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Introduction

Domestic violence and abuse (DVA) is defined by the Home Office in the United Kingdom as:

> *Any incident or pattern of incidents of controlling, coercive, threatening behaviour, violence or abuse between those aged 16 or over who are, or have been, intimate partners or family members regardless of gender or sexuality. The abuse can encompass, but is not limited to: psychological, physical, sexual, financial & emotional.*(1)

With a thirty percent life-time prevalence of domestic violence and abuse (DVA) for women across the globe, (2) it is reasonable to assume that most people, at some point in their lives, will be in the position of friend, relative, colleague or neighbour to a DVA survivor. Research suggests that in the majority of cases, friends and family members did know about the abuse their loved one was experiencing or perpetrating,(3, 4) and that most women in an abusive relationship choose to access support from members of their social network.(5-9) Data from the 2015 Crime Survey for England and Wales indicates that of the 88% of intimate partner abuse survivors who had disclosed the abuse they had experienced; 80% had told someone known to them personally (relative, friend, neighbour or colleague), compared with 43% who had told someone in an official position (e.g. police or health professional), and 32% who had contacted a specialist organisation.(9) Because of the primacy given by survivors to the people around them, in terms of disclosure and help-seeking, the responses, judgements and behaviours of these people have the potential to significantly help or harm the situation.(4, 8, 9)

Much of the existing research regarding DVA survivors' social networks, has focussed on people who are 'bystanders' to the survivor's situation, in other words, people who are witnesses to particular events or incidents, but are not involved (including people who know the survivor and/or perpetrator and those who are strangers). This research has sought to explore the roles people play and their willingness, or not, to be involved in the situation, (4, 6, 10, 11) and has tended to concentrate on understanding, and developing interventions to reduce apathy, and increase a sense of responsibility

towards victimised peers (most often in college settings), for example, recent research by Borsky et al. and Storer at al. (12, 13). Bystanders are regularly considered to have a degree of detachment and objectivity in the situation, from which they are able to make rational decisions based on the particular circumstances, but it is important to note that Latane and Darley's original ideas, in the 1960s, about decision-making, highlighted that people's responses might have consequences for *themselves*, as well as for the victim (14). In a situation where there is domestic violence and abuse, the choices people make about whether to intervene to support a survivor may be influenced by their perception of risk to themselves, or may indeed result in becoming a secondary victim.

A systematic literature review undertaken by the author (15) identified studies which reported findings about the impact that DVA has on people providing informal support to a survivor. Articles included in the review highlighted the risk of physical harm to friends, relatives, colleagues and neighbours of survivors, (16, 17), some of which drew attention to the possibility of mortal danger. (18) Additionally, articles mentioned the possibility of informal supporters being threatened, terrorised, intimidated or harassed by the perpetrator, (16-23), with findings from a health impact assessment on DVA indicating that all of the survivors' families were *'to a various degree, intimidated, harassed or bullied'*. (24)

Many theories and models of domestic violence and abuse (whether focused on the individual, on the role of systems, or on social structures) place little emphasis on the interactions with or between people who are not the primary victim or the perpetrator. The World Health Organisation (WHO) sought to acknowledge the complex and multi-dimensional nature of domestic violence and abuse by proposing an integrated model which views DVA ecologically (Figure 1), acknowledging the *'community contexts in which social relationships are embedded – such as schools, workplaces and neighbourhoods'*. (25) However, even this model is somewhat two-dimensional, because it builds around the individual, considering other people as *context*, which does little to highlight scenarios where there is more than one person being victimised. Evan Stark, in his book on *coercive control,* takes a step towards recognition of multiple victims, highlighting that tactics are not only used by a perpetrator against a

survivor, but also against their friends and family members as a means of increasing control over the survivor, most often by promoting a distancing between her and members of her social network.(26)

Much of the research mentioned above has focused on the perspectives of survivors, professionals, or people relatively unknown to a survivor (bystanders who are not necessarily in any close relationship with a survivor), with very few studies capturing first-hand accounts from relatives, friends, neighbours and colleagues about their *own* experiences. To address this, an exploratory qualitative study was undertaken, which sought to explore the ways in which informal supporters themselves describe having been impacted by the abusive situation. Reported here are the findings related to the research question, "Do people providing informal support to DVA survivors experience abuse from the perpetrator and, if so, what forms does this take?"

Method

A qualitative approach to this research was taken due to this being both an unexplored topic, and an emotive and complex issue. The research aimed to capture breadth of experience and viewpoints rather than commonality and dominant discourses and, since safety was also an important consideration, a group-setting for the research was not considered appropriate. The interviews had sufficient structure to ensure that the research question was addressed, whilst allowing flexibility to pursue participants' thought processes.

Ethical considerations

The voluntary nature of the research was emphasised throughout the recruitment and interview processes, and the author remained alert to signs of distress during the interviews. In addition, following the interviews, an information sheet detailing local and national domestic violence services and counselling services was given to participants.

Written informed consent was sought from participants, with the study information shared at least 48 hours prior to the interview. Participant confidentiality and anonymity were of paramount importance, thus only the author knew who had participated in the study and all data were held securely

in accordance with University of Bristol regulations. The limits of confidentiality, particularly reporting requirements for safeguarding issues, were explained to participants.

This study was granted ethical approval by XXX (removed to preserve blinding).

Sample participants

The community of interest were adults who had a female friend, family member (including families-in-laws, and step-family members), neighbour or colleague who was experiencing, or who had experienced, domestic violence and abuse. Due to the lack of previous research in the topic area, it was important not only to capture information-rich cases, but also to try to recruit participants who might have a range of different experiences, attitudes and beliefs. Thus, maximum variation sampling was used; an approach which turns the problem of heterogeneity between individual cases in small samples from ostensible weakness into strength. (27) This method applies the logic that, because diversity is so likely in such a varied sample, any common patterns that *do* emerge are of considerable value or interest. (28)

Participants were eligible to take part in the study if they were aged 16 or over, both at the point of recruitment, and during the time that they knew the survivor. The abusive relationship they knew about had to fit the UK Home Office definition of domestic violence and abuse, (1) and this was screened for prior to interview according to participants' self-report. Due to the gender asymmetry around DVA (in terms of victimisation, perpetration, experience and impact), (29, 30) and that much less is known about the ways male survivors interact with their social networks, (31, 32) the focus of this work was on the informal supporters of *female* survivors. Whilst English did not need to be their first language, participants needed to be sufficiently fluent in English to take part in an in-depth interview. Since first-hand experience was key, people offering third-party perspectives were ineligible for this study.

Procedures and data collection

There was no natural group, organisation or charity to approach in order to directly recruit participants so, in order to optimise diversity, a varied approach was taken over an 8-month period including: posters

in community venues, social media and web-advertisement, and promotion on local radio. For safety, face-to-face interviews took place in university buildings or community premises. Participants also had the option to be interviewed over the telephone or using Skype. After consent was obtained, a socio-demographic questionnaire was completed both to inform the analysis and contextualise the narratives, and to provide information about sample diversity to guide recruitment strategies.

During the semi-structured interviews, a topic guide was used which had been developed from the findings of a previously conducted systematic literature review on a related subject. (15) In keeping with qualitative research principles, the initial topic guide evolved, so that insights gained in early interviews informed subsequent ones. (33) All interviews were conducted by the author, were audio-recorded and ranged in length from 35 to 90 minutes. Recordings were transcribed *verbatim* and the anonymised transcripts were imported into NVivo10 (software to support the organisation and management of qualitative data). The analysis was carried out concurrently with the interviews, and recruitment continued until the point of data saturation: '*a point of diminishing return where increasing sample size no longer contributes new evidence*'. (34) In total 23 interviews were conducted.

Data analysis

Thematic Analysis is a method for detecting, examining and reporting patterns within data. It is an accessible form of analysis, and part of its flexibility lies in it not being wedded to any particular theoretical framework. (35) Since it can be conducted in a theoretically driven (top-down) or in a data-driven (bottom up) manner, it can be used in research taking a range of different ontological and epistemological standpoints. The systematic literature review previously conducted by the author provided some broad *a priori* ideas, (15) and yet, due to the general lack of relevant research in this area and the dearth of related theory, most of the analysis was carried out inductively.

Once the author had familiarised herself with the data, it was line-by-line coded in NVivo10. Initial descriptive codes were grouped into themes which were refined using *constant comparison*: a process throughout the analysis of comparing units of data with the entire data set and emerging theories, to modify constructs and relationships between them. (36) These

phases, like the stages in all forms of qualitative analysis are not linear but iterative, attempting to distil and hone in a cyclical fashion. (33, 37) Discussion with the author's supervisors throughout the process, and, in particular, considering case examples and data coding together, refined the themes and provided some validation for the analysis. In addition, reflexive fieldnotes, written after each interview were revisited in order: (i) to check whether the honed themes reflected key messages recorded therein, and (ii) to consider whether the researcher's beliefs, values, assumptions and position had introduced any biases to the research process.

In the presentation of the findings, exemplar quotes from participants' narratives are used to illustrate and support the findings. The brackets after each quote contain the pseudonym chosen by the participant and their relationship to the survivor.

Results

Sample description

Between August 2012 and April 2013, 23 interviews were conducted: twelve face-to-face, seven over the telephone and four using Skype. The relationships that participants had to a survivor were: mother (4), father (2), sister (2), niece (1), daughter-in-law (1), current partner - where the survivor had left the abusive relationship and had a new partner (3), friend (15) and work colleague (2). There were more than 23 different relationships described because some participants had had more than one survivor in their social network. The majority of participants were female (18/23), most were white (including 'White British', 'White European', and 'White Other' ethnicities) and their ages ranged from mid-twenties to eighty. There was variety both in supporters' prior exposure to DVA, and in whether the abusive relationship between the survivor and perpetrator was on-going. Appendix A provides further details about the demographics of interviewees.

Findings

In order to give context to the themes that follow, it would be useful for the reader to understand the behaviours that the perpetrators of DVA had used towards their *partners,* as the primary victim in the

situation. When participants were asked about this, they themselves recognised that they knew only a fraction of what had happened, and were often unwilling to postulate the details or the extent of the abuse. Participants were much more comfortable describing their own experiences, and from a thematic analysis of the narratives, the ways in which perpetrators had behaved abusively towards *them* were apparent.

Perpetrators often employed tactics directly towards people providing informal support, and that these took a variety of forms. Sometimes participants experienced behaviours which were overt, but often the behaviours were more concealed and more subtly experienced, which left participants uncomfortable and in a place of uncertainty about what was really happening. The themes discussed below are: physical violence (actual and threatened), hostility and intimidation, despotism, punishment and criticism, manipulation, and challenging interactions.

Physical violence (actual and threatened). Several participants reported being on the receiving end of physical violence, and the context for this violence was in the handover of children between the perpetrator and the survivor's family. Eve explained that her ex-son-in-law, whilst collecting her granddaughter, had started swearing, and became '*very violent*' towards herself and her daughter. Mark also was on the receiving end of violence; during the handover of his step-daughter from his wife's ex-partner, he had been physically assaulted:

> *Then he started shouting and ranting and raving again at me, so I called the police; just before*
>
> *the police picked up, he just ran towards me, rabbit punched me in the gut and ran off crying.*
>
> *(Mark, Husband)*

In addition, a few people mentioned threats of physical harm, made against them either by the perpetrator or by members of *his* social network. Emily found out that her daughter's ex-boyfriend had not only threatened to harm her daughter, but had also made threats to shoot *her*. She explained that these were not empty threats because the perpetrator had access to guns. Jenna discovered that threats had been made against her when she tried to encourage her sister to come and stay. Her sister had

refused on the basis that her ex-partner had been threatening Jenna's life. Mark also referred to threats the perpetrator had made to *'kick the door down'* of the home he and his wife shared, and to the non-verbal *'death stares'* he had received from the perpetrator who hovered menacingly during court proceedings.

Threatening behaviour was not limited to actions by the primary perpetrator; Suzie spoke of threats that she and her husband had received from network members of her daughter's abusive partner. In one incident, friends the perpetrator was living with knocked on Suzie's door, and then proceeded to swear and make threats. On another occasion, knowing that her husband was in hospital and that she would be at home alone, the perpetrator and his sister phoned up, making threats to kill her. She recalled these events as having been really frightening.

Hostility and intimidation. In addition to actual or overtly threatened physical violence, participants also spoke about being treated by the perpetrator with behaviour that was hostile or intimidatory, and a few mentioned an escalation in the hostility directed towards them when they asserted themselves or acted in a way that the perpetrator perceived as a challenge:

> *...[H]e was talking about how his son is gonna grow up, "There's no way that boy's gonna grow up and not be successful." I was like, "Oh right OK, what about some of the other desirable traits of a human being, like loving, compassionate, warm, intelligent, affectionate?"...and the edge to him was really, really nasty (Louise, Friend)*

Some participants talked about the intimidation tactics that the perpetrator had used. For Sally these took a couple of different guises: her son-in-law would tell stories of escapades designed to shock and indicate his capacity for brutality, and he would enforce his perspective by using commands and intimidating body language. In Daisy's situation, the intimidatory behaviours were predominantly sexualised. Whenever she visited her friend, the perpetrator would be watching graphic hard-core porn with friends and, to her discomfort, would comment on what he thought she and he ought to be doing together, and how he thought her sexual performance would be. When Daisy refused to engage with

this conversation, he would call her '*frigid*' and claim that she must be a lesbian. Daisy, also described the perpetrator using the sexual abuse of his partner to further intimate her:

> *...we were sat round one night and he went, "Oh, I feel really horny, come on," and she went, "like my friend's here." And he was like that, "Look, if we don't go and have sex now, you're not gonna enjoy your evening with your friend, are you? 'Cos I'm gonna make your life hell." So she went upstairs and had what I'd class as loud sex, to please him…And I was just like, "Hmm, maybe we should just put some music on or something, 'cos this is just really awkward and really intimidating" (Daisy, Friend)*

Likewise for Lily, the behaviour and demeanour of her friend's partner had a sexualised subtext that left her feeling really uncomfortable:

> *...[H]e'd come in and he'd be like so all over me... what he was doing was hospitable but actually just felt really aggressive (Lily, Friend)*

In Vicky's case, the intimidation was less direct, but nevertheless acutely felt. She had only met the perpetrator once, but he had stalked her work colleague, Polly, watching when Vicky picked her up and dropped her home. Vicky felt unnerved by this surveillance and became very conscious of her own vulnerability.

Despotism, punishment and criticism. Some participants mentioned behaviours directed towards them that conveyed elements of control distinct from those mentioned above. They described perpetrator-imposed rules or regulations, being chastised or belittled, and having points of view dismissed or ignored. Sally and Eric gave prime examples of this, when describing how their interactions with their grandchildren were regulated by their son-in-law. They were given explicit instructions when they visited their daughter's home that they were not '*allowed*' to touch or hold their

baby grandchildren, and they were given lectures by the perpetrator for *'interfering'* and for having *'spoilt'* their eldest grandson:

> *...if we went round we used to find that if [our grandson] was there and we said, "give us a cuddle," he was four when we first went, [he'd] come and give us a cuddle, but then he'd find fault with something [he'd] done and send him to his bedroom...so we learnt, that if we went round, I'd said to my husband, "Remember when we go round don't start being affectionate, while [Amanda's husband's] there, because [our grandson'll] be the one that suffers" (Sally, Mum)*

Their descriptions indicated that *rules* were enforced by the implicit threat of penalties around their contact with their daughter and grandchildren:

> *When we got home to their house, he placed the children on the floor in front of us and told us not to touch them, "You can look at them, but don't touch them." I said, "For God's sake, grow up man." And I said, "They're grandchildren." So I went to pick them up, and he got very, very angry...anyway, after that we didn't see them for quite some time (Eric, Dad)*

Despotism and punishment were also part of the picture where family members were undertaking a supportive role regarding the handover of children between the survivor and the perpetrator. Times and restrictions were often overridden or exploited, and family members struggled to challenge these, for fear of what might result.

Manipulation. A further direct perpetrator impact was the feeling of being manipulated. For example, Daisy described having inadvertently become part of one of the perpetrator's strategies due to her lack of understanding about the situation. She described occasions when the perpetrator had used her to reason with her friend Jane, in order to get her to open a door behind which she had barricaded

herself. Daisy was regretful, because it subsequently transpired that Jane was not mentally unwell, as the perpetrator had contended, but was simply trying to keep herself safe.

Challenging interactions. Contact with the perpetrator, in and of itself, could be fraught with difficulties; some people avoided being around the perpetrator because they felt discomfort themselves, whilst others spoke about a great tension between treading carefully, for the survivor's sake, and the desire to confront the perpetrator:

> *I said to her, "I don't ever wanna have any contact with him, I'm sorry, I value you as my friend, I'm sorry, but I wouldn't wanna be in his presence." (Heather, Friend)*

> *I didn't wanna say anything to him to let him know that we knew what was happening... he could act so blasé and normal and obviously we couldn't really say or do anything about it (Audrey, Friend)*

In situations where the network member had had some contact with the perpetrator during the survivor's relationship, most had then had no further contact if the abusive relationship had ended. The exceptions were cases where the survivor and the perpetrator had had children together. People mentioned their uncertainty about what their response would be if they inadvertently bumped into the perpetrator, and Daisy, in describing such an occurrence, expressed the longevity and intensity of her feelings towards him:

> *I walked past him in town once and I physically couldn't even talk to him or acknowledge him. 'Cos I thought if I go, "Hello," the kids and Jane ain't around and I'm just gonna explode over you and just go, "You're a horrific human being, d'you know what I mean?...it would be an emotional outburst and I wouldn't be in control of it (Daisy, Friend)*

Participants described their overall experience in a way that indicated their vulnerability within the situation, and the similarity of the behaviours to those frequently used against survivors was apparent.

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Participants talked about discrete incidents, but they also tried to explain a more visceral sense of the perpetrator's behaviour towards them that was often intangible, yet nonetheless impacted their lives.

Discussion

This research was undertaken to explore whether people providing informal support to DVA survivors experience abuse, control and coercion from the perpetrator, and what forms this might take. The findings demonstrated that a variety of tactics were used by perpetrators, ranging from those which were overt, such as physical violence, to those which were much more subtle, for example being criticised and manipulated. In addition, any form of interaction with the perpetrator, whether during or after the relationship between the survivor and the perpetrator, was uncomfortable and difficult to manage.

Stark suggests that perpetrators not only use direct tactics towards survivors in order to abuse, control and coerce them, but also indirect tactics *via* friends and relatives in order to increase their control over the survivor, frequently by undermining the relationships of survivors with others. (26) Behaviours used in this way were not uncommon in participants' descriptions, with perpetrators: lying about the survivor to her friends in order to achieve her compliance, contacting survivors' colleagues at work to discredit her, making threats to harm network members, and accusing parents of survivors of '*interfering'*. Some of what was described however, went to another level, which was beyond further controlling the survivor *via* her friends and family, to abusing and controlling *them* directly, almost as an extension of her. Some of this was manifest as physical violence, but there was also a sense of menace that people picked up on, by which they understood that the perpetrator was dangerous, and that they themselves were at risk of harm. We know that there is an increased risk of abuse to children in households where domestic violence is happening (38), and it may be that perpetrators view adults close to a survivor in a similar way; that by exerting control over *them*, their sense of power over the situation is heightened.

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These findings are important in helping us to gain an understanding about how people,e other than the primary victim, might be suffering abusive and controlling behaviours from a DVA perpetrator. A previously conducted systematic literature review recognised this secondary victimisation in the peripheral reporting of identified articles, predominantly from within the accounts of survivors and professionals.(15) The current study builds on the review by exploring directly with friends, relatives, and colleagues the forms this victimisation can take, and how this is experienced. In addition, it identifies some of the factors which may mediate *what* was experienced, depending on the characteristics of informal supporters, the relationship they had with a survivor, and whether or not there were children involved. For example, more women described perpetrator behaviours that were designed to intimidate or belittle them. Family members and current partners appeared to be at greater risk of physical violence from the perpetrator; friends and colleagues had more opportunity to reduce or avoid contact. In addition, where the survivor had children and the perpetrator had on-going access, it was in the child handover context, that threats were made and physical violence used against informal supporters.

In the past twenty years, researchers have increasingly recognised the role of individuals in social networks of DVA survivors, and have sought to develop and test interventions for promoting prosocial bystander behaviours (39, 40). The concentration of this work has been with young adults, who are peers, but often not closely connected with a survivor, and who are potential witnesses to abusive behaviour/s. Bystander interventions frequently employ ideas from Latane and Darley's work in the 1960s and 1970s, in particular a five-step model about bystanders noticing events, interpreting situations as intervention-appropriate, taking responsibility, deciding how to help, and acting to intervene.(41) However, whilst exploring what might facilitate and inhibit bystander behaviour, most often the focus is on individuals' characteristics and beliefs, and the influence of peer responses, (42) which misses elements of 'risk to self' as both an important part of the picture, and an influencing factor in people's decision making.

The participants in this qualitative study were a much wider population than those generally targeted in bystander initiatives. They were closely related to and/or involved with a survivor's

situation, and many were responding to disclosures and witnessing of ambiguous behaviours over a period of time, rather than witnessing particular incidents. To genuinely develop a more community-based response to domestic violence and abuse, recognising the complete context of DVA in keeping with a more ecological view of DVA,(43) it is this broader population which needs to be engaged. A vital part of doing this, is recognising the abusive tactics used by perpetrators against informal supporters, including the physical violence, threats, hostility, intimidation, despotism, punishment, and manipulation reported in this study. If we better understand the secondary victimisation of this population, and the consequent ways in which perception of 'risk to self' influences people's actions, we will improve the interventions designed to ameliorate their response to DVA survivors.

Implications for theory, policy, practice and research

The findings from this research highlight the need for existing models of domestic violence and abuse, to consider more explicitly the wider community context within which perpetration and victimisation take place. These findings indicate that, in addition to the survivor, a whole range of people, including relatives, friends, current partners and colleagues are being victimised by DVA perpetrators. We are still very much working with two-dimensional models of domestic violence and abuse, and whilst it is perhaps appropriate that the survivor remains at the heart of any model, the complexity around real-life scenarios, including additional victims, multiple perpetrators, mixed perpetration and victimisation remains insufficiently represented. Further development of existing models is required to reflect this.

In addition, there are any number of domestic violence and abuse related policies where the social context of the survivor is almost entirely invisible. An example of this is the recent report by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary which acknowledges the inadequacy of the UK policing response to DVA, and hardly mentions the survivor's network. (44) For police forces, in particular, consideration is needed about the possibility of informal supporters being direct and secondary victims of criminal offences. There is also a need to extend the ideas of professionals working in the DVA field to consider all the potential victims in domestic violence and abuse scenarios, so that the experiences and needs of a broader range of people are legitimised and met. Reflection upon *who* might be

experiencing impact in any given situation, and providing opportunities for disclosure and legitimisation of concerns would enable a wider range of people's needs to be met.

Future research needs to triangulate perspectives of friends and relatives with that of survivors and perpetrators, so that abusive relationships are considered from multiple viewpoints, broadening our understandings around abuse tactics, disclosure, and helpseeking.

Strengths and limitations

One of the limitations of this research is that the sample lacked breadth for certain socio-demographic characteristics, ethnicity in particular. People from minority ethnic backgrounds are frequently under-represented in research (45) and, whilst substantial effort was made to recruit people from a variety of ethnic backgrounds, this was not especially successful. A key strength of this study is the novelty of perspective because it accesses the experiences of informal supporters of survivors directly, which is vital if we are to understand the wider context and implications of domestic violence and abuse.

Conclusion

Whilst previous research has highlighted the potential benefits for survivors of interactions with informal supporters, namely friends, family members and colleagues, rarely has this group been directly studied in terms of the impact they may experience and the needs they may have within the situation. This research has captured rich descriptions of the experiences of friends, relatives, and work colleagues of survivors, and the findings indicate that perpetrators use a variety of abusive tactics towards these people. The forms of abuse, control and coercion are similar to that which survivors frequently report, including: actual and threatened violence, hostility, intimidation, despotism, punishment and manipulation. The pervasion of violence and abuse beyond the primary victim has been highlighted. Recognition of the predicament of informal supporters and provision of support would equip them in this role so that their own safety, coping, and wellbeing are not compromised. This would promote an important double-gain, where secondary victims of perpetrators are supported, and are thus better able to continue supporting survivors.

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Figures

Figure 1: An Ecological Model of Domestic Violence (25)

The ecological model

Societal — Community — Relationship — Individual
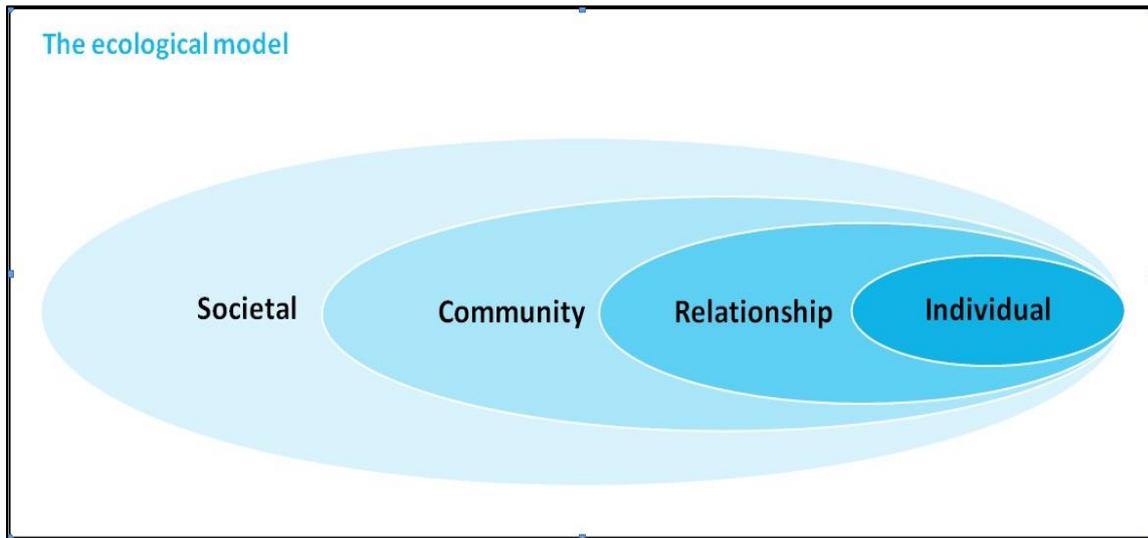
Appendix A. Participant Characteristics

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Ethnicity	Working status	Highest Qualification	Sexuality	Prior Exposure to DVA (own history or witnessed in childhood)	Relationship to survivor	Approx. time since end of survivor's abusive relationship/s (years)
Emily	Female	36	White British	Working	Masters	Heterosexual	Yes	Mother	1.5
Sally	Female	70	White British	Retired	Vocational qualification	Heterosexual	No	Mother	2
Eric	Male	70	White British	Retired	Vocational qualification	Heterosexual	No	Father	2
Anne	Female	37	White British	Maternity Leave	Degree	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend (x2)	8/ on-going
Ben	Male	39	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Current partner	2
Gwen	Female	31	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Sister	1
Barry	Male	71	White British	Retired	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Father	2
Daisy	Female	33	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Friend (x2) / daughter-in-law	7
Josie	Female	32	Dual heritage	Raising children & self-employed	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Friend (x2) / niece	2 / 2.5 / 14
Vicky	Female	47	White British	Working	Masters	Heterosexual	Yes	Work colleague	3
Zakia	Female	37	Pakistani	Working	Masters	Heterosexual	No	Friend (x2)	7
Stacey	Female	52	White other	Studying	Degree	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend	On-going
Ruth	Female	55	White British	Working	PhD	Heterosexual	No	Work colleague	16
Kate	Female	51	White British	Working	Masters	Bisexual	Yes	Friend	Unknown (lost touch)
Jenna	Female	48	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Sister	8 / 2
Louise	Female	43	White European	Working	Vocational qualification	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend	1
Heather	Female	48	White British	Studying	Degree	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend (x2)	3
Lily	Female	42	White British	Working	Masters	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend	5
Mark	Male	40	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Current husband	7
Eve	Female	80	White British	Working	Vocational qualification	Heterosexual	No	Mother	15
Richard	Male	55	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	No	Current partner	1.5
Suzie	Female	53	White British	Working	PhD	Heterosexual	No	Mother	13 / 3.5
Audrey	Female	24	White British	Working	Degree	Heterosexual	Yes	Friend	2.5