

## **Professional Standards in Social Work Today**



University of Applied Sciences,  
FH Campus Vienna, Center for Profes-  
sional Competence in Social Work

**Gudrun Wolfgruber**  
**Marc Diebäcker**  
**Judith Ranftler**  
**Tamara Strahner**

## **Feminist Social Work between Institutionalization and Autonomy – The Association of Vienna Women’s Shelters Outreach Clinic**

**This case study was conducted within the framework of work package 2 of project module 4, “Professional Standards in Social Services: yesterday – today – tomorrow,” [Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit: gestern – heute – morgen] of the EQUAL development partnership “Donau - Quality in Inclusion”.**

**September 2006**



## Table of Contents

Forward	2
1. Professional standards in social work today – how important is gender? .....	4
1.1. Research context: gender and violence .....	5
1.2. Research questions .....	6
1.3. Case study and methodological considerations regarding the case study analysis .....	7
1.4. Looking back at the women’s shelter movement – the birth of feminist social work .....	9
2. The Association of Vienna Women’s Shelters Outreach Clinic .....	13
2.1. Organization and structure of the sponsoring organization .....	13
2.2. Client target groups .....	14
2.3. Financing the "operation" .....	15
3. Tasks and scope of functions .....	15
3.1. Counselling and support .....	15
3.2. Political / Feminist public relations .....	18
3.3. Collaboration on changes in legislation .....	19
3.4. Police training .....	19
3.5. Task distribution in the team .....	20
4. Professional expertise in women’s counselling .....	22
4.1. Basic principles and postulates of feminist social work .....	22
4.2. Professional expertise in the context of „case“ cooperation .....	23
4.3. Conditions for professional practice .....	24
4.4. Definition of professional expertise .....	27
5. Mandates and “double mandate” .....	29
6. Indirect social and direct legal frameworks .....	31
7. Feminist principles / autonomy put to the test or in danger? .....	32
8. Sources and Literature .....	36
8.1. Interviews .....	36
8.2. Documents / Web sites .....	36
8.3. Literature .....	38



The goal of the EQUAL Development Partnership “DONAU – QUALITY IN INCLUSION“ is to develop quality criteria for the social work sector in order to provide a basis for the submission of proposals according to the “best bidder” principle. [www.donau-quality.at](http://www.donau-quality.at)

General coordination and financial responsibility:  Fachhochschule St. Pölten  
[www.fh-stpoelten.ac.at](http://www.fh-stpoelten.ac.at)

DONAU - QUALITY IN INCLUSION is sponsored by the European Social Fund and the Federal Ministry for Economy and Employment.  

## Forward

A preoccupation with professional relevance and expertise isn't anything new, even in the social work sector. Now and in the past, professional colleagues have intensely undertaken activities in this area. However, the perspective that governs discussions about "good" and quality-conscious / high quality social work has changed dramatically, most recently in the 1990s.

First, the orientation of the social state and social policies have changed – the neoliberals are promoting debate about "reorganizing and dismantling the social state" - such that in the name of so-called "modernization" the social state is being cheapened and put up for sale. Second, this development is – depending on the ideological standpoint – "putting the brakes on" or simply decreasing the amount of state-financed resources in the social sector. Due to the problematic situations brought about by unequal social power structures and the resulting increase in clients, social organizations and their employees are confronted with a short supply of resources. Third, the governmental decisions to cut back and the new tax model with its approach based on business management recast social work as an economic endeavor and severely increase the pressure on institutions and their employees to prove their legitimacy. Questions regarding oversight, measurement and formalization of social work are emphasized. Fourth, as a result of the developments described above, even the form and content of the social work itself seems to be changing. Among other changes, the work with clients is increasingly trending toward supervision, norming and discipline, developments which themselves call the legitimacy of social work into question.

Today, social workers find themselves in the difficult situation of, on one hand, constantly having to prove their professional expertise in terms of logic and criteria that have little to do with the occupation and that cannot demonstrate a great deal of what is considered to be professional social work expertise. On the other hand, due to predominantly worsening conditions, social workers are more and more often in situations in which they are no longer able to implement central principles of their ethical and professional self-image.

Based on these developments, the goal of the project "Professional Standards in Social Services: yesterday – today – tomorrow" as part of module 4 of the EQUAL development partnership "Quality in Inclusion" is to contribute to sharpening the professional perspective of employees in social organizations. The chronological perspective "yesterday – today - tomorrow" together with the social workers' cooperation is meant to foster awareness of historical and professional lines of development and to analyze current professional behavior, to identify disruption in the social state and the current determining factors, and to commonly develop appropriate strategies and structures to ensure quality-conscious / high quality professional engagement in the field of social work.

In the "today" phase of the project, events were held regarding the modification of the social state and the recasting of social work as an economic endeavor from February to September 2006 and three case studies were conducted. The goal, with regard to the fragmentary nature of the literature available in German and the marginal amount of applied research in social work in Vienna, was to take a closer look at the professional work and the basic conditions in selected institutions.

For this explorative approach, the idea was to collect the perceptions, views and positions of the professional employees in terms of their institutional background and to trace the extent to which the previously described developments have found their way into social work in Vienna and how they are influencing professional practice.

The institutions selected for the case studies included the Asylum Center at the Caritas Wien [the Vienna Catholic Social Service Organization], the City of Vienna Crisis Intervention Center on Neutorgasse, which operates within the scope of the entire child rearing process, and the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic [Beratungsstelle des "Vereins Wiener Frauenhäuser"]. In this way, in each of the three studies, a different field of social work activity could be intensely observed, all of which differ in terms of organizational form and size as well. We would like to thank the institutions for their candor and support and to especially thank the employees we interviewed for the interesting insights and enlightening realizations that have added immensely to our understanding.

Vienna, September 2006

Marc Diebäcker, Judith Ranftler, Tamara Strahner und Gudrun Wolfgruber

## **Feminist Social Work between Institutionalization and Autonomy – The Association of Vienna Women’s Shelters Outreach Clinic**

### **1. Professional standards in social work today – how important is gender?**

Currently, the various agents and groups involved in the field of social work, whether institutions, associations, social workers or clients<sup>1</sup>, feel confronted with shifting social, political and economic developments. With the backing of the neoliberals, structures that were previously part and parcel of the social state are being “modernized,” which is leading toward a recasting of the social as economic and, within the context of privatization, toward a restructuring of the social sector and a reduction in the benefits offered by the social state. The economic logic of market competition is becoming the decisive criterion for the existence of social institutions and determines the amount of resources available.

Consequently, social work professionals must not only deal with changes in the standards for everyday practice, but also identify and/or legitimate the need for their professional expertise. A brisk exchange in the recent issues of the magazine “*Sozialarbeit in Österreich*” [“Social Work in Austria”] reveals the hot-potato nature of this debate about quality, which is threatening to become a milestone debate in the profession. (Jan. 2006: “*Was kann Case Management?*” [“What are the capabilities of case management?”], Feb. 2006: “*Ist die politische Sozialarbeit tot?*” [“Is political social work dead?”]; compare the contributions by Bakic 2006a, Kleve 2006, Weber 2006).

In this specific context, “gender” isn’t mentioned once. Consequently, it is possible to get the impression that in the social work arena, implementing gender mainstreaming measures and gender sensitive social work has been so effective, that it would be an obsolete gesture to examine gender as a category. What is not considered is the gender specific impact of neoliberal policies on clients on one hand and on an occupation traditionally defined as feminine on the other. At the same time, there are questions regarding the extent to which not mentioning this topic has to do with the implicit effects of the gender relationship and the extent to which the negotiations about the future of the occupation and the so-called quality criteria will be defined ultimately on the basis of the traditional gender hierarchy and the resulting assignment of gender roles because the majority of practitioners in the field are female. In this way, the ostensibly neutral concept of quality is obfuscated, along with its fundamental value system, which is simultaneously related to the question regarding the corresponding power to define (cf. Fröschl 2001, 294).

---

<sup>1</sup> In accordance with the concept of gender-sensitive language use based on the concept of language as an instrument of dominance and an expression of power relationships, gender-neutral terminology will be used in the text that follows either when the agent’s specific gender cannot be clearly identified or when both genders are addressed. If the assignment of a specific gender to respective agent or group is necessary, it will be specifically stated in the text.

## 1.1. Research context: gender and violence

In most societies, gender in its social sense still has a central function in social differentiation and in creating hierarchies. However, the meanings and impact ascribed to gender vary significantly in scope in different areas due to interaction with other hierarchical or discriminatory categories such as “ethnicity/race” or participation in certain social milieus in different social groups and the geographic regions where they are found. In the context of the case study selected for this analysis, the Association of Vienna Women’s Shelters Outreach Clinic, which is confronted with specific effects of hierarchical gender relations - i.e., violence against women and children – this means that violence in gender relations cannot be examined in personal terms or on an individual basis, but only within the respective existing social order in which gender still functions as a basis for discrimination and as a social “escort” (cf. Scott 1996, 201). In most European countries, there is a formal recognition of the equal status of men and women, based in law. Abuse and violence against women are punishable offences. If the family unit remains unassailable as a social form of organization or standard norm, the majority of violence against women will continue to be seen as a private issue instead of as a real, daily occurrence (cf. Mesner 2006). To exaggerate for the sake of clarity, “*The comforts of home end where the topic of gender begins (...)*” (Brückner 2001, 15).

Since the 1970s there has been widespread and often controversial discussion about how gender specific discrimination among other forms could be dismantled. Based on the idea that “human resources” as a part of economic resources should be used as well as possible, the European Union has incorporated into its agenda applicable guidelines to advance the dismantling of discrimination. Gender mainstreaming as a strategy for promoting and realizing equal treatment in terms of gender in all policy areas has become a significant precept of its projects. As projected at the 1995 UNO World Conference on Women in Beijing, the Amsterdam Contract of 1997 has obligated the EU member states to contribute to the advancement of equal rights in terms of gender in their respective countries. Despite acknowledging that the private cannot be separated from the political, these measures are targeted for the most part at those areas that are traditionally considered public. Consequently, the implementation of programs against discrimination and episodes of violence within family or couple relationships has often been left up to the willingness of the respective national governments.

In the meantime, however, increasing skepticism has been expressed among the ranks of feminist scholars that programs like gender mainstreaming could degenerate under “*false labelling*” (Holzleithner 2002, 24) into “*pure modernist rhetoric*” and, surrounded by global capitalism and a (cultural) neoliberalism that is essentially based on taking advantage of inequality and difference, could metamorphose back into its opposite in a boomerang effect (cf. Schacherl 2003; Holzleithner, 2002). This leads to questions about how the gaps in neoliberal policies in the area of social policy will be filled – possibly, to the detriment of women, in the form of volunteer work or low-paid jobs in a further embodiment of gender hierarchies. It has been pointed out that in the context of a global dismantling of welfare and social state politics, there is a danger of connecting to an employment market based on gender hierarchy, in which women might start taking on more service and support work again, or such work might be taken on by volunteers in family networks, i.e. questions about and the work related to reproduction will be repressed back into the “private” sphere (cf. Appel/ Gubitzer/

Sauer 2003; Gubitzer/ Schunter-Kleemann 2006). In this way, women would be paradoxically obligated to take care of the exact same social responsibilities which caused them to challenge the concept of gender in the first place (Soiland 2004, 103). Critics fear that traditional gender roles and existing gender relations will be perpetuated and become inflexible again and that the identified goal of parity in gender relations could shift into the background (Schacherl 2003a, 2003b) – considerations that are also important for social work in terms of both its practitioners and its target groups.

Following a demand for emancipation and associated with a critique of essentialist conceptions of gender, since the 1970s interdisciplinary questions about differentiation, discrimination and the creation of hierarchies as aspects of “gender” have become topics of discussion in the interplay between gender studies and the pertinent political debates in the new women’s movement. The piece *"Refusal (...) to serve the status quo"* (Scott, 2001) examines the relationship of gender in personal relationships and intersections with other categories of discrimination, such as ethnicity/race and social affiliation. A comprehensive theory has since been formed that attempts to articulate the qualities and functions of a category like “gender” (cf. Gehmacher/ Mesner 2003; Bauer/ Neissl, 2002). The resulting deconstruction of gender as an essentialist concept in terms of its social import makes it possible to articulate themes that were previously taboo, even in scientific discourse, such as violence against women (cf. Brückner 2001, 18).

## **1.2. Research questions**

It seems difficult for persons active in the field of social work, regardless of their gender – according to our previous experience - to describe their professional expertise beyond the required quality assurance and measurement criteria because on one hand, there are no criteria for analysis in the current discourse on quality - for example, in terms of gender - and on the other, the social work sector lacks an approach that deals explicitly with the questions and problems of gender relations.

As a contribution to the research for work package 2 of project module 4, “Professional Standards in Social Services: yesterday – today – tomorrow,” which concentrates on the analysis and meaning of the development of professional expertise and its relevance for the current professional practice of social workers, and which is based at the Center for Professional Competence in Social Work at the University of Applied Sciences “FH Campus Vienna” the present case study seeks to incorporate a consideration of “gender” is the current debate on quality. In so doing, this research conforms to the goals of the EQUAL development partnership “Donau - Quality in Inclusion,” which include the implementation of “gender expertise.” More than 18 organizations from various spheres of social work in Austria are associated with the EQUAL development partnership, which is sponsored by the Federal Ministry for Economy and Employment and European Social Fund.

The scope of our research process includes questions about the extent to which the professional expertise differs in areas where both men and women are employed as experts, about the specific requirements – an assumption – with which they are confronted and about the extent to which social services specific to women are present in the current quality debate

and if they also will be present in a changed socio-political landscape. The possible consequences for formulating and articulating the feminist intentions for social work will be examined.

Furthermore, the study will examine the effects of increasing cutbacks in the services offered by the social state and the growing correlation between social rights and employment - as economic globalization continues - on couple relationships, on episodes of violence experienced by women or children and on the possibilities for intervention.

*“Questions regarding intervention in domestic violence situations cannot be discussed separately from resource conflicts and discrepancies with regard to gender. These play a decisive role for the couple involved and at the level of professional services and are an expression of power relationships, such as the quarreling that occurs in the struggle over fewer and fewer resources (Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 229f.).*

Also associated with this topic are questions regarding the groups which began and which are currently pushing the debate about violence and the political system in which such issues can even be placed on the agenda, as well as questions regarding if and how gender is perceived as a social category and if there is even room for it in the various policy fields. Which groups take part in discussions about violence and which objectives have ultimately decisive importance in terms of legal measures against violence are closely linked to whether existing gender norms and roles are challenged and how this challenge is carried out.

### **1.3. Case study and methodological considerations regarding the case study analysis**

The specific choice of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic for this study was based on the decisive historical role played by its umbrella organization in initiating the women's shelter movement and founding feminist social work in Austria and on its position at the interface between state institutions and policies on one hand and attempts to act autonomously on the other. With regard to our research topic, we were especially interested in the changes in the positioning of the outreach clinic due to the sponsoring organization's restructuring of the organizational and decision-making functions in 2003. The fact that the employee team consists mainly of women who have already been working for quite awhile within the context of the women's shelter movement and who have supported change processes and experienced them first hand was also a factor in the decision because in addition to examining the significance of gender, we could examine the importance of experience across generations as a criterion for practical social work.

In contrast to methods for recording quality, which in many cases are situated within a quantifying and classifying methodological paradigm and are applied in the context of measuring quality requirements in social work, qualitative methods seemed better suited to carrying out a single case study analysis, not only as a counterpoint to quantitative methods or as way to achieve critical distance from them, but because qualitative methods analyze the specific structure of the research object, they enable a deep reconstruction of meaning as well as its



clear incorporation in the larger context. In addition, the authors found the application of quantitative methods especially problematic with regard to the focus on gender research (cf. Behnke/ Meuser 1999). In terms of an “*exemplary insight*” (Adorno et al. 1954, 358) the present case study can also be understood as a “*tentative search for evidence*,” as a way “*to use a single case to demonstrate the deep structures that define it*” (cf. Kannonier-Finster/ Ziegler 1998, 7).

The idea to carry out interviews with experts resulted from the assumption that the individual perspectives of the experts employed in the respective area of social work could give direct information about and appraisals of individual working conditions that couldn't be obtained from the literature or from various official sources and documents that often reflect institutionally-centered perceptions. Moreover, an analysis of the experts' individual perspectives makes it possible to typify the interface between theory and practice that significantly influences professional practice in social work.

Code of practice questionnaires developed in teams were used to interview the experts. The relatively broad scope of the questionnaires allowed as much room for open conversation with the interviewees as possible (cf. Flick 2002, 117-146; Bogner 2005). Following transcription, the texts of the conversations were analyzed with qualitative interview analysis methods (cf. Meuser 2003; Mayring 1995, 1996, 2004).<sup>2</sup> The analysis focused on the central questions mentioned earlier, which also support the results of the final report of work package 1 of the research project that dealt with the past (the “yesterday”) of the professional standards in social work (cf. Bakic/ Jovanov/ Kellner 2006; Wolfgruber 2006a). We wish to take this opportunity to thank the interviewees for their willingness to talk with us, for the wealth of information and encouragement and for their candor.

In the context of triangulation, for case studies the most important quality criterion for qualitative social research - other than the evaluation of the collected interview results - is the integration of the corresponding source material and the results of scientific research into the analysis. In this way, the present case study is supported by the analysis and interpretation of the interviews; however, source materials such as progress reports, documentation used for public relations and so on – some of which were kindly provided to the authors by the interviewees – were used to supplement the analysis. However, it is to be noted that each process of interpretation is always connected to the interpreter's personal state (cf. Kannonier-Finster/ Ziegler 1998, 19). Focusing the entire analysis on the analysis of the interviews allows for the circumstance that necessary data and information about the source material used in the research and the literature provided were not available to use for a response to the selected research questions. To provide a better contextualization, we used the scholarly literature of gender studies to form a complex of topics – gender, social work and violence in the family - which in turn form the basis our first hypothesis. Although gender sensitive social work, one of the course offerings at the Technical University in Vienna, is integrated into the context of current instruction, overall it can be noted that scholarly literature that deals with research into the interplay of social work and violence, feminist social work

---

<sup>2</sup> To ensure better readability and to avoid ambiguity and misunderstandings of content, the passages from the interviews included in this text have been adapted to conform to the rules of standard German. Needless to say, the content of the statements has been carefully preserved.

and questions about so-called quality assurance and the “New Public Management” is absent.

Research literature regarding social work in the context of violence is based for the most part on the research and intensive discussions experts who are themselves active in the field of feminist social work (cf. Egger et al. 1997; Fröschl-Löw 1995; Fröschl/ Gruber 2001; further information in the Works Cited). In rejecting the power relationships prevalent in scholarly research, this certainly goes along with the intentions of feminist scholars / social workers to investigate their field themselves instead of allowing it to be researched. This fact simultaneously draws attention to a significant desideratum in scholarly research: (feminist) social work, violence and gender as topics of scholarly research do not seem to have a significant presence at Austrian universities. In contrast, for the German context there is a significantly broader spectrum of scholarly literature that deals with these questions. Using international research results in an Austrian context does not seem appropriate for preparing this case study, given the differences in development. At best, these results can be used for comparison and contrast. Nevertheless, these results can still be helpful for looking at gender relations and the current debate on quality, which are certainly not limited to Austria, or for examining international economic developments.

#### **1.4. Looking back at the women’s shelter movement – the birth of feminist social work**

The women’s shelter movements are closely linked to the dedication of the second women’s movement in Austria, which also took place in Western Europe and the US. Projects of the autonomous women’s movement, women’s shelters were founded throughout Europe, the first in London in 1972 (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 39).

In addition to demanding the principal right to make their own decisions regarding reproduction – also known as body rights<sup>3</sup> - the women’s movement in the United States and Western Europe in the 1970s also simultaneously questioned the dominant gender norms. Motivated by this development, traditional gender relations also become a topic of discussion in Austria, where up to that time an independent women’s movement that could have articulated questions about violence against women had not yet been formed because no one had yet developed a space for such activity or because of a lack of political will (cf. Mesner et al. 2004; Wolfgruber et al. (Ed.) 2006).

Since the 1970s, “violence against women” in public (as opposed to violence that occurs in private) has been a major topic for public debate and has since been often addressed in the legal sphere (cf. the chapter titled “Indirect social and direct legal frameworks,” cf. 1988, 3). In contrast, violence against women in heterosexual marriage and family relationships was still treated as an individual problem for long time after that. In the 1990s, expressions used in political and professional discourse such as “violence against women,” “male violence,” “violence in gender relations,” etc. were replaced by the term “domestic violence.” Even though

---

<sup>3</sup> This means the demand for a woman’s right to choose what happens to her own body, over her own reproductive capabilities in terms of human reproduction.

this term clearly situated violent behavior in a space still thought of for the most part as private living and relationship space, the concept "domestic violence" ultimately didn't reveal who exercised the violence against whom and so it remained unclear that such violence has to do with a dominant pattern of behavior embedded in social gender relations (cf. Heinz 2002, 17 ff; Kavemann et al. 2001, 23ff., cited in Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 203). Using different terminology, however, always draws attention to different mindsets and to the degree to which agents involved in the discourse of violence have been sensitized to questions regarding gender relations as well as to the resultant differences in methods and standard operating procedures used by the police, the courts and social workers, for example. On the other hand, legal ordinances and practices that clearly identify violence against women in marriage and family as punishable offenses can significantly participate in determining the direction of social discourse.

Particularly the courts in the United States view violence as interactive. Following a structuralist-functionalist approach, violence is seen as a problem with interaction and communication and "family violence" as a means for "solving" conflicts. Under this approach, all family members are seen as participating equally in the situation (cf. Brückner 2002, 20f., cited in Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 208f.). Consequently, gender as a structural category was ignored in terms of the origin and exercise of violence within the context of this predominant interpretive paradigm. In contrast, the women's shelter movement drew attention to just these deciding structural factors. Furthermore, a definition of violence against women as "family violence" is reflected in many cases in the hesitant attitude of the Austrian courts and public prosecutors who don't regard violence against women as "wife abuse" or "wife battering," and thus also don't recognize it as an abuse of human rights, but see it rather as a private family conflict (cf. Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 209). The delays and long years of hesitation among international governments and policies in dealing with violence against women can be read as an example of this problem.

The project for founding the first women's shelter in Austria began in 1978 in a project group of the Vienna Academy for Social Work. As a result, from the beginning the profile of the employees was associated with professional expertise in social work and with feminist political objectives. However, Rosa Logar, social worker, director of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Center Vienna and co-founder of the first women's shelter in Vienna, emphasizes that despite their establishment within the context of social work training, women's shelters are primarily products of the women's movement and not social work (Logar 2001, 179). In addition, Irmtraud Karlsson, at that time an assistant professor at the Academy of Social Work and also a co-founder, emphasizes that "women's work is not a project that emerged from the context of administrative social work because women's shelter projects and initiatives are feminist projects, and from a feminist perspective even social work is to be x-rayed and criticized." (Karlsson, 1988c, 55) Rejecting the concept of "social or mental motherliness" (cf. Wolfgruber 2005) means challenging the notion of reproductive work as specifically women's work and refusing to understand social work as institutional reproductive work. At the same time it requires reflection about an established paradox in social work, according to which social work exists precisely because social inequality also exists, and for this reason it has become a stopgap for gender and class differences on one hand and for the negative consequences of social services and social insurance on the other (cf. Hollstein/ Meinhold 1973; Galuske 2006).

In contrast to areas of social work institutionalized by the state such as the Vienna Youth Welfare Department, which can fall back on a long tradition and the corresponding experience and which have to comply with the direct content of a state mandate, the autonomous women's shelter movement created itself as a new political entity and framed its own requirements for the communities and the state to fulfill with regard to legal and social concerns.<sup>4</sup>

The foundation of the first women's shelter in Vienna was consequently situated from the beginning in an area of conflict between autonomy and the party politics of the Vienna community. While the concept of founding an autonomous women's shelter house in Vienna found support among the so-called "party women" of the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ), such as the national women's secretary at that time, Johanna Dohnal, the women of the Austria People's Party (ÖVP) favored founding a Home for Women and Children (cf. Karlsson, *Entstehungsgeschichten* [History of Origins] 1988, 29). However, it should be emphasized that the social democratic concepts also did not really consider the gender specific attribution of reproductive tasks. The autonomously organized second women's movement questioned exactly this acceptance of the "natural" assignment of roles, but the corresponding demands for a new conception of the arrangement of gender did not (yet) have any legal effect in the 1970s / 1980s (cf. Mesner 2006, 11f; 2004).

As a result, even the founding of a corresponding sponsoring organization for the future women's shelters stirred up different attitudes toward the gender role conflict: one concept supported by the project initiators considered basic democratic organizational structures and organizational autonomy to be preconditions for their work in order to avoid prolonging the subordination of women. This concept was pitted against another, which was developed with more strategic political consideration. This second concept included staffing the association with prominent "*persons of integrity*" in order to obtain better financing opportunities and political support (cf. Karlsson 1988b, 27f.).

Still, the specific history regarding the formation of the sponsoring organization and the fact that the initiators had no political mandate had long-reaching effects that are still present today. As a result, there are still latent conflicts between the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters and the "*party women*," which play an especially important role when dealing with questions of financing. It's like "*walking a tightrope*." For this reason, it was already feared during the establishment of the association "*that the autonomy in the work could be threatened by the interference of the financial backers*" (Fürst 1988, 6). "*But on the other hand, the potential backers were mostly politicians or affiliated with a church who were unsure about how to deal with the demands for autonomy - or they were implicitly ignored.*" (Löw 1988a, 16) Looking back, however, one of the first employees describes the attitude of the (then) future contractual partner from the community of Vienna (at that time MA [municipal department] 12) as thoroughly "*willing to experiment*" and to support new projects (Interview, Sieder, *Tätigkeitsbericht* [Project report] 2004, 11).

---

<sup>4</sup> Before, political space for women could be found practically only within the parties because the traditions of an autonomous women's organization were demolished by the fascists (cf. Mesner 2006, 6; Rosenberger 1992).

Even though the concept of founding a sponsoring organization based on fundamental democratic structures didn't succeed, the first women's shelter in Vienna, opened in 1978, was characterized by its rejection of hierarchical structures in its organization and daily practice. Rejecting the notion of gender specific hierarchies within the social work profession meant that the employees worked together in independent teams under their own responsibility based on the needs of interests of the shelter residents. In addition, the employees were paid based on the principle of "equal pay for equal work" (Fürst 1988, 8), regardless of their previous training and in contrast to women's rights initiatives, which were in many cases based on volunteer work (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 54). In a critique of social work that retains the existing power difference between clients and social workers, of outreach services based on a deficit-oriented model and of problem definition based on the individual, social workers and clients, aware of society's long-term consternation regarding violence, insisted on new working principles such as solidarity and preferential treatment. Holistic working methods (in terms of multi-problem situations) were developed under the premise of helping (the clients) to help themselves and the application of empowerment strategies<sup>5</sup> (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 44).

The basic principles and substance of women's domestic work and/or feminist social work developed within the context of the women's shelter movement in Vienna later became the standard and mandatory basis for all women's shelters in Austria.

In the Festschrift for the 10 year anniversary of the first women's shelter in Vienna Karlsson emphasizes:

*"The political system in which we live has lots of niches where grass roots initiatives can thrive. (...) But one, two or ten women's shelters should not be seen as 'just part of the system.' They also give rise to self-confidence and they give us courage and hope because we are not so weak after all."* (Karlsson 1988b, 35)

Further developments bear witness to the fact that the workers in the women's shelter movement had great motivation and a will to succeed:

Today there are women's shelters and numerous sanctuaries for women who have experienced violence in all of Austria's states, although the rural areas are still undersupplied (cf. the exact listings on the home page of the Austrian Women's Shelter Network [Verein der Autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser, [www.aeof.at](http://www.aeof.at)]). In Vienna there are four women's shelters with a total of 164 spaces for abused women and their children (1978: 1<sup>st</sup> women's shelter in Vienna, 1980: 2<sup>nd</sup> women's shelter in Vienna, 1996: 3<sup>rd</sup> women's shelter in Vienna, 2002: 4<sup>th</sup> women's shelter in Vienna). There is also an outreach clinic that offers ambulant counseling services (1992), an emergency hotline for women (2005), aftercare living arrangements and several transition apartments that offer 50 spaces for women who need

---

<sup>5</sup> According to Staub-Bernasconi empowerment has to take place on two levels: on the client side and on the (feminist) social workers' side: „Empowerment is defined as a process to be learned by stepping forward, backward and to the side and by recognizing sources of power and using them to achieve certain goals; on one hand to provide protection – for example, expanding the space in which those dependent on those who have power can think and move – on the other hand to establish limits for those in power.“ (Staub-Bernasconi 1989, 1, cited in Egger et al. 1997, 45)

temporary housing after a stay in a women's shelter, and an administrative office (Hopp/Kronberger 2006).

The goal of all of the institutions associated with the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters is to prevent violence against women by providing secondary prevention in terms of concrete support in situations of acute violence and tertiary prevention by attempting to prevent new instances of violence and to lessen the effects of violent episodes that have already occurred. With their public relations work and their political work regarding social structures, the autonomous feminist women's shelters are also active on the level of primary prevention. (Egger et al. 1997, 87)

## **2. The Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic**

All of the women's shelters in Austria offer ambulant counselling, support and aftercare for abused women. However, only in Vienna is there a specific outreach clinic for abused women and women threatened by violence.

### **2.1. Organization and structure of the sponsoring organization**

#### 2.1 Organization and structure of the sponsoring organization

As an institution that supports the Vienna Women's Shelters, the Outreach Clinic is subordinate to the sponsoring organization "Association of Autonomous Women's Shelters in Vienna" and is accountable to the association's director, who is often still recruited from the ranks of politicians in the Social Democratic Party of Austria (SPÖ). Although the director functioned previously as both as a manager and as a contact person for a majority of the employees, in 2000 the chief executive function was introduced – a clear rejection of the previously established principle of democratic organization. Based on an executive decision, since 2001 the position of chief executive has been filled by a former women's shelter employee who was head of the works council. This constitutes not only a possible role conflict for the new chief executive herself, but it also leads to questions of trust for the association's employees, according to an interviewee (cf. IV 1, 1). Incumbent upon the chief executive are the coordination and financial planning, but she is also ultimately responsible for the management of the work content and the public relations work, etc. Her representative is the contact person for technical financial matters. Due to changes in the association statutes (regarding the management of public finances and the conditions for termination) based on recommendations from the city of Vienna control board, and to the resulting reorganization or hierarchical structuring of the umbrella organization, which was primarily argued for based on the growth of the association to a "mid-sized operation" (in 2003 there were 66 permanent employees), and in order to "*ultimately continue to be a progressive enterprise that provides assistance to abused women quickly and efficiently,*" one executive position was established for each of the association's institutions to be responsible for content/personnel and organization. According to the director of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters, "the establishment of the executive's responsibilities in writing ensures that the work with women affected by violence will continue and that the communication structures in this new, larger context will meet requirements" (Tätigkeitsbericht [Progress report] 2003. 3).

An employee offered these comments about the changes in organizational structure:

*“(...) some things have changed for us (...) actually we were always a concern that operated in a fundamentally democratic manner with teams and the local team has the most decision making competence (...) and the attempt to use consensual decision making procedures for as many of the decisions as possible was a principle we have adhered to for a long time. And two years ago that all was changed by the chief executive and now every team also has a layer of management (...) that is divided into the areas of personnel, organization and work content management.” (IV 1, 3).*

## **2.2. Client target groups**

In contrast to the stationary assistance offered by women’s shelters as “refuges for women and children in crisis situations,” or in other words, the quick, unbureaucratic assistance in the form of support, protection and shelter for women who are victims of violence and their children (Egger et al. 1997, 52; Fröschl 1988b, 7ff.), the assistance offered by the Outreach Clinic is targeted toward a different group of women: those who do not want to separate or have not yet separated (from the abusive partner/situation) or women that have access to other living arrangements that offer adequate protection. Moreover, this assistance addresses women from less disadvantaged social populations, from the middle and upper classes, who decline the assistance offered by women’s shelters due to a fear of social stigma (Egger et al. 1997, 91). While in most cases the clients of women’s shelters are also financially destitute, on average just about 50% of the Outreach Clinic clients have an independent source of income, although that number fell from 49% in 2003 to 46.1% in 2004, while the percent of those women who have no income increased from 13.5% to 15.6% (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 35 and 2004, 53). The reasons that women turn to the Outreach Clinic point to the high volume of violent episodes experienced by women and to a intensification of the clients' overall social situation (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 35 and 2004, 54).

A majority of the clients that turn to the Outreach Clinic live in Vienna, but the intake area is not exclusively limited to just this community. Women from other Austrian states (Lower- and Upper Austria, Burgenland, Styria, Carinthia) and even from other countries (France and Croatia, Hungary) obtain assistance from the Outreach Clinic (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 34 und 2004, 52). The clients learn about the Outreach Clinic and its services either from other institutions or other clients, or by word of mouth, relatives, friends or acquaintances. A media presence as well as a Web site make this information more easily available and accessible for potential clients. Despite intensive public relations work and an increasing level of awareness of facilities that offer assistance to women threatened by violence, reaching the women affected by violence is still problematic due to a low financial resources for public relations (cf. “Es gibt Hilfe bei Gewalt – aber viel Opfer wissen nicht, wo” – Presseinformation des Vereins Österreichische Frauenhäuser [“There is help for victims of violence - but too many of them don't know where – Austrian Women’s Shelter Network press release] 12 May 2006).

### 2.3. Financing the "operation"

The activities and operation of the Outreach Clinic are guaranteed through a "mixed financing" of public resources. As an institution of the Association of Autonomous Vienna Women's Shelters the Outreach Clinic has secure financing for respective three year periods based on a direct cost transfer agreement with the community of Vienna (MA [municipal department] 57: Municipal Department for the Advancement of Women and the Coordination of Women's Issues), under which the community of Vienna is obligated to finance the costs incurred by the operation of the four women's shelters in Vienna, the Outreach Clinic and the transitional housing (cf. Pressemeldung [Press release] der SPÖ-GR Martina Ludwig „3-Jahresverträge für Wiener Frauenvereine beschlossen“ [Social Democratic Party of Austria press release "3 year agreement for Vienna Women's Association concluded"] 16 Jan. 2006; IV 1, 1). The disbursements (for personnel and materials) are allocated among the individual institutions (cf. KA II – 57-1/02). In addition, because it is used by families, the Outreach Clinic is also financed by the Ministry for Consumer Protection and Generations and by the Ministry of Justice as part of a pilot project for psychosocial and legal support. In contrast to the financing provided by the community of Vienna, this arrangement must be negotiated yearly (cf. IV 3, 6).

Martina Ludwig, director of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters and member of the regional parliament, emphasizes the significance of the secured financing in terms of the unstable economic circumstances in the Austrian states, under which the employees themselves could be threatened by possible unemployment. It is "*no easy task (...) to motivate women to accept an independent lifestyle*" (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 3).

An employee at the Vienna Outreach Clinic pointed out, however, that despite shortages, "*in comparison with all of the other women's shelters in Austria, this association has the most secure financing*" (IV 1, 1).

## 3. Tasks and scope of functions

### 3.1. Counselling and support

#### 3.1 Counseling and support

Because the resources (space, personnel, time, etc.) available to the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters<sup>6</sup> were not adequate and the capacity of the employees was clearly exceeded, the Outreach Clinic was founded in 1992 in order to take on the tasks related to the aftercare of women and children who had been staying in shelters and to offer a low threshold drop-in center for women who have experienced episodes of violence. The Outreach

---

<sup>6</sup> Even though at one time women's shelters followed the strict principle that every woman that needed help was taken in, irrespective of available space or personnel resources, the principle was displaced due to the lack of resources mentioned earlier this principle and limits were placed on intake capacity. (cf. Interview Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 12)



Center concept was developed by a group of women's shelter employees. One of the interviewees, a former founding member of the Outreach Clinic talks about the motivation to establish the new Outreach Clinic: "*We simply fought for the positions and a location*" (IV 2, 1). The activities include psychosocial counseling and support, help in dealing with agencies and the courts as well as legal and medical advice.

Understanding and dealing with violence against women in the family as a punishable offense is an important step in combating domestic violence because it demonstrates that the society does not tolerate male violence toward women in the private sphere. However, at the same time women should not be subjected to another kind of violence in the context of the criminal proceedings (secondary victimization) (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 184). For this reason, in 2004 the Outreach Clinic, in cooperation with two lawyers, took on the additional task of legal and psychosocial support and accompaniment during legal proceedings, which can take the form of legal counseling and/or civil representation (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 13). Since 2006, according to criminal law, victims of violence also have a right to free legal assistance.

In and of itself, providing support and accompaniment during legal proceedings is not a new task for the employees of the Outreach Clinic. When the women's shelter movement began, the necessity for comprehensive support in this area was already recognized and provided in the form of psychosocial support. However, for a long time, agencies refused to accept the role of the "*supportive confidant*." Currently, the support process extends from the before charges are filed until the legal proceedings end with a legally binding conclusion (criminal proceedings or diversion). Afterward, the future is addressed in terms of the further possible assistance available, should it be necessary (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 12-15). In view of the differences among proceedings and clients, the support offered during legal proceedings was not standardized. Since accompaniment during legal proceedings was established, the amount of convictions has risen considerably (in 2003 more than half of the 39 legal procedures ended with the conviction of the perpetrator; Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 15<sup>7</sup>). Due to the fact that women's assistance organizations (women's shelters, emergency hotlines, outreach centers) are often the only places where women have access to legal assistance, these organizations are also performing important support services for the legal system (cf. Egger et al., 1997, 168). This area of activity turned out to be very time-intensive for the staff of the Outreach Clinic and due to increasing numbers of clients it requires additional expenditures in terms of time, work and cost (cf. Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 54; cf. IV 3, 6; IV 1, 5). Moreover, sometimes contact with the courts is problematic even for the employees. They see themselves as forced into a position between client and court, and depending on the situation as either desirable or undesirable. In many cases they feel that they are being used to provide support services for the courts but that their expertise is devalued, and they often – according to one employee

*"find ourselves quickly in the same position as the women we serve. We are 'assaulted' and are either totally appreciated or totally devalued. But this is ex-*

---

<sup>7</sup> Unfortunately, the amount of convictions before the establishment of support during legal proceedings could not be ascertained.

*tremely arbitrary and can change from hour to hour. Yes, and that makes it really difficult.” (IV 2, 4).*

The Outreach Clinic primarily offers initial counseling and, if requested, further intensive psychosocial support and accompaniment for legal procedures. However, according to one employee:

*“It depends on what the women want. Some want specific, factual information, others need intensive emotional support. It’s a very broad spectrum. We help them to plan and carry out a separation or we accompany them to the court proceeding and much more.” (Interview Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 10)*

The counseling sessions usually take place at the Outreach Clinic. In rare cases home visits are also made (Egger et al. 1997, 97; cf. IV 1, 10). For making home visits and accompanying clients to agencies, courts, etc., a monthly pass for Vienna public transportation is available to employees at a 1/3 of the regular cost (IV 3, 14).

In keeping with its feminist principles, the Outreach Clinic offers services exclusively to women; mediation and couples counseling are not offered. On one hand, the preferential treatment of female clients is part of the clinic’s mission and on the other, women might not be able to be adequately protected while carrying on conversations with male aggressors (Egger et al. 1997, 98, 138ff.) Assistance in terms of psychotherapy can be arranged, but is not carried out by clinic staff because particularly within the context of counseling, a *“psychologizing a women’s problems is not empowering in any way,”* but can instead strengthen the feelings of guilt a woman already has (Egger et al. 1997, 47). Due to the fact that the employees do not see the abuse of women as an individual problem, the majority of the work takes place in group sessions. Moreover, working in groups is important to the staff because *“the most important principles of emancipatory social work – democracy, freedom from violence, anti-sexism and anti-racism – are carried out in practice here”* (Egger et al. 1997, 54). In contrast to the initial efforts of the Outreach Clinic, which also involved group sessions, counseling occurs almost exclusively in private conversations because the group work was not received well by the clients. The employees regret this development because group sessions were viewed as *“far-reaching political work,”* but would not work in the Outreach Center due to the different interests, needs and problems of the various clients. In contrast to the women’s shelters, the work with the clients regarding the topic of violence is individualized (IV 1, 10).

### 3.2. Political / Feminist public relations

In contrast to most of the fields of activity in social work, a significant area of political-feminist public relations work for the prevention of violence (primary prevention, cf. Logar 1988, 85) lies in the publicly articulating and attempting to assert a client's interests. The employees of the Outreach Clinic currently carry out these tasks within the framework of the entire association. This work is a part of their further education and training, which they must finance themselves beyond an initial allotment of 363 Euros per year. Also included are participating in or holding conferences, informational or technical lectures, training or coursework for other occupational groups and interns in women's issues, scholarly documentation, etc.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover, of particular significance for the effective prevention of violence is networking on an ongoing basis. In this way, the efforts are concentrated on building up national contacts with other women's outreach clinics and social organizations, particularly within the context of the "Action Group of the Austrian Women's Shelter Network" (AÖF). This group was founded in 1988 as a platform for all employees of Austria's autonomous women's shelters with the goal of networking with other institutions, of cooperating, coordinating and working together internationally with other organizations against violence. However, the group lacks a secure financial basis. Groups such as Women Against Violence Europe! (WAVE) and the EU DAPHNE project, an EU program against violence towards women and children that was founded in 1997, provide a framework at the international level (Logar 2001, 179).

Contacts with pro-feminist organizations that carry out programs for perpetrators as their contribution to protecting women from victimization, and that work together with women's shelter initiatives, and which are more active in the USA and Canada than in Europe (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 120-149) primarily serve as opportunities for further training. Due to the lack of protective measures for women and a setting that is unsuitable for such conversation, there is no push to work together with the Vienna Men's Counseling Center, for example, in the context of everyday practice (cf. IV 3, 6). An employee describes the intentions of her participation in a program for perpetrators in England in the context of a training vacation:

*"(...) I want to see the other side for once (...) Just to be better able to explain to the clients how perpetrators manipulate, but I also wanted to see for myself how I would deal with it because I have always thought, maybe I would run amok then or something (...) I just wanted to learn something about myself and that worked out well (...) and now I can also get it across better because I have also experienced it myself." (IV 2, 17)*

Confronting perpetrators in the context of such a program is said to have had a very positive effect overall on the work with clients, as was the case with the employee cited above. Due to her own experiences it is easier for her now to put the mechanisms of manipulation and violence into words that her clients can understand (cf. IV 2, 17/ 18).

---

<sup>8</sup> A detailed listing of public relations work carried out by the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters can be found in the Tätigkeitsberichten [Project reports] 2003, 40-42 and 2004, 55-58.

### 3.3. Collaboration on changes in legislation

The Outreach Clinic particularly emphasizes the cooperation among institutions in the legal system (police, family courts, public prosecutors, criminal courts, women's assistance organizations, agencies for youth and families) as a basic prerequisite for effective intervention and assistance in situations of violence against women in the family, in the form of police training or collaboration on draft legislation, for example. (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 195)

The diversion programs developed in the USA in the 1970s, which are scheduled as training programs before sentencing and which allow perpetrators to avoid legal sentences, are only slightly targeted toward protecting women from repeat violence. In contrast, other measures that are applied after sentencing, such as mandatory counseling, are more applicable to preventing further violent acts. Above all, this realization has led to establishing the collaboration on legislative changes as a central function of the Outreach Center as well as the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters (Egger et al. 1997, 162). Another significant field of activity is collecting and documenting information about laws and opportunities for intervention in situations of domestic violence that have been developed in other countries, and then verifying their usefulness and applicability in Austria (Egger et al., 1997, 91). According to one employee, "*you have to look around a little bit in the world (...) and orient your viewpoint to what other countries are doing.*" (IV 1, 17) Implementing scholarly documentation and content analysis served as a basis for suggesting legislative improvements that have been considered in the amendment of the federal law regarding protection from violence (1997) (cf. Logar 2003), as a legal basis for the foundation of intervention centers against violence and in the resultant reformation of the penal law and the security police law (SPG) that formed the basis of the enforcement order for removing the aggressor from the home and providing for preliminary injunction (cf. Logar 2005) as well as in the adoption of the anti-stalking law, which became legally effective on 1 July 2006. (cf. Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 12/ 13) Through the active participation of one of the Outreach Clinic's employees in an ongoing inter-ministerial working group that has addressed the issue of supporting clients through the legal process since 2001, the positions and experiences of the women's shelters and the Outreach Clinic have been articulated (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2003, 12).

### 3.4. Police training

For a long time, the experience the staff of the women's shelters and the Outreach Clinic as well as the clients had with police procedures could be described as a "*policy of non-intervention*" (Egger et al. 1997, 203). Violence in the family was neither viewed nor treated as a criminal offense. Even police officials had no appropriate information about intervention to refer to (Egger et al. 1997, 205). After a study group was established at the Vienna Ministry of the Interior in 1987, the first police training courses were offered in 1988 in cooperation with leading police officials and employees from the Vienna women's projects (emergency hotline for rape victims, the Women's Outreach Clinic, women's shelters) in the form of in-service training.

The training, structured as a seminar, is team-taught by one employee from a women's organization and one police employee to avoid polarization into groups such that the women's

outreach center is pitted against the police. The basis of the police training is the coping method developed by the trainers from the women's organization, in which particular significance is attached to regular meetings and exchanging experience as a means of maintaining psychological health. The participants' analysis of and reflections about their own experiences is supposed to allow them to distance themselves from them and to help them under the group process within the context of the training as a "*microcosm of society's ways of dealing with violence against women*" (Egger et al. 1997, 215).

Implementing police training courses, which have been expanded over the years and which have been a fixed component in police basic training in all of Austria's states since 1995, has led in many cases to prejudices being overturned. One of the employees involved in the Outreach Clinic's police training said:

*"Well, it is certainly interesting (...) that we all (including the police) have to deal directly with the people and that connects us in a certain way, that we have something to do with people in crisis, that we have to find solutions and that also connects us in a certain way."* (IV 1, 18)

### **3.5. Task distribution in the team**

All of the employees at the Outreach Clinic (two psychologists, two social workers, a pedagogue, a counselor with experience in area of immigration) carry out the designated tasks in equal measure (working with clients and political-feminist work), regardless of their basic profession. Currently four positions at the Outreach Clinic are fully financed. These positions are divided among six "*counselors*." The main focus of each respective task is determined by individual education and various supplementary and advanced training. As one employee notes:

*"(...) we all have the same scope of duties, we all work here in similar ways, so there are two therapists, there is probably (...) a difference in terms of the counseling procedures, but otherwise the assignments here at the Outreach Clinic do not depend on educational background – we all work (...) in just about the same way, the way I see it. (...) Outside of our experience and education of course, what that brings into the counseling, but in terms of the work assignments it's the same. (...) And the scope of activities too."* (IV 3, 1).

All employees are also responsible for all administrative and organizational tasks regarding the clients and various office tasks, correspondence, handling applications, etc. There is no separate staff for these responsibilities. Two so-called "*stand-in women*" supplement the team. Each works for eight hours (a week) (IV 3, 13). As employees of the association, these women take over for vacationing or ill employees and, at cross-purposes with the original organizational principles, since the association was restructured they are responsible only for answering the telephones and are paid less than the others (cf. IV 3, 13).

The women's shelter and the Outreach Clinic employees regard the change in the association's organizational structure with ambivalence. It has been stated that there is not enough

of a connection between the employees and the association leadership, that their work receives too little appreciation and that they, the association employees, have no voice in the association. Moreover, it is feared that their own political-feminist engagement in cross-association duties, such as collaborating on draft legislation, etc. would be understood as support work, whereas specifying and articulating comprehensive association interests are reserved for those at the top (cf. Hammer 2006, 1).

In the Outreach Clinic, however, the establishment of levels of management within the team has affected neither the internal working environment nor its fundamental democratic underpinnings, according to the unanimous response of the employees. There is “merely” additional work and expense for both of the managers (cf. IV 1, 3). While the Outreach Clinic staff would have previously tried to stay out of general association affairs, they are now obligated to participate regularly in association meetings, which is not additionally funded, however (cf. IV1, 3).

The chief executive and the sponsors require the ongoing documentation of job activities for so-called quality assurance purposes. This means that the additional time spent documenting cannot be spent working with clients:

*“So in the end everything is cut back. And of course that’s stressful, that the administrative part keeps growing (...) also depending on how many sponsors we have, it will become that much more difficult as well, if we have to document for each and every one (...)”(IV 3, 7)*

Altogether, the interviewees emphasize that in addition to the effects of the association’s internal reorganization, the continual increase in clients (cf. IV 1, 15) and the current difficult access to methods for obtaining material resources for clients has a debilitating effect on political-feminist activity. (cf. IV 1, 11; IV 2, 4/ 5) So today – in contrast to before – the team doesn't have enough time to discuss the content of their work *“in terms of new insights from feminist research, for example”* (IV 2, 7).

## 4. Professional expertise in women's counselling

### 4.1. Basic principles and postulates of feminist social work

Since the Outreach Clinic was founded, the basic principles of feminist social work have consistently been defined on the basis of a comprehensive understanding of violence that includes both indirect, structural violence and direct, personal violence. However, it must be noted that both forms are contingent upon each other. The basic principles include the following: Women support women (The Outreach Center is an institution that employs only women. This framework is supposed to make it easier for women who have been victimized by violence to talk about their experiences.); preferential treatment (Analogous to an interest representative, the center employees work explicitly in the interest of the women and children who are abused and/or threatened, representing their position in public and supporting them during the process of claims enforcement.); anonymity (The women can be counseled anonymously, if they wish. Their information remains confidential and is not forwarded to third parties or institutions.); unbureaucratic support (Women receive assistance, regardless of their nationality and whether or not they have money, documentation papers or proof that they have been abused.); autonomy (The goal is to develop and encourage the women's potential for self-determination and independence.). (cf. Aktionsgemeinschaft [Action group] 1988, 7/8)<sup>9</sup> Following a comprehensive psychosocial diagnosis and a clarification of the client's stated needs, the Outreach Clinic employees focus on the transitional counseling and support of these women who are in crisis due to their experiences with violence and threats and who don't have access to the resources necessary for articulating and asserting their interests. (cf. IV 1, 8)

On the basis of a critical reflection the aspects of relationships, clients and staff interact and communicate with each other based on a principle of voluntary intent. ("*Komm-Prinzip*," [Communication principle], cf. Hasenjürgen/ Rohleder 2005, 219). The clients receive counseling only by their own request, offers of assistance are transparent, and decisions as to whether or not the clients avail themselves of the help offered are respected. The client's consent is required for any intervention or introduction of supportive measures.

One employee defines the professional practice of feminist social work as follows:

*"Work that embodies solidarity with women means, in this case, reflecting on your own role and having precise knowledge about the client's socioeconomic situation, culture and social class. Without this knowledge and reflection, interventions are not at all relevant to the woman's actual life or can even be counter-productive." (cited in Egger et al. 1997, 47)*

---

<sup>9</sup> These basic principles are listed on all informational materials designed for women who seek assistance from the Outreach Clinic or a women's shelter, e.g. on the Outreach Clinic folder, on a poster in the Outreach Clinic waiting room, etc.)

## 4.2. Professional expertise in the context of „case“ cooperation

In working with the courts, which mostly refuse attempts to contact them anyway (cf. IV 1, 19), and with the Vienna Youth Welfare Department, the basic professional principles often become a point of conflict. Since 2003/2004 there have been yearly focusing meetings for networking between the employees of the individual women's shelters and the directors of social work from the respective, adjacent agencies for youth and family. In particular, a functioning cooperation constitutes a basic prerequisite for offering the best possible support for the children who are also victimized by violence. (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 56). According to the annual report for 2004, this new conversation group found acceptance among the participants from both institutions (cf. Tätigkeitsberichte [Project reports] 2003, 2004). In contrast, the cooperation between these two institutions in actual casework is difficult. Due to their different perceptions of the concept of violence and the basic principles of feminist social work, according to one interviewee, "*cooperating on individual cases*" would be among the "*most difficult areas of the counseling service*" (IV 1, 4).<sup>10</sup>

However, one employee notes self-critically that even the Outreach Clinic's own definition of violence has changed over the years: the emphasis has shifted toward physically violent offences. Even though the previous, more comprehensive concept of violence also included conflicts over separation proceedings or discrimination at public agencies or on the job market, the current work has shifted primarily to dealing with cases of acute violence and abuse (cf. IV 1, 11). Among the reasons for this shift is the assistance offered in terms of support for legal procedures. (cf. Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 52)

Conflicts that arise in working with the Youth Welfare Office include questions regarding visitation rights and parental authority, and sometime mothers are ordered by the Youth Welfare Office to contact the Outreach Clinic in order to accelerate the decision-making process. However, this contradicts the attitudes and basic principles of the Outreach Clinic, whose services are based on their clients' voluntary intent and prohibit the disclosure of information. Moreover, the Outreach Clinic's clear preferential treatment of their clients often comes into conflict with the neutral attitude required of Youth Welfare Office staff. Actually, according to the experience of one employee, when dealing "*with women who are victims of violence, being neutral is often not enough.*" (IV 1, 5) Although the main goal and obligation of the Youth Welfare Office is to protect children - which means preferential treatment for children - due to its methodological approach that primarily focuses on the family system, it could sometimes happen

*"that the Youth Welfare Office takes on the man's position, because they have the feeling that the woman has received so much support from us that the poor man in this situation should also receive support. Then it can happen, and it really does happen sometimes, that then the Youth Welfare Office takes up the man's*

---

<sup>10</sup> Note: because no corresponding statements from employees of the Youth Welfare Office are included here, the assessment of the cooperation refers only to the perceptions of the interviewees.



*cause and (...) maybe doesn't take the woman's situation so seriously then, like they should. (...)*" (IV 3, 10)<sup>11</sup>

The assessment of the degree to which the children in the situation are also in danger ("Gefahr im Verzug" [Danger ahead]) is also conflict-ridden. In order to assert certain interests, the Youth Welfare Office often underestimates the trauma the children suffer, which is in most cases associated with the violence their mother experiences, whether it is related to direct or indirect abuse (cf. IV1, 5; on the topic of post-traumatic stress disorder cf. Logar 2001, 179). According to Outreach Clinic statistics, in 2003 52% of the mothers indicated that their underage children were also affected by violence; in 2004 it was 51% (cf. Tätigkeitsberichte [Project reports 2003, 36 and 2004, 54; cf. also the Standard headline "Wieder Gewalttacken auf Frauen. Neue Übergriffe vor eigenen Kindern in Wien und der Steiermark" [New attacks on women...]] and the Standard article: "Brutales Ende zweier Beziehungen" [Brutal end to two relationships] of 02 Aug. 2006, 1 and 6).

Although Hagemann-White states that while the women's shelter movement emphasized the perpetrator's exercise of power, the child protection movement emphasized their powerlessness (Hagemann-White 2005, 15, cited in Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 212), the accounts about the attitude of some of the Youth Welfare Office employees indicate that violent behavior carried out by women and men in terms of age relationships (with regard to children) is still judged differently than violent behavior carried out by men within gender relations (with regard to women). According to these judgments, violence against women in marriages and heterosexual couple relationships is perceived as less condemning than violence against children perpetrated by adults.

### **4.3. Conditions for professional practice**

Although it is financially secure and well-furnished – employees described only the computer technology as inadequate – the Outreach Clinic sees itself as confronted by an apparent lack of time and money, above all due to the ever-increasing number of clients and a shift in motive (multiple problem areas). The fact that the client groups have changed – more women turning to the Outreach Clinic are in poverty – creates new demands for the practice of social work. The lack of economic resources hampers objectives such as promoting women's independence and providing possibilities for relief from violent relationships. An employee comments:

---

<sup>11</sup> That means that a specific demand according to the principle of preferential treatment held by individual social institutions with regard to their respective specific target groups can cause a conflict between them, which can be disadvantageous for their respective clients. However, the question is whether there can actually be or can be something like a principle of neutrality in everyday practice, and if such a principle is really desirable. It should be noted that especially in the area of social work with clients that are threatened with the disregard and abuse of their human rights, e.g. women who are victimized by and threatened with violence, a neutral attitude on the part of the social worker would lead to cynicism to the point of absurdity with regard to any ethical principle of social work. (Author's note)

*"It's also frustrating that it makes social conditions for women more difficult again. I'm seeing women confronting massive problems with poverty like I have never seen before in all my 25 years. It's really true that we have to give women lists of food pantries (food banks) because they simply don't have any more money."*  
(Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 13)

Increasingly, due to a lack of alternatives, women have to remain in violent relationships or risk becoming "welfare cases." Although the Outreach Clinic itself is not currently affected by financial cutbacks, for many of the social institutions with which the Clinic cooperates, the recent reductions make it difficult to line up assistance. Particularly the reorganization of the MA [municipal department] 12 (Social Services Office) has caused a crisis for many of the clients. Moreover, the long waiting periods of up to two months have driven women to a level of marginal subsistence:

*"Well, I don't know. They have to go begging to Caritas then [Catholic relief and social services], even though they do have a legal claim to social assistance, for example. That really gets me going. I could go on for hours about that. (...) And even if they do get that money back (from the state) maybe, sometime in the future, they still need help for the short term. They are in a humiliating position, I think. Yes, and it's not even their own fault. How do they get into this situation?"*  
(IV 1, 12)

Although it's not part of the Outreach Clinic's duty to provide financial assistance from their own budget, difficult shortages can be managed with donation-based financial or material assistance (cf. IV 1, 12).

The fact that the percentage of immigrant women that use Outreach Clinic services has risen markedly, is on one hand a welcome development, but due to tightened laws concerning immigrants and restrictions on work permits, etc., the assistance for this target group is obviously limited. This situation demonstrates that particularly the social and political framework, the criteria for affiliation and exclusion and possibilities for access determine whether or not individual women can remove themselves from violent relationships or not. These conditions include whether or not the woman can access state social services (other institutions that offer financial and material support) or the job market. In this way, because various policies of inclusion and exclusion finally determine whether or not a woman can even consider leaving a violent relationship or whether actually going through with it is realistic or not, the effect is that the legal and economic framework in the accepting country controls a woman's status as victim.

Even though on one hand dealing with cultural diversity means furthering the employees' professional experience<sup>12</sup> – women from 50 different countries and four continents were

---

<sup>12</sup> In the operating context of the Outreach Clinic the danger as identified by Rommelspacher of a polarization between personalization (seeing the personal and individual biographical factors) and culturization (ascribing these to culture) in the psychodynamics of intercultural relationships doesn't seem to be present due to the comprehensive definition of violence as well as the principle of preferential treatment (cf. Rommelspacher 2001, 245). This means that the immigrants' problem situations are not primarily considered to be due to cultural conflicts.

counseled in 2004 (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 52) – sometimes due to language barriers this assistance is limited (cf. Rommelspacher 2001; Holverda 2001).

The availability of enough interpreters is not guaranteed. Furthermore, the budget for hiring interpreters is too low and only male interpreters would be available for some languages. Using internal resources, English, French and Turkish are offered at the Outreach Clinic (IV 3, 12; Outreach Clinic information folder).

Although the majority of clients are between 30 and 40 years old (Tätigkeitsberichte [Project reports] 2003, 34; 2004, 53), there is currently a noticeable shift toward older clients. Increasingly, women in their 50s, 60s and 70s are seeking help from the Outreach Clinic, many of whom have never had their own income or receive a pension. *"For this group of women, separation is very difficult. A 70 year old woman finds it very difficult to come to a women's shelter. And in some cases it is futile to think that these women will be able to finance an independent life today."* (Interview Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 14)

In addition to the primary task of advising women who have been victimized or threatened by violence regarding safety, protection, etc., the staff also takes on tasks related to the politics of the job market and to the legal obligations required of immigrants, neither of which are part of their primary duties. Furthermore, the employees are not experts in these areas, and these tasks often exceed their capacities (cf. IV 3, 3). Indeed, one employee remarks:

*"(...) you can see that resources are dwindling in the whole area of social services, that it's harder for women to find an apartment, that it will become more difficult in terms of financing to find support somewhere and sometimes cooperation is also becoming more difficult because you notice that it's there are also less resources in other outreach clinics or (...) in other agencies and that's the reason why things are also changing in how we deal with each other."* (IV 3, 2)

Due to budget reductions, many social institutions can no longer offer support and assistance, so their emphasis has shifted to clearing activities. This is also aggravating for the Outreach Clinic because, according to one interviewee, then their ability to provide financial and material resources is also curtailed because

*"(...) there are fewer possibilities to refer them to someplace else. There are things that are hardly done anymore. Who still really wants to give advice? They all want to be clearing stations. Everywhere things are being cleared, but unfortunately no one wants to do the work."* (IV 2, 3)

Paid individual supervision (for 14 days) and group supervision (once a month) help to offset the increasing difficulty of coming up with the funds to provide sufficient assistance and overwork. In addition, there is the option to take unpaid leave or a "sabbatical year" (Interview Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 14). In contrast, the yearly supervision days for women in internal management positions in the association are dedicated to organizational matters (cf. IV 1, 8). Still, the employees interviewed emphasized repeatedly that the positive, non-competitive working atmosphere within the team and opportunities for ongoing

ing discussion and exchange were valuable in terms of professional and mental health (cf. IV 1, 9; IV 2, 14; IV 3, 16).

*"So, after a difficult session there is actually always the chance to talk it over with at least one colleague, and we really always make sure that we support each other. (...) And this point is very valuable in terms of the work. You simply have the feeling that you're not alone and you can also just quickly meet with someone and get professional support and real assistance, I mean in the personal and the professional sense. That is something very, very special here in our team that we all enjoy very much."* (IV 3, 7)

The sponsors regard the need for intense internal exchange with skepticism: *"of course it is often portrayed as getting together and drinking coffee."* (IV 1, 13) Professional behavior is a matter of course at the Outreach Clinic, but *"the clients experience it only indirectly."* It is demonstrated in the attentiveness with which the employees interact with each other and in how they look after each other (IV 2, 8) in terms of overwork and burnout, especially because *"actually all of us tend to work much too hard."* (IV 1, 5)

In spite of the consequences described in terms of the current internal reorganization of the association as well as in the whole area of social services, the employees assessed the working conditions in terms of their own duties at the Outreach Clinic as mostly positive in terms of ensuring professional practice when compared to other fields of social work: *"(...) I have always worked for the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters, my whole life actually. I guess (...) I probably complain about things that would be laughable in other organizations"* (IV 1, 5; cf. IV 2, 3/ 4; IV 3, 2).

#### **4.4. Definition of professional expertise**

Previously, professional expertise was defined internally by the concerned professionals themselves within the association or in the Outreach Clinic team. This definition concentrated on the immediate work carried out with specific groups of clients and on feminist objectives. Professional expertise and standards acquired over long years of practice and analysis of international projects as well as active participation in international education and training and topic-centered scholarly investigation are extended and verified on an ongoing basis. Professionalism is not understood as a static element, but rather as something discursive that is always in a state of change. Employees may take up to 72 paid hours of training vacation each year for advanced training, which is also paid for up to 363 Euros. In order to participate in international seminars and in the interest of improved networking, employees may sometimes take unpaid vacation and personally assume the costs for this exchange of experience and for their own advanced training (cf. IV 1, 17; IV 2, 18). Furthermore, it is possible to take a training sabbatical.

Due to the fact that, at the very beginning, employees didn't have any previous knowledge or experience in the area of working with victims of violence that they could fall back on, according to one employee they had to *"learn by doing"* both in the association and in the Outreach Clinic. *"But we have progressed continually and become more professional. The concepts of women's shelter work and the counselling work were polished and the teamwork has be-*

*come more professional.*" (Interview Sieder, Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 12). According to another interviewee, *"we are very open to learning. We're actually interested in everything."* (IV 2, 13)

In 2003 the Outreach Clinic team carried out a survey that was addressed to both clients and to cooperating associations and social institutions. As a result of this self-evaluation, which received overwhelmingly positive responses, the networking and information activities were intensified, particularly with the Vienna Youth Welfare Office, by instituting yearly exchanges with the managing social workers of the youth offices. Based on the evaluation of the client survey, standards were set for the initial contact (intake) and for further counseling sessions (cf. Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 47-51). Currently, the development of standards for further counselling sessions was being considered, but no decisions have been made yet. (Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, 51)

The proof of quality required by the financial backers focuses on accounting for as many counseling sessions as possible. For this reason, internal requirements for expertise are expressed in terms of quality in content and are pitted against external objectives for expertise, which are measured in terms of demonstrable quantity, and which sometimes contradict the basic principles of feminist social work. Because the director, the chief executive or the financial sponsors do not recognize or respond to the employees' efforts to advance their own professionalism, particularly the employees who have been working at the Outreach Clinic for a long time are disappointed, and some, resigned: *"Of course they always say that we should take advanced training, but in reality it has no value."* For the director or the chief executive, all that is interesting about training is its cost (cf. IV 2, 18). It is regrettable that there is too little time available for the weekly team meetings in which content and ideas could be exchanged and important topics could be elaborated upon (cf. 1, 4; IV 3, 14).

In the course of a report prepared by the city of Vienna control board, in 2003 the entire association and therefore also the Outreach Clinic received the mandate to create objective-based documentation and to compile a detail catalog of services. This was supposed to contain a detailed description of the respective processes (according to the time and personnel required for each activity) and the definition of quality criteria. However, the quality standards were not developed autonomously, but *"in consultation with MA [municipal department] 57."* The MA [municipal department] 57 used these standards as the basis for generating *"operational economic figures,"* which were supposed to be used in the future to evaluate the association's services and assistance (cf. KA II- 57-1/02). For this reason, the employees responded negatively to the requirements for drafting quality criteria because they would largely be based on their ability to be quantitatively measured. The entire reporting structure was also reorganized at the instigation of the control board. The annual progress reports must now be written according to a guideline *"which establishes the qualitative and quantitative subject areas and statistics"* to be included, *"in order to ensure that future reports will have a uniform, consistent basic structure and that the developments and modifications in the services offered by the association will be demonstrated in a similar, uniform fashion over the years."* (K II- 57- 1/ 02)

The reorganization of reporting into the form required by the documentation criteria was criticized as having *"a clearly different quality (author's note: meaning that quality had been lost)"*

*than the content-rich discussions that we had before*" (cf. IV 1, 7). In addition, references to woman-specific contexts as well as the context of violence were missing (from the reorganized reporting) (cf. IV 2, 6). Previously, internal documentation and evaluations had served the purpose of advancing professionalism, whereas now, professionalism would be demonstrated according to quantitative criteria issued by the financial backers and agencies. That means that *"quality has to be made objective so that the reaching of goals can also be verified."* (cf. IV 1, 6)

The difficulty in transparently demonstrating individual, professional quality within the framework of the required criteria is described as follows: *"(...) we try to do quality work here, and we believe we achieve that very well, but of course the quality work does not always match the quantity or what we have to demonstrate externally. (...)"* (IV 1, 7). This assessment is astounding in that in the context of primary prevention, ample documentation, information and books have been written and published based on a critique of the implementation of the required proof of quality and on doubts about the expressiveness of the defined quality criteria in terms of individual, professional practice.

## **5. Mandates and "double mandate"**

Content mandates result from individually defined professional expertise, are obligated to use a holistic approach (IV II, 3) and are based on the fundamental principles of a professional self-conception of the social work carried out by the Outreach Clinic. In contrast, mandates from the financial backers are focused primarily on carrying out the most possible counseling sessions with the aim of carrying out even more. One employee made the following comments about these objectives: *"we have no control over that at all, because the clients come anyway – that happens all by itself and we have never actually been in the situation (...) that we had too few clients."* (IV 3, 5)

Although the Outreach Clinic was the first of its kind to be founded in Austria and the only clinic that primarily reaches out to victims of violence, a perception exists that it is in competition with various other women's assistance and family outreach centers (cf. IV 1, 15). For this reason, the clinic is under a certain pressure to justify its existence, to offer assistance and services that distinguish it from or demonstrate its superiority to other such organizations. To this end, and to increase case numbers as well, the clinic extended its open office hours and its networking activities – with the same amount of staff, however (cf. IV 1, 16).

The financial sponsors' requirements are contradictory: on one hand specific services are to be offered and on the other hand services are to be offered simultaneously. Furthermore, organizations that offer many different functions, such as general outreach clinics or emergency hotlines, are limited in their effectiveness in woman-specific or violence related contexts due to their wide range of services, which are not appropriate for a specific target group. In addition, in women's outreach clinics, which often function as family outreach clinics, women are inhibited in their expression of their experiences with violence because it relates to the family (cf. Egger et al. 1997, 104). This also reflects the ambivalence in the ideological direction and intention of Austrian policy, which continues to equate demands for spe-

cific women's policy and women's protection policy with "family political" interests (cf. Mesner 2006).

The women's shelter movement took part in the international critique of conceptions of violence prevention by founding intervention centers<sup>13</sup> that use a pro-active approach in the form of "*scouting social work*," which is also significantly plagued by fears that the financial means of support would be shifted away from the women's shelters (cf. Brückner 1998, cited in Logar 2001, 182). If pro-active intervention could reach another and/or a wider target group, Heidrich and Rohleder suggest that, in contrast to the principles of previous women's shelter work, which were based on the principle of self-determination and voluntary intent on the part of the clients, there is a danger that "*pro-active counseling without adequate reflection could easily become activism, in which merely giving these women information is considered a quality intervention.*" (Heidrich/Rohleder, 2005, 224)

Although concepts and efforts to establish other organizations and projects, in particular the Domestic Abuse Intervention Center Vienna<sup>14</sup>, were developed by women's shelter employees in Austria (within the framework of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters), this still means an undesirable increase in competition for the Outreach Clinic.

To ensure continuous financing, the director of the association must receive direct proof that a quota has been met. The Outreach Clinic must submit this calculation every month. The director is also obligated to provide the chief executive and the financial backers with a monthly "*cost center evaluation*" so that – according to the control board of the city of Vienna in a letter to the chief executive – "*an objective monitoring and control of the disbursements is guaranteed*" (KA II-57-1/02). Due to a lack of interest in the content of the activities carried out by the Outreach Clinic – according to an interviewee – the chief executive of the association has taken over the primary controlling function. The employees are urged to complete detailed reports regarding hours worked and activities completed as well as required reporting of field work (cf. 1, 6).

Methods of monitoring the practice of social work often contradict its basic principles (ensuring anonymity, preferential treatment) and its preference for avoiding an overly caring attitude and overly directive manner with clients (encouraging independence). While the women's shelters and the women's outreach clinics in the Austrian states are confronted with the fact that the coverage of their costs as calculated on a daily basis is linked to a reporting requirement, which undercuts their professional principles of "unbureaucratic assistance" and "anonymity" (cf. Hammer 2006), due to their existing financing structure, the employees of the Vienna Outreach Clinic do not (yet) believe that their professionalism is significantly threatened. A case in Salzburg demonstrates that these basic principles can easily be shaken due to the current requirements for proof of quality that form the basis for funding (cf. Der Standard, 31 May 2006, 10: „Frauenhäuser bangen um Vertraulichkeit“ [Women's shelters fear losing confidentiality]).

---

<sup>13</sup> Based on the example of the intervention project against violence in the family developed in Minnesota in the early 1980s: the so-called Duluth project: *Domestic Abuse Intervention Project*. (cf. Heidrich-Rohleder 2005, 218)

<sup>14</sup> In 1998 the first intervention center was opened in Vienna. As a result, almost all of the Austrian states have now founded one or more intervention centers (cf. [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)).

Due to the new association structure, which also significantly limits the autonomy of the Outreach Clinic employees, and to inadequate material and financial resources, they perceive themselves as weakened in terms of promoting their clients' "autonomy." In terms of the increasing difficulty in providing the appropriate emergency measures and resources, it is also difficult for the staff to meet the clients' needs in their daily work. Evaluations based on a comprehensive client questionnaire carried out by the Outreach Clinic showed, however, that so far they have been successful in balancing the requirements of the official mandate, their own professionalism and the needs of their clients (cf. IV 1, 9).

Nevertheless, they are experiencing significant barriers to the practice of their function as a mouthpiece for articulating their clients' problem situations and interests in public. Even though public statements are reserved for the director, the dependence on financial backers makes any expression of opinion difficult. As one interviewee says:

*"Well, I sure wish we could express ourselves a bit more openly – also regarding our dissatisfaction on some issues, without offending everyone right away. I mean, we're always saying that it's so wonderful in Vienna, how the women's shelters are financially supported and so on, but I would also like to say in public that it's a scandal at the municipal department 12, for example with the waiting period, and saying something like that is impossible right now."* (IV 1, 16)

## **6. Indirect social and direct legal frameworks**

The Outreach Clinic or rather its employees see themselves as political agents and their activities as a part of feminist political practice with the objective of collaborating to change the existing inadequate legal situation and its practices. That is, they play a decisive role in helping to create the context (cf. IV 1, 9).

Participating in the public discussion about and working actively to change existing gender relations leads to an extensive expansion of public relations (see also "Tasks and scope of functions"), which could contribute to increasing general social awareness of and sensibility regarding violence toward women. The following comments from an employee who has been with the Clinic for a long time address the change in social conditions in terms of her own occupational tasks:

*"Well, you can certainly see the difference if you (...) have worked here for the association for 25 years and have also helped to develop the women's shelters. Some things have definitely changed, that are no longer comparable (...) I mean, 25 years ago the topic of violence alone was very important. It's still important, (...) but in the minds of the public (...) it is more evident than it was 25 years ago."* (IV 3, 4)

The current neoliberal economic policies together with the politically conservative ideologies of the governing parties encourage the firm establishment of traditional gender hierarchies and obstruct challenges to the social determination of roles based on gender. This is how



women's interests are handled on the level of national and party politics: measures for the protection of women are added to the context of "family policies" or to family support issues. The various policy drafts differ depending on the ideological orientation to the concept of family and the objectives regarding gender in terms of reproduction, which, when viewed historically, most often means a gender specific division of work and implies a separation between the public and private spheres (cf. Hausen 1976). However, like questions of power, this specific historical development of gender relations is usually disregarded (cf. Mesner 2006, 1).

In this way, efforts to increase sensibility to and to challenge existing gender hierarchies are still in conflict with an increase in economically determined dependence and an ideological revival of traditional gender and family norms, which furthers the notion that domestic violence should be placed among private affairs. However, this creates difficulties for intervention in terms of comprehensive violence protection measures for women and children. In contrast, the current improvements in the legal foundations have made it easier to implement options for improved representation of the clients' interests in contacts with other agencies and institutions that for a long time did not demonstrate much sensibility toward issues of violence.

## **7. Feminist principles / autonomy put to the test or in danger?**

Due to the previously described current political, economic and social developments, the basic principles of feminist social work appear to be increasingly threatened in terms of specific issues regarding professionalism.

Even though the support of female party officers once enabled independent functioning and significantly helped to push the implementation of related objectives, the development of the women's shelter movement from a fundamentally democratic, autonomous movement into an organization with structures that are firmly connected to its financial sponsors could also bring about an "institutionalization" of important content areas (gender / violence).

That the related concerns are dependent on agents of the political system and that state institutions continue to take over the agendas and interests of social engagement against violence also holds the danger of the removal of their once feminist content (cf. Holland-Kunz 2003, 210ff.). As a result, within the association the word "*feminist is hardly ever said aloud anymore*" (IV 2, 22).

In renouncing its oppositional feminist political mandate as it turns away from its own tradition, the changing role of the sponsoring organization as a political agent hampers its political clout and pressures the association's employees, including those at the Outreach Clinic, to take on a passive role, which forces them to defend the status quo, in complete contrast to their self-concept as active agents in the struggle against existing affairs.

While seeking equilibrium in power relations and a renunciation of formal hierarchies was once seen as a prerequisite for empowered social work (cf. Egger 1997, 54), the adjustment of hierarchical organizational structures to the feminist political context can be simultaneously

interpreted as an expression of a “voluntary” turning away from the basic political feminist principles by the association upper management.

Even though the Outreach Clinic employees do not perceive a threat to their immediate work with clients, particularly the latitude previously allowed for political feminist engagement has been limited due to current developments.

Despite current limitations on possibilities for political activity, the interviews conducted convey the impression that, the Outreach Clinic employees are thoroughly committed to maintaining their professional self-image based on the support of the team and above all due to their common feminist political leanings. In this way, the Outreach Clinic can be seen as a niche player within the framework of the entire association in terms of its possibilities for coping with the double mandate and for realizing feminist practice, and due to its fundamentally democratic environment it can be seen as a safe place from which to implement strategies of resistance. One of the women's shelter founders, now an employee of the Outreach Clinic describes the forced "retreat" into the niche position and the change in the possibilities for engagement within the association framework as a thoroughly painful process, but she is not resigned:

*“No, (...) I believe I have also really learned that you have to let go. I mean, it's like this: when a child is grown up, then I can't offer further guidance because he or she is now responsible for him or herself. I've missed a few things; I tried some things that didn't work. But now that's over and I'm no longer associated with the women's shelter, it's now the Outreach Clinic, but that is still quite difficult because it's just a kind of accessory, really. Still, I feel comfortable here, also politically and as a feminist among my colleagues, and I feel my ideas are supported (...).”(IV 2, 21)*

In view of this, it must be asked to what extent the principles and professional expertise associated with feminist social work will be able to be implemented only in the context of a niche existence, as a hidden agenda, in the future.

Because the previous activists of the women's shelter movement - today the employees of the Outreach Clinic – heavily influenced feminist social work and because this work continues to incorporate their opinions, the affects of generational change on Outreach Clinic activities and functions must be considered, including whether the work at the Clinic is threatening to become *“a job just like any other job”* (IV 2, 10), especially since there already could be people in the association whose own professional self-image is defined by the exclusion of politics and *“who say, this is my job and whatever else happens doesn't really interest me”* (IV 1, 9). (cf. Diebäcker 2006)

While there are different understandings of the conception of a feminist-political self-image among the various employees within the entire association, which could also be seen as part of a generational conflict, all of the interviewees still emphasized that such a conflict does not play a role in the activities of the Outreach Clinic. That generational and other self-image conflicts have been successfully avoided is especially evident in the extensive training for new colleagues. At the same time, discussions with younger colleagues are perceived as

opportunities for improvement because *“you can see things differently, look at them with new eyes, but it is also important to recognize how it has developed (...)”* (IV 2, 9). Altogether there is a *“great readiness to learn from each other”* (IV 2, 10). A young employee at the Outreach Clinic attests to this impression:

*“Of course, for me the feminist attitude (...) is most important (...) because working with women and for women is simply important to me and is incredibly fun and satisfying. Before, I worked in a mixed gender team. That was exhausting due to the basic differences in attitude, and I just have the feeling that in a team where only women are working together that there is a better basis in terms of the fundamental attitude.”* (I3, 3)

The engagement of the first generation of women's shelter workers in feminist social work was based on contacts to the women's movement or was motivated by personal concern or occupational experiences and peaked in a struggle to found a new, autonomous project (cf. Löw 1988a, 89). In contrast, the new generation of social workers see themselves, in the context of current developments, as limited to preserving what has already been achieved. For feminist social workers, this means a completely new understanding of their own work, which still can be thoroughly feminist in orientation, but which no longer includes participating in political activity or the publicly articulating their clients' interests. This development points to the fact that in principle, feminism cannot be defined as a static concept, but rather depends on the respective historical context within which it must design and manifest itself. (cf. Hammer 2006, 3; Banks 1987)

In looking back on her long years of participation in the women's shelter movement, one of the interviewees said:

*“Maybe we're already a bit tired (...) because three of us have contributed a great deal to getting quite a few pioneering projects going (...) I mean, we still always have ideas, but we don't really have the time or the energy anymore.”* (IV 2, 13)

The employees can look back on quite a few achievements accomplished since the foundation of the Vienna Women's Shelters and the Outreach Clinic that were only possible because of their engagement and intense work: from the presence of the topic of domestic violence against women in public discourse to legal foundations that offer women more protection and possibilities for support. On the other hand, they see themselves in the context of the current developments, which are advancing anti-feminist objectives, the effects of which may create the same societal relationships that were the basis for the original struggles and for the early efforts to establish feminist social work.

The successes of the women's shelter movement in Europe can be described in these terms as *“Janus-faced.”* According to Kavemann, women's shelters and counseling centers, had they not had to continuously fight for their existence, could have developed into accepted sources of assistance within the system of social work that provide real jobs for dedicated women, while social efforts to fight the root causes of the problem have ceased or failed. They *“ran the risk of becoming a social fig leaf that simply managed the consequences of violence.”* (Kavemann 2002, 16, cited in Heidrich/ Rohleder 2005, 201)

However, to avoid presenting a completely pessimistic view, it must be considered whether the current debate can't be seen from the opposite perspective – that despite and even due to the imminent danger, political feminist practice was added to the "old" understanding of social work. However, this demands, in contrast to a defensive attitude, that feminist theory and practice, which understands gender to be the central structural category, become active in the discourse again, and that the resulting value system and definitions of quality criteria in terms of professionalism in social work are not left to the financial backers and are not determined by the logic and objectives of the neoliberal economy.

In addition to continuing the efforts to implement gender-sensitive approaches and methods in all areas of social work, education and training institutions that focus on these efforts are necessary.

And who knows – maybe another strongly autonomous movement is needed (again), but certainly a re-politicization of social work with regard to the recasting of the social as economic is necessary in order to move the current position of conserving the status quo toward one of struggle so that, in terms of the current regressive developments, political feminist social work does not run the risk of hitting a “glass ceiling.”

## 8. Sources and Literature

### 8.1. Interviews

Interview 1 (Employee of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic) on 12 April 2006

Interview 2 (Employee of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic) on 12 April 2006

Interview 3 (Employee of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters Outreach Clinic) on 11 May 2006

### 8.2. Documents / Web sites

Home page of the Association of Vienna Women's Shelters: [www.frauenhaeuser-wien.at](http://www.frauenhaeuser-wien.at)

Home page of the Austrian Women's Shelter Network: [www.a oef.at](http://www.a oef.at)

Home page of the Domestic Abuse Intervention Center Vienna: [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)

Home page of the Vienna Women's Emergency Hotline: [www.frauennotruf.wien.at](http://www.frauennotruf.wien.at)

Home page of project module 4, "Professional Standards in Social Services: yesterday – today – tomorrow" at the Center for Professional Competence in Social Work / Vienna campus of the Technical University, EQUAL project "Donau - Quality in Inclusion": [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Home page of the women of the Social Democratic Party of Austria – Vienna: [www.wien.spoe.frauen.at](http://www.wien.spoe.frauen.at)

Home page of the EQUAL project "Donau - Quality in Inclusion": [www.donau-quality.at](http://www.donau-quality.at)

Pressemeldung der SPÖ-GR Martina Ludwig „3-Jahresverträge für Wiener Frauenvereine beschlossen“, vom 16.01.06. “[Social Democratic Party of Austria press release “3 year agreement for Vienna Women's Association concluded”] 16 Jan. 2006 Quelle [Source]: [www.wien.spoe.frauen.at/online](http://www.wien.spoe.frauen.at/online)

Lackner, Marianne: „Wiener Gewaltschutz-Netz ist vorbildlich“. [Vienna violence protection network is exemplary] Quelle [Source]: [www.wien.spoe.frauen.at/online](http://www.wien.spoe.frauen.at/online) on 23.1.2006

KA II – M 57 – 1/ 02: Prüfung der Subventionierung des Vereins „Wiener Frauenhäuser“ – Soziale Hilfen für von Gewalt betroffene Frauen und ihre Kinder; Äußerung der Magistratsabteilung 57 gem. § 10 Absatz 5 der Geschäftsordnung [Examination of the subsidization of the

Vienna Association of Women's Shelters – social assistance for ... women and children] vom 3.4. 2002. Quelle [Source]: [www.frauenhaeuser-wien.at](http://www.frauenhaeuser-wien.at) on 02.06.06

„Es gibt Hilfe bei Gewalt – aber viele Opfer wissen nicht wo.“ [There is help for victims of violence – but many don't know where] Quelle [Source]: [www.aoef.at](http://www.aoef.at) on 23.05.06

„Man lernt die Ruhe zu bewahren...“ 28 Jahre Verein Wiener Frauenhäuser – ein Interview mit Hermine Sieder, Mitarbeiterin seit über 25 Jahren, [You learn to stay calm ... 28 years in the Vienna Association of Women's Shelters – an interview with ... an employee for over 25 years] in: Verein Wiener Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]) (2005): Tätigkeitsbericht [Project report] 2004, Wien, 10-14.

„Es gibt Hilfe bei Gewalt – aber viel Opfer wissen nicht, wo“ [There is help for victims of violence – but many don't know where] – Presseinformation des Vereins Österreichische Frauenhäuser vom 12.05.06, Quelle [Source]: [www.kaernten-sozialarbeit.at](http://www.kaernten-sozialarbeit.at) on 12.05.06

Brückner, Irene: Frauenhäuser bangen um Vertraulichkeit. [Women's shelters fear losing confidentiality] In: Der Standard vom 31.05.06, 10.

Standard-Headline „Wieder Gewaltattacken auf Frauen. Neue Übergriffe vor eigenen Kindern in Wien und der Steiermark“ [New attacks on women ...] sowie den Standard-Artikel: „Brutales Ende zweier Beziehungen“, [Brutal end to two relationships] vom 02.08.06, 1 und 6)

Der Standard, 31.05.2006, 10: „Frauenhäuser bangen um Vertraulichkeit“ [Women's shelters fear losing confidentiality]

Seidl, Conrad: VP bremst Gastingers Pläne für Ehereform. Konflikt um konservatives Familienbild zwischen Koalitionspartnern und mit der AK. [... Conflict regarding conservative family image among coalition partners ...] I: Der Standard vom 26.05.06, 8.

Hammer, Elisabeth: Protokoll zur AG 1: Fachliches Arbeiten in der Frauenberatung (AG des Workshop: Aspekte der Ökonomisierung in der Sozialen Arbeit, [Professional practice in women's counseling ... Aspects of recasting social work in economic terms] im Rahmen des Projektmoduls 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion", on 31.05.2006, [www.sozialearbeit.at](http://www.sozialearbeit.at)

Hopp, Martina/ Kronberger, Gabriele (Verein Wiener Frauenhäuser): Handout zu AG 1: Fachliches Arbeiten in der Frauenberatung (AG des Workshop: Aspekte der Ökonomisierung in der Sozialen Arbeit, [Professional practice in women's counseling ... Aspects of recasting social work in economic terms] im Rahmen des Projektmoduls 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion", on 31.05.2006, [www.sozialearbeit.at](http://www.sozialearbeit.at)

Wolfgruber, Gudrun: Impuls zur AG 1: Fachliches Arbeiten in der Frauenberatung (AG des Workshop: Aspekte der Ökonomisierung in der Sozialen Arbeit, [Professional practice in

women's counseling ... Aspects of recasting social work in economic terms] im Rahmen des Projektmoduls 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion", on 31.05.2006, [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

### 8.3. Literature

Adorno, Theodor W./ Tiedemann, Rolf. (1954): Soziologische Schriften. [Writings on Sociology] In: Adorno, Theodor W. (1975): Gesammelte Schriften, Bd. 9.2., Frankfurt/ Main, 327-359.

Aktionsgemeinschaft der Autonomen Österreichischen Frauenhäuser [Action group of the Austrian Women's Shelter Network] (Hg. [Ed.]) (1988): 10 Jahre Frauenhäuser in Österreich. Wien.

Appel, Margit/ Gubitzer, Luise/ Sauer, Birgit (Hg. [Ed.]) (2003): Zivilgesellschaft – ein Konzept für Frauen?, [Civil society – a concept for women?] Frankfurt/Main

Bakic, Josef/ Boban, Jovanov/ Kellner, Johannes (2006): Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit gestern heute morgen. Eine Dokumentation der Projektphase Gestern, unter der Mitwirkung von Marc Diebäcker, Elisabeth Hammer, Hans Reiter und Gudrun Wolfgruber, auf: [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Bakic, Josef (2006a): Zu „wertfreien“ Umdeutungsversuchen der Sozialarbeit. [Toward a ... reinterpretation of social work] Eine Replik auf Heiko Kleves fragile Collage ohne Eigenschaften. In: SIO 1/06, 36-38 sowie unter [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Bakic, Josef (2006b): Herstellungslogik versus Gegenstandsbestimmung: Anmerkungen zur Qualitätsdebatte in der Sozialen Arbeit. [The logic of creation vs. the identification of items: remarks on the quality debate in social work] Vortrag im Workshop: Aspekte der Ökonomisierung in der Sozialen Arbeit, im Rahmen des Projektmoduls 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion" , am 31.05.2006, [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Banks, Olive (1987): Faces of Feminism. Oxford.

Bauer, Ingrid/ Neissel, Julia (Hg. [Ed.]) (2003): Weigerung den Status quo zu bedienen. Das kritische Potential der Gender Studies. [Declining to serve the status quo. The critical potential of gender studies] In: Dies. (Hg. [Ed.]): Gender Studies. Denkachsen und Perspektiven der Geschlechterforschung, Innsbruck, 7-15.

Behnke, Cornelia/ Meuser, Michael (1999): Geschlechterforschung und qualitative Methoden. [Gender research and qualitative methods] Wiesbaden.

Bogner, Alexander (2005): Das Experteninterview. [Expert interview.] Wiesbaden.

Brückner, Margit (1998): Wege aus der Gewalt gegen Frauen und Mädchen. Eine Einführung, [Ways to move away from violence against women and girls. An introduction.] Frankfurt/Main.

Brückner, Margit (2001): Gender als Strukturkategorie & Ihre Bedeutung für die Sozialarbeit. [Gender as a structural category and its meaning for social work] In: Gruber/ Fröschl, 15-25.

Burgauner, Harald (2004): Gewalt als Alltagsphänomen in den sozialarbeiterischen Praxisfeldern. [Violence as a daily phenomenon in the practice of social work] In: SIO 2/ 04, 13-15.

Diebäcker, Marc (2006): Zu Ambivalenzen politischen Handelns in der Sozialen Arbeit. [Ambivalence in political negotiation in social work] In: SIO 2/06, 29-33 sowie in leicht veränderter Fassung auf [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Egger, Renate et al. (1997): Gewalt gegen Frauen in der Familie. [Violence against women in the family] Wien.

Frey Steffen, Therese (2006): Gender. Leipzig.

Fröschl, Elfriede/ Sieder, Hermine (1988a): Die Bewohnerinnen. [The Resident] In: Karlsson, Irmgard (Hg. [Ed.]): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo: women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 101-131.

Fröschl, Elfriede (1988b): Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [Women's shelters in Austria] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [10 years of autonomous women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 7-13.

Fröschl, Elfriede (1988c): Vater Staat – Mutter privat. [Father state – mothers in private] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [10 years of autonomous women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 23-27.

Fröschl, Elfriede/ Löw, Sylvia (1992): Ursachen und Folgen von Gewaltanwendungen gegen Frauen und Kinder, [Causes and consequences of violent behavior against women and children] Wien.

Fröschl, Elfriede/ Löw, Sylvia (1995): Über Liebe, Macht und Gewalt. [On love, power and violence] Wien.

Fröschl, Elfriede (2001): Beruf Sozialarbeit. [The profession of social work] In: Gruber/ Fröschl, 285-308.

Fröschl, Elfriede/ Gruber, Christine (2002): Sozialarbeit auf dem Weg zur Geschlechterdemokratie. [Social work on the way to gender democracy] In: SIO 1/ 02, 8-15 sowie auf [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)



Flick, Uwe (2005): Leitfaden-Interviews. In: Ders., Qualitative Sozialforschung. Eine Einführung, [Qualitative social research. An introduction] Reinbek bei Hamburg, 117-145.

Fürst, Ülküm (1988): Das Frauenhaus – Ein Haus für Frauen. [The woman's shelter – a house for women] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [10 years of autonomous women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 5-9.

Galtung, Johan (1975): Strukturelle Gewalt. Beiträge zur Friedens- und Konfliktforschung, [Structural violence. Contributions to peace and conflict research] Reinbek.

Galuske, Michael (2006): Zwischen staatstragender Funktion und gesellschaftskritischem Selbstverständnis. [Between state functions and critical social self-image] In: SIO 2/06, 10-17.

Gehmacher, Johanna/ Mesner, Maria (2003): Frauen- und Geschlechtergeschichte. Positionen/ Perspektiven, [Women and the history of gender. Positions and perspectives] Innsbruck.

Gerhard, Ute (Hg.) (2001): Feminismus und Demokratie. Frauenbewegungen der 1920er Jahre. [Feminism and democracy. Women's movements in the 1920s] Königstein/ Taunus.

Gewalt gegen Frauen – Wann beginnen Männer mit der Abrüstung? [Violence against women – when will men start disarming?] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [10 years of autonomous women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 37-40.

Gruber, Christine/ Fröschl, Elfriede (Hg. [Ed.]) (2001): Gender-Aspekte in der Sozialen Arbeit. [Aspects of gender in social work] Wien.

Gruber, Christine (2001): Familie und Familienpolitik. Aspekte einer an Egalität orientierten Familienpolitik, [Family and family policy. Aspects of egalitarian family policy] In: Gruber/ Fröschl , 99-118.

Gubitzer, Luise/ Schunter-Kleemann, Susanne (Hg. [Ed.]) (2006): Gender Mainstreaming – Durchbruch der Frauenpolitik oder deren Ende?, [Breakthrough for women's politics or its end?] Frankfurt/Main.

Hagemann-White, Carol (2002): Gewalt im Geschlechterverhältnis als Gegenstand sozialwissenschaftlicher Forschung und Theoriebildung: Rückblick, gegenwärtiger Stand, Ausblick, [Violence in gender relations as an object of social scientific research and theory ...] In: Dackweiler, Regina-Maria/ Schäfer, Reinhild (Hg. [Ed.]): Gewaltverhältnisse. Feministische Perspektiven auf Geschlecht und Gewalt, Frankfurt/Main, 29-52.

Hagemann-White, Carol/ Bohne, Sabine (2004): Gewalt und Interventionsforschung: Neue Wege durch europäische Vernetzung, [Violence and intervention research: new ways

through the European network] in: Becker, Ruth/ Kortendiek, Beate (Hg. [Ed.]): Handbuch Frauen- und Geschlechterforschung. Theorie, Methode, Empirie, [Handbook for researching women and gender. Theory, methods, empirical research] Wiesbaden, 555-563.

Hasenjürgen, Brigitte/ Rohleder, Christiane (Hg. [Ed.]) (2005): Geschlecht im sozialen Kontext. Perspektiven für die soziale Arbeit, [Gender in social context. Perspectives for social work] Opladen (= Schriften der Katholischen Fachhochschule Nordrhein-Westfalen 1).

Hausen, Karin (1976): Die Polarisierung der "Geschlechtscharaktere". Eine Spiegelung der Dissoziation von Erwerbs- und Familienleben, [The polarization of gender character. A reflection on the dissociation of occupational and family life] in: Conze, Werner: Sozialgeschichte in der Neuzeit Europas, Stuttgart.

Heidrich, Martin/ Rohleder, Christiane (2005): Soziale Arbeit und häusliche Gewalt. Ein Arbeitsfeld im Umbruch, [Social work and domestic violence. A changing occupation] In: Hasenjürgen/ Rohleder, 201-234.

Hofer, Konrad (2002): Helfen wollen und die Welt verändern. Arbeitsbedingungen von Sozialarbeiterinnen und Sozialarbeitern. [Wanting to help and changing the world. Working conditions for social workers] Wien.

Holland-Cunz, Barbara (2003): Die alte neue Frauenfrage. [The old new question of women] Frankfurt/Main.

Hollstein, Walter/Meinhold, Marianne (Hg. [Ed.]) (1973): Sozialarbeit unter kapitalistischen Produktionsbedingungen. [Social work and capitalistic production conditions] Frankfurt/Main.

Holwerda, Obertha (2001): Multiculture and Gender. In: Gruber/ Fröschl, 253-268.

Holzleithner, Elisabeth (2002): Von der Gleichheit aller Bürger zum Gender Mainstreaming – ein Paradigmenwechsel?, [On the equality of all citizens to gender mainstreaming – a paradigm shift?] in: Bauer/ Neissl, 17-33.

Kannonier-Finster, Waltraud/ Ziegler, Meinrad (Hg. [Ed.]) (1998): Exemplarische Erkenntnis. Zehn Beiträge zur interpretativen Erforschung sozialer Wirklichkeit, [Exemplary awareness. Ten contributions regarding interpretive research into social reality] Innsbruck/Wien.

Karlsson, Irmgard (Hg. [Ed.]) (1988a): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo. Women's shelters in Austria] Wien.

Karlsson, Irmgard (1988b): Entstehungsgeschichten. [History of Origins] In: Dies. 1988a, 26-54.

Karlsson, Irmgard (1988c): Methoden der Sozialarbeit. [Methods of social work] In: Dies. 1988a, 55-69.

Kleve, Heiko: Sozialarbeit als Beruf ohne (eindeutige) Identität. [Social work as an occupation without a clear identity] In: SIO 4/05, 18-23.

Kurtz, Agnes (1988): Wer Gewalt sät ... [He who sows violence ...] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser, 2-4.

Löw, Sylvia (1988a): Autonomie – aber wie? [Autonomy – but how?] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser, 16-18.

Löw, Sylvia (1988b): Die Mitarbeiterinnen. [The employees] In: Karlsson Irmgard (Hg. [Ed.]): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo. Women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 87-100.

Löw, Sylvia (1988c): Überlegungen zum Gewaltbegriff. [Consideration on the definition of violence] In: Karlsson, Irmgard (Hg.): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo. Women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 93-94.

Logar, Rosa (1988): Die Arbeit in der Praxis. [Work in practice] In: Karlsson, Irmgard (Hg. [Ed.]): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo. Women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 69-86.

Logar, Rosa (2001a): Gewalt an Frauen in Familien, [Violence against women in families] In: Gruber/ Fröschl 2001, 175-200.

Logar, Rosa (2001b): Gewalt gegen Frauen. Rückblick und Ausblick aus dem Nachbarinnenland Österreich. [Violence against women. Looking back and looking forward from the neighboring country of Austria] In: aktiv informativ präventiv, 10 Jahre Informationsstelle gegen Gewalt, [10 years, Domestic Abuse Intervention Center Vienna] Wien, auf: [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)

Logar, Rosa (2003): Rote Karte für Gewalttäter: Das Gewaltschutzgesetz in Österreich und die Arbeit der Interventionsstellen, [Red card for perpetrators of violence: violence protection law in Austria and the work of the intervention centers] auf: [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)

Logar Rosa (2003): Opfer von Gewalt – Subjekte oder Objekte der Strafjustiz? [Victims of violence – subjects or objects of penal justice?] Fachtagung „Umgang mit Sexualstraftätern zum Schutz der Opfer“, [Conference, Dealing with sexual offenders] 24./ 25. 3. Bergen auf Rügen, auf: [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)

Logar, Rosa (2004): Männergewalt an Frauen. [Male violence against women] In: SIO 2/ 04, 25-27.

Logar, Rosa (2005): Nicht nur wegweisen, sondern auch den Weg weisen. Erfahrungen mit dem Gewaltschutzgesetz in Österreich, [Don't just give me a map, show me the way. Experiences with violence protection law in Austria] in: Kury, Helmut/ Obergfell-Fuchs, Joachim (Hg.): Gewalt in der Familie. Für und Wider den Platzverweis, [Violence in the family ...] Freiburg i. Breisgau, 89-110 sowie auf: [www.interventionsstelle-wien.at](http://www.interventionsstelle-wien.at)

Mesner, Maria (2006): Mütter-Familien, Familienmütter. Politiken ums Kinderhaben in Österreich, [Mothers and families, mother of the family. The politics of having children in Austria] in: Wolfgruber et al. (Hg. [Ed.]), 215-234.

Mesner, Maria et al. (2004): Das Geschlecht der Politik, [The gender of politics] hg.v. [ed. by] Bm:bwk, Wien (= Materialien zur Förderung von Frauen in der Wissenschaft 17).

Rommelspacher, Birgit (2001): Multikulturalismus und Sozialarbeit. [Multiculturalism and social work] In: Gruber/ Fröschl, 233-252.

Rosenberger, Sieglinde (1992): Frauenpolitik in Rot-Schwarz-Rot. Geschlechterverhältnisse als Gegenstand der österreichischen Politik, [Women's politics in the red-black-red coalition. Gender relations as a part of Austrian politics] Wien.

Schacherl, Ingrid (Hg. [Ed.]) (2003): Gender Mainstreaming. Kritische Reflexionen, [Critical reflections] Innsbruck.

Schacherl, Ingrid (2003): Feminismus, Gender, Geschlecht. Widerspruch, [Feminism, gender, sex. Contradictions] Zürich (= Beiträge zu sozialistischer Politik, Bd. 44).

Schnögl, Sonja (1988): Einleitung. [Introduction] In: Karlsson, Irmgard (Hg. [Ed.]): Ein gebrochenes Tabu. Frauenhäuser in Österreich, [A broken taboo. Women's shelters in Austria] Wien, 9-25.

Scott, Joan Wallach (2001): Die Zukunft von gender. Fantasien zur Jahrtausendwende. [The future of gender. Fantasies at the turn of the century] In: Honegger, Claudia/ Arni, Caroline (Hg.): Gender. Die Tücken einer Kategorie. [Gender. The perils of a category] Zürich, 39-63.

Scott, Joan Wallach (1996): Gender. A Useful Category of Historical Analysis, in: Dies., Feminism and History, Oxford/ New York, 152-180 (first published in: American Historical Review 91/5, Dec 1996); dt. Gender. Eine nützliche Kategorie der historischen Analyse, in: Kaiser Nancy (Hg. [Ed.]), Selbst bewusst. Frauen in den USA, [Self confident. Women in the USA] Leipzig 1994, 27-75.

Seith, Corinna (2003): Öffentliche Intervention gegen häusliche Gewalt. Zur Rolle von Polizei, Sozialdienst und Frauenhäusern, [Public intervention against domestic violence. On the role of police, social services and women's shelters] Frankfurt/Main.

Sieder, Hermine (1988): Ausländerinnen im Frauenhaus. [Foreigners in the women's shelter] In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. [Wien, 19-21.

Singer, Maria (1988): Gedanken zum Muttermythos [Thought on the myth of motherhood] (1988): In: Aktionsgemeinschaft der autonomen österreichischen Frauenhäuser (Hg. [Ed.]): 10 Jahre autonome Frauenhäuser in Österreich. Wien, 22.

Soiland, Tove (2004): Gender: In: Bröckling, Ulrich et al. (Hg. [Ed.]): Glossar der Gegenwart, [Glossary of the present] Frankfurt/Main, 97-104.

Stark, Christian (2006): Ist die politische Sozialarbeit tot? [Is political social work dead?] In: SIO 2/06, 22-28.

Strasser, Philomena (2003): Häusliche männliche Gewalt gegen Frauen in der Migration. [[Domestic male violence against immigrant women] In: Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie & Praxis, [Contributions to feminist theory and practice] 26. Jg. H. 63/64, 103-115.

Staub-Bernasconi, Silvia (1989): Ermächtigung von Frauen als Prozeß. Unveröffentlichtes Manuskript, [Empowerment of women as a process. Unpublished manuscript] Boldern 1989; zit. nach Egger 1997.

Association of Vienna Women's Shelters (Ed.) (2005): Progress report 2004, Vienna.

Association of Vienna Women's Shelters (Ed.) (2004): Progress report 2003, Vienna.

Weber, Alexander, Josef: Eine Ergänzung zu den Artikeln von [An extension of the articles of] Heiko Kleve und Josef Bakic, In: SIO 2/06, 8-9.

Weckwert, Anja (2005): Widersprüche – Kontroversen und Geschlechterverhältnisse, Frauenbewegung und Feminismus in der BRD, [Contradictions – controversies and gender relations, the women's shelter movement and feminism in the Federal Republic of Germany] In: L'Homme. Zeitschrift für Feministische Geschichtswissenschaft, 16, 1, S. 13-35.

Wolfgruber, Gudrun (2005) Von der Fürsorge zur Sozialarbeit – Individuelle Wohltat oder gesellschaftspolitisches Engagement? [From caring to social work – individual good deed or social engagement?] Vortrag im Rahmen der Auftaktveranstaltung des Workpackages 1, Projektmodul 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion"), am 30.11.2005, [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Wolfgruber, Gudrun (2006): Beiträge zur Entwicklung des Professionalitätsverständnisses in der Sozialen Arbeit am Beispiel der Wiener Jugendwohlfahrt zwischen den 1920er und 1990er Jahren [Contributions to the development of understanding of professional practice in social work based on the example of Vienna Youth Welfare from the 1920s to the 1990s] im Rahmen des Projektmoduls 4: "Fachliche Standards in der Sozialarbeit. yesterday – today – tomorrow" am Kompetenzzentrum für Soziale Arbeit/ fh-campus wien, EQUAI-Projekt "Donau-Quality in Inclusion"), [www.sozialarbeit.at](http://www.sozialarbeit.at)

Wolfgruber, Gudrun et al. (Hg. [Ed.]) (2006): Kinder kriegen – Kinder haben. Analysen im Spannungsfeld zwischen staatlichen Politiken und privaten Lebensentwürfen, [Having children – raising children. Analyses in the area of conflict between state politics and private lives] Wien/Innsbruck (=Bruno Kreisky International Studies 5).

Wagner, Brunhilde (1993): Nicht umsonst und nicht aus Liebe – Frauensozialarbeit in Vergangenheit und Gegenwart, [Not for nothing and not for love – the past and present of women's social work] Hildesheim (= Hildesheimer Schriften zur Sozialpädagogik und Sozialarbeit 3).