is attempting to manage by inviting women into the centre and to a range of organised events during which they can engage with each other and workers.

The new model includes a link to Salvation Army services at the local church level and the wider services of The Salvation Army. Women from the local Salvation Army church community collect material aid that is made available to service users and events and social activities are organised by the service to facilitate this interaction for women who wish to be involved. A number of women have participated in women's camps including women of various faith and cultural backgrounds. Women are also supported in making connections with their own faith community should they wish to as part of a recognition that women's needs are diverse and respecting and supporting those choices is part of the process of empowering women to take up their own agency.

Mary Anderson Family Violence Service has begun the process of developing an intra agency response within the Crossroads Network to the needs of women and children who have experienced domestic violence. This is congruent with the initiatives sponsored by the Victorian Government's coordinated approach to domestic violence.<sup>189</sup> The

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<sup>188</sup> Clarke.

<sup>189</sup> *Reforming the Family Violence System in Victoria.*

opportunities provided by the move in location and change in model has afforded the service a unique catalyst to develop a service delivery model for the future.

The service delivery at Mary Anderson Family Violence Service is radically different today from the early beginnings of women's rescue homes. Vast change has occurred in the style of accommodation and the services provided for women throughout this period, however, the Salvation Army's fundamental social justice traditions for women, pioneered by Catherine Booth, are as relevant and necessary today as they were at their inception.

### **Role of Officer Manager**

The role of the officer (clergy) manager has been perhaps one of the most consistently contentious areas of practice at Mary Anderson Lodge over its more recent history. At the inception of services to women in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century rescue homes such as Hope Hall, the forerunner of Mary Anderson Lodge, had female Salvation Army officers routinely appointed to the rescue homes as managers and senior staff. They exercised an authoritarian model of leadership and their status and power within the rescue home and the wider Salvation Army hierarchy were not questioned.

Significant changes have occurred since the 1960s that have changed the nature and role of the officer manager. Two specific changes have impacted on the role of Salvation Army officers. Firstly, there is the development of a widely researched body of knowledge in the area of domestic violence and women's studies in general. No longer is it sufficient for the officer manager to have broad experience working with women in a

pastoral, church based, setting or the local welfare service attached to the church. This lack of specialised and skilled practice around domestic violence has severely disadvantaged Salvation Army officers who are appointed to services like Mary Anderson Lodge. This is not to say that some Salvation Army officers do not have expertise in this area, some indeed are trained social workers or related professionals who have excellent knowledge and experience. However, the vast majority's training is centred in Salvation Army ministry and theology.

Clearly this lack of expertise puts the officer at a disadvantage in delivering appropriate and informed leadership; it also opens up the potential for a lack of confidence in the officer's management from staff. Conversely, staff can underestimate the significance of The Salvation Army as a large contributor to social justice programmes as a result of its religious traditions and therefore, fail to appreciate that it is these very religious traditions and its wider system of governance that enable it to attract funding and support in the first instance, for services such as these. Notwithstanding the complexity of SAAP funding requirements and minimum standards to which refuges are required to be compliant, Salvation Army officer managers may have come from a completely different service delivery area, sometimes via an interstate transfer. They are then required to step in and manage a specific programme like Mary Anderson Lodge.

A second significant disadvantage that The Salvation Army system has experienced is that the officer's primary organisational focus and ecclesiastical responsibility is a spiritual one and as such requires a specific spiritual focus. In fact, the position that a

Salvation Army officer fulfils is seen as a means to a spiritual end, not an end in itself.

Officer managers have often worked under difficult conditions as Billi notes:

Single women Salvation Army officers had their living quarters on the premises, which meant that the officer had very little privacy. She could not come and go without being seen, nor sit in her lounge room without the blind pulled down. It was also a dangerous position to put a single woman in.<sup>190</sup>

With the exponential growth of Salvation Army services in recent decades the capacity to obtain sufficiently well-trained Salvation Army officers for appointments to services such as Mary Anderson Lodge has diminished. It would appear that a solution to this dilemma has been developed in which the Salvation Army officer is the operations manager and the organisational expert, while a qualified and experienced practitioner in the field has been appointed programme manager.

At the time of Mary Anderson's move to Coburg, Lynda Van Gaalen-Prentice, the officer, and Ann Davies, the programme coordinator, had developed well-defined role clarity and a collaborative working style. The continuing success of this model will rely on the clarity of role definition and the professionalism of the working relationship between the two staff members. This management structure is substantively different from community based, stand alone refuges that operate under the direction of an experienced and credentialed practitioner with the support of a community management committee.

One of the positive aspects of the role of the officer manager may be emerging in relation to a greater acknowledgement of women's spirituality and the supportive role of the

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<sup>190</sup> Clarke.

officer in this area. Prior to leaving the Richmond site, a sacred room had been established where women were welcome to practice their particular faith traditions. Christian scriptures and symbols along with requirements of other traditions such the Koran were provided. The success of this initiative derived from respect for the wishes of the service users and the officer's understanding of faith traditions and their validity in women's experience. Since moving to the new decentralised model in 2006, support for women who wish to explore their spirituality has been addressed by connecting them with Salvation Army services or other appropriate faith traditions.

## CONCLUSION

The opening of Salvation Army services for women in Australia, in the 1880s is in many ways a world away from the new Mary Anderson Family Violence Service that was opened in 2006. The accommodation models are not the same, the understanding of domestic violence is different, the wider social environment and understanding of women's lives has changed and in many ways the world is a very different place. This study has charted some of the significant changes in policy direction that have taken place, in the service delivery model at Mary Anderson Lodge, in recent decades. It provides an insight into the complex nature of providing services for women who have experienced domestic violence, within the framework of a Church based service. However, three common threads underpin Salvation Army services for women since their inception in the 1880s; firstly, they are an expression of the long unbroken tradition of Salvation Army's social welfare services for women; secondly, they reflect the influence of Catherine Booth, co-founder of The Salvation Army; and thirdly, they continue to attempt to meet the needs of women and children experiencing domestic violence.

Notions of social justice and personal virtue underpinned the Salvation Army's rescue services for women at the end of the nineteenth century. 'Rescued' women were rescued from many environments that were abusive and exploitative. Poverty and a lack of social support systems made women particularly vulnerable to exploitation and violence. These early rescue homes were imbedded in the theological and social understanding of family and marriage that defined the role of women as mothers and homemakers. First wave feminists defined women around the notions of maternal feminism in which women's

motherhood role became a focus for their emancipation and a model for social advancement. As feminist understanding developed and women began to advocate for recognition that they had a contribution beyond maternal feminism to make to the community, services like Mary Anderson Lodge began to broaden their approaches to service delivery models. It is the underlying theme of social justice for women that connects the rescue home tradition to the development of women's refuges in The Salvation Army. This theme has been expressed in different ways as a result of different understandings of the nature of violence in women's lives but fundamentally the commitment to social justice for women remains a consistent thread, linking services for women throughout Salvation Army history in Australia.

A strong influence on early social justices traditions was Catherine Booth's commitment to services for women. This influence also reflects some of the contradictory nature of women's empowerment within a patriarchal church organisation. Catherine Booth instigated a tradition of theological equality for women in which they had the right to be recognised as equals in terms of Christian ministry and practice. Catherine Booth was an example of that equal ministry and developed an influential and recognised preaching and public speaking role in the forefront of female ministry. However, as part of a patriarchal organisational and church environment she was required to negotiate the contradictions that these two ideologies imposed upon her particularly in relationship to the sacred nature of marriage and family. This struggle has been mirrored within Salvation Army services for women.

Mary Anderson Lodge opened in 1966, as part of the long tradition of services to women and responded to changes in understandings of domestic violence that developed with the emerging women's refuge movement. Staff at Mary Anderson Lodge challenged the sacred nature of the family where it contradicted the rights of women and social justice traditions of Catherine Booth and the Salvation Army. They developed a body of knowledge relating to domestic violence and advocated for women both within and outside the organisation. This process developed over years and reflected changes in knowledge and research in the wider field of domestic violence. The result has been an expansion within The Salvation Army itself regarding understanding of domestic violence. A growing number of specialist employee staff have assisted in this development and have been essential for the expansion to support services for women.

The unfortunate reality is that after more than a century of delivering services to women and children escaping domestic violence there is still a need to provide such assistance. Rather than eliminating domestic violence as early members of the refuge movement had hoped, the incidence of domestic violence continues.<sup>191</sup> The women's domestic violence sector, developed as a response to the social action of the 1970s, has continued to evolve with the result that many services now exist for women and children escaping domestic violence. Mary Anderson Lodge has had to negotiate its place in the sector as part of a patriarchal church, which of itself raised suspicion at times within other services. Furthermore, it has on occasions found itself caught between the feminist understandings of the sector and the traditions of a patriarchal church based organisation. Staff interviewed for this study have all expressed the importance of their connections within

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<sup>191</sup> Murray, *More than Refuge: Changing Responses to Domestic Violence*, p. 182.

the wider domestic violence sector and the development of strong networks in the sector as a strength in service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge. There have also been benefits from Mary Anderson's position as part of a larger organisation with a range of support services for intra-referral and also the capacity to be supported by the organisation in interactions with administrative and funding bodies.

A significant issue with ongoing implications for the future of Mary Anderson Domestic Violence Service as it takes the tradition into the future, is the role of the officer manager. As has been identified during this study, The Salvation Army system has been substantially different from community based services particularly in the appointment of a Salvation Army officer as the manager of the service. Throughout the history of Mary Anderson Lodge, female officers have been appointed who are not experienced and accredited domestic violence professionals. They are, of course, accredited professionals in the field of Salvation Army ministry and many have wide experience. However, this has become a greater issue as the sector has become more professionalised and workers are themselves required to have formal qualifications. It can lead to a lack of confidence from staff and misunderstandings of the nature of the role of the officer. It has also led to the situation of single women officers living on the site with the added personal pressure and safety concerns that such a situation creates.

There would appear to be two obvious implications that come from this practice: Salvation Army officers could be provided with the opportunity to acquire formal qualifications and then develop a long-term career in Salvation Army services in the domestic violence sector, alternatively, as in the new model, the Salvation Army officer

is the operational manager and a domestic violence professional has the role of programme manager and both roles are clearly defined. Both responses have merit and it may well be that other solutions are also developed. The issue remains of developing a pool of suitably skilled officers and providing long-term careers in the field. The weakness inherent in the operational/programme manager team is that the success of the model relies on the clarity of role definition and goodwill between the two managers.

The new decentralised model that is Mary Anderson Domestic Violence Service is an opportunity to develop a new approach to delivering appropriate services to women and children escaping domestic violence. The sale of the Richmond site has provided an unparalleled opportunity to create a new tradition of service delivery in keeping with the long tradition of Salvation Army services for women and the influence of co-founder Catherine Booth. The service has the potential and commitment of present staff and the organisation to become a benchmark for future service delivery.

**The Salvation Army Australia Southern Territory**  
**Mission Values**

**Recognising that God is always at work in the world,  
we value.....**

**Human dignity**

**Respecting the sanctity of human life as being made in the image of God.**

We affirm the worth and capacity of all people.

*“So God created humankind in his image...” Genesis 1:27*

**Justice**

**Acting with integrity and fairness, without discrimination, and being an advocate  
for the disadvantaged.**

We promote healthy and whole relationships and good society.

*“You shall love your neighbour as yourself.” Matthew 22:39*

**Hope**

**Sharing the gospel of Jesus as gracious invitation to wholeness.**

We work for reconciliation, healing and transformation for all people and creation.

*“I have come that they may have life, and have it in abundantly.” John 10:10*

**Compassion**

**Engaging with others in the Spirit of Jesus.**

We feel compelled to stand with and do something about another’s suffering.

*“Truly I tell you, just as you did it to one of the least of these who are members of my family, you did it to me.” Matthew 25:40.*

**Community**

**Owning our common humanity as we engage with people, working and journeying  
together.**

We build community and meet God in our encounter with others.

*“Bear one another’s burdens, and in this way you will fulfil the law of Christ.”  
Galatians 6:2.*

Interview Questions

1. Please tell me about your role in service delivery at Mary Anderson Lodge
  - Location of Mary Anderson Lodge
  - Time period
  - With whom you worked
  - Strategic developments
  - Relationship to other services in the sector
  - The scope of services offered (e.g. services for children, outreach programme)
2. What do you consider to be the most significant changes in culture at Mary Anderson Lodge?
3. To what extent did these changes come from shifts in internal culture and policy as opposed to external changes in understanding domestic and family violence?
4. Have any of the changes influenced policy and procedures?
5. In your experience what has been the most successful change in policy? What has been the least successful?
6. What do you see as the wider communities understanding of domestic and family violence?
7. What do you understand to be the impact of contradictory internal and external values and culture on the delivery of the service at Mary Anderson Lodge?
8. Would you like to make any other comments in relation to the changes in service delivery at Mary Anderson lodge?
9. Are there others that you think could make a valuable contribution to this project by providing public record documents or literature?
10. Are there any policy documents or other literature that you think may be helpful for this research?

*Thank you for your participation in this project.*

*An independent confidential counselling service is available should you experience any discomfort as a result of the interview process. Please contact Ms Amanda Roy (03)9653 3213 to arrange a consultation.*

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